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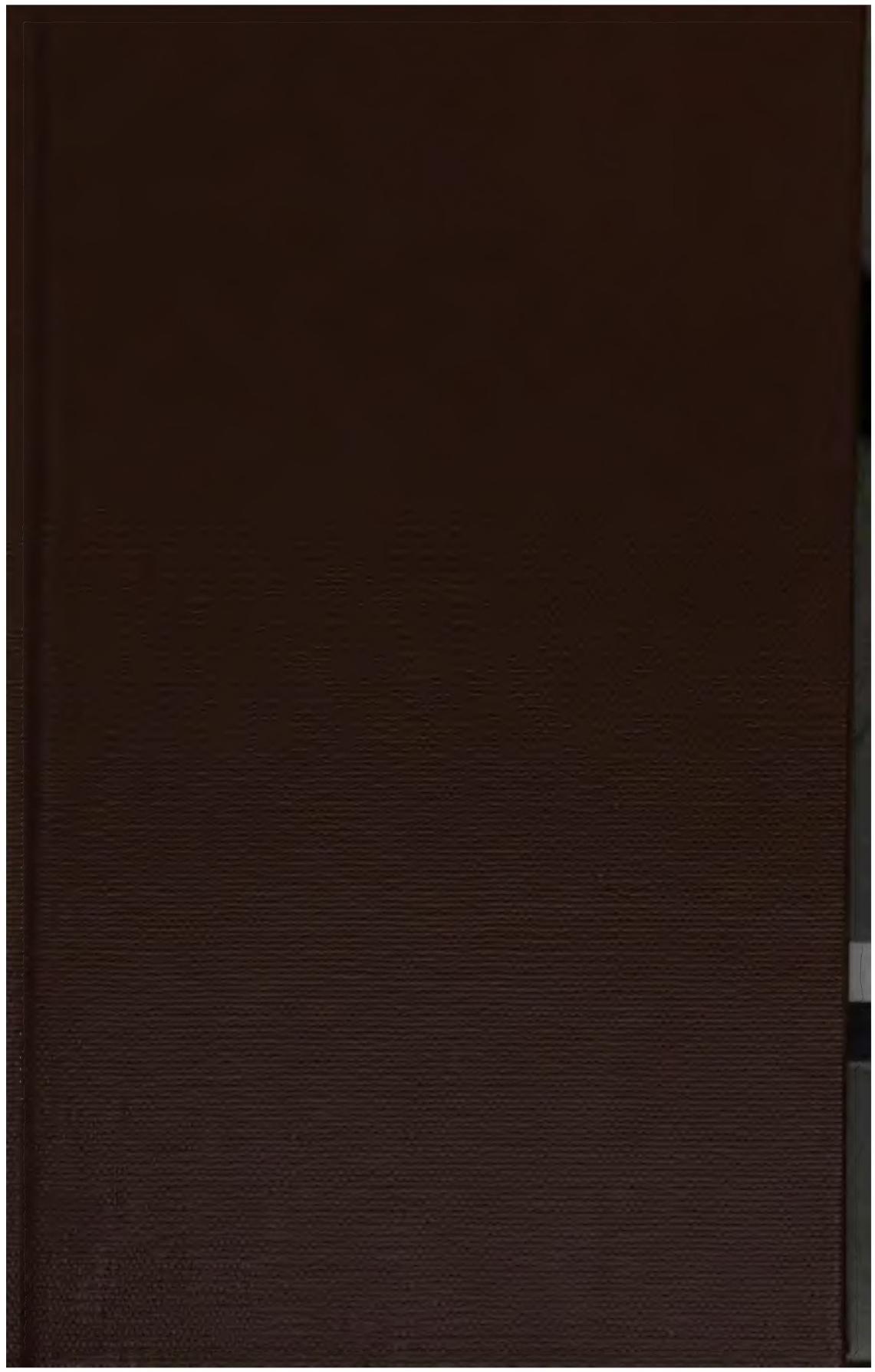
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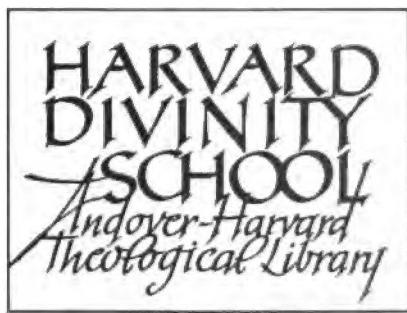
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AN HISTORICO-CRITICAL  
INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
CANONICAL BOOKS  
OF  
THE NEW TESTAMENT.  
BY

WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHT DE WETTE,  
DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY AND REGULAR PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BASEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FIFTH, IMPROVED AND ENLARGED EDITION.

BY  
FREDERICK FROTHINGHAM.

BOSTON:  
CROSBY, NICHOLS, AND COMPANY,  
117 WASHINGTON STREET.  
1858.

2<sup>o</sup> . 1893

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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THE work now offered to the public is translated from the fifth and last German edition, which was published in 1848, about a year before its lamented author's death. Although some of the questions discussed in it have since that time so changed their aspect as to require a different treatment, the work as a whole has not been superseded. It is still a standard of high authority, and possesses a permanent interest and value. The translator at one time entertained the idea of adding to the notes, and filling out the list of works referred to, so as to show the changes and results of critical thought and inquiry during the past ten years, and thus, so far as possible, while leaving the original unaltered, to bring the work into line with the most recent criticism. The prospect of being able to do this within any reasonable time was, however, rendered too uncertain, by the pressure of other engagements, to warrant the attempt. The work is therefore presented in the form which De Wette gave it,—a monument in the history of New Testament literature.

The translator has sought to make his work as correct as possible. His aim has not been elegance of style, but fidelity and accuracy in the rendering of the thought. The

better to secure this, he subjected his manuscript to the examination of Professor Noyes, of the Cambridge Theological School, and the proof-sheets to the keen scrutiny of Ezra Abbot, Jr., Esq., of Harvard University. To both of these gentlemen he begs to express his thanks for the improvement which the work has received at their hands.

THE TRANSLATOR.

## A U T H O R ' S   P R E F A C E

### TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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In giving at length to the public this long-announced Introduction to the New Testament, with the joyful feeling which attends the completion of a long-delayed task, I cannot conceal my fear of disappointing the expectations which seem to have been entertained respecting the work. The friends of critical inquiry may be dissatisfied because the results arrived at are, to a large extent, indefinite ; while they who regard our Holy Scriptures with devout reverence only, may be disturbed by the freedom of the investigation. I would gladly have arrived at results more definite and more in harmony with the views generally received in the Church ; but the Truth can alone decide. That is no genuine love of Truth which is not ready to sacrifice its inordinate curiosity where certainty is unattainable, as well as its pious prejudices. The value of criticism I place chiefly in the activity to which it excites the spirit of inquiry ; but this spirit of inquiry can never harm a genuine Christian piety.

There are two subjects of investigation in regard to which I have especially failed to satisfy myself,—the History of the Text, and the Origin of the first three Gospels.

My fears respecting these long discouraged me from undertaking the work. In the history of the text I have done little besides giving the opinions of others. In the inquiry concerning the Gospels, I regret being compelled to offer a new hypothesis, or a new modification of an old one. The genuineness of two books I have distinctly denied, that of several others doubted, or stated the arguments for and against; but in general I cannot be charged with excessive scepticism. I desire only that my work may be put to the severest test, and give occasion to fresh investigation of the truth in this department of study.

THE AUTHOR.

BASSEL, August 18, 1826.

## P R E F A C E

### TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

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In the edition of 1842 — the second edition appeared in 1830, and the third in 1834 — this work was materially altered and enlarged, especially in the sections devoted to the Ancient Versions, the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. It has undergone, however, a more important alteration in this, the fifth edition, in the sections on the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline Pastoral Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation of John, but without essentially changing the conclusions arrived at. In the section on the Uncanonical and the Canonical Gospels, I was obliged to defend my views against the criticism of Baur and his school, to scare away the apparitions summoned back by them of the Gospel of the Hebrews as the oldest of all the Gospels, and of the original Luke, and to oppose the hypothesis belonging to their “tendency” theory of criticism, that the third Gospel is merely an arbitrary creation out of the materials of the first, as well as to resist the destructive attacks directed by the same criticism against the fourth Gospel. This necessitated an almost entire recasting of the sections therewith concerned. It will be found that I have placed myself decidedly more than heretofore

among the defenders of the Gospel of John, although I am still far from being so decided as my friend Bleek. His valuable "Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik"—whose dedication to me gave me great pleasure—has done me most excellent service in this as well as other departments of my labor. I thank him for it with the cordiality of a true friend. My experience in New Testament criticism is singular. When I first entered this field I stood in the foremost rank, and was regarded by many as a dangerous assailant. Now I behold myself thrust back into the middle rank of conservative critics,—who indeed are far in advance of the Apologists who would retain the whole,—and yet my views and position are in general unchanged. I hope that this new tempest will pass over, as did that raised by Strauss. I admire the learning, acuteness, and dialectic skill of Dr. Baur, but in his investigations I miss freedom from bias, and blame the excessive haste with which he always seeks positive results, at the sacrifice of thoroughness; as, for instance, in respect of the Gospel of the Hebrews and Marcion's Gospel. I can, notwithstanding, learn from him, and wish that others likewise would do so, and oppose him with candor and calmness. To oppose his "tendency" theory by a style of criticism of the same character, is not serving the truth. Nothing is gained by magisterial decisions and bold assertions, arbitrary explanations and forced combinations; nor does a writer's assertion become true and valid, because another writer pronounces it excellent, "truly an acquisition." I cannot avoid declaring myself openly against the efforts of our young Apologists, and I take the liberty of warning especially Mr. H. W. J. Thiersch to use his gifts and acquirements more modestly, and not to make too light of things. What

expectations were excited by his “*Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunktes für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*,” and what has he therein achieved? Can a scientific man hope to solve the problem of the origin of the Gospels by a mass of verbiage like that in pp. 75–230? Mr. Thiersch has not even touched the real knots! Does he imagine that his dictum can establish the genuineness of the Second Epistle of Peter, and reverse the relation between it and the Epistle of Jude? I invite Mr. Thiersch to dismount from his high horse and enter with us on the work of a modest and thorough investigation. But that will not do; he is Evangelical, and we belong in a measure to the race of Antichrists. Mr. Thiersch and his associates hold a belief in the present contents of the canon such as neither the ancient Fathers nor the Reformers held,—a belief wholly unworthy an Evangelical Christian, and which would be ridiculous were it not in the highest degree pitiable. This delusion, and not the truth, is furthered by their criticism. Into harmony with this everything must be brought, whether it bend or break in the process. The critic, it is true, should not be without a theory or a belief; but his belief must be genuine belief, that is, belief in the historical truth of the Christian revelation, not in the views and the dicta of men. Such a belief will not enslave him nor blind him to the truth, nor prevent his freely using the rules of grammar, the art of interpretation and criticism. Of critical works in this sense there are not many in our day, and therefore I joyfully greet Dr. Schwanbeck and his “*Versuch über die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*,” a work based on firm historical grounds. The mistake which, in my judgment, he has frequently committed, of being too hasty in reaching positive results, it is to be hoped he will

try to avoid in his Second Part.—In the sections devoted to the Pauline Pastoral Epistles and the Catholic Epistles, the influence of my labors on my Exegetical Handbook, and the results of the same, are manifest. The investigation respecting James the brother of the Lord has also, I think, been improved by revision.—As regards the Apocalypse, I would gladly have used the new edition of Lücke's "Einleitung"; notwithstanding, I flatter myself that I have made some not unimportant improvements.—If sometimes I have forgotten works or essays by new writers in this department of theology, I ask pardon in advance. Attention and memory, alas! often fail me.

THE AUTHOR.

BASEL, November, 1847.

# C O N T E N T S.

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## DIVISION I.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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#### SECTION I.

##### OF THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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*Why was the New Testament written in Greek?*

###### § 1.

THE Greek language was at that time extended over the whole civilized world. It prevailed even in several cities of Palestine,<sup>a</sup> and was to the Jews of Egypt, and of all other foreign lands, the language of the Bible and of literature. As soon, therefore, as Christianity passed the bounds of Palestine, it was necessarily propagated in this language, although at the outset it was preached first to the Jews (Acts xi. 19, xiii. 46). At an early period, however, there were found among the Christians native Greeks or Greek Jews, who preached the Gospel to the Greeks (Acts xi. 20). At Antioch, the point whence proceeded the missions to the Greeks and the Greek Jews (Acts xi. 20, ff., xiii. 1, ff.), the Greek language and culture prevailed. Barnabas and Paul, who led these missions, were Greek Jews; and the latter was probably the father of the New Testament literature (cf. § 60). Ancient tradition claims for *but one* of the New Testament books a non-Greek original (§ 97). The supposition of other such originals is inadmissible.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antt. XVII. 11. 4: Γάζα γὰρ καὶ Γάδara καὶ Ἰππος Ἐλληνίδες

*εἰσὶ πόλεις.* B. J. III. 9. 1: *Καισάρειαν, μεγίστην τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας πόλιν καὶ τὸ πλέον ὑφὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐποικουμένην.* II. 14. 4: *καὶ οἱ Καισαρέων Ἐλληνες νικήσαντες παρὰ Νέρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἀρχειν.* Cf. Hug, Einl. II. § 10. Credner, Beitr. z. Einl. ins N. T. I. 374, ff. Greek Synagogues in Jerusalem, Acts vi. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Theory of Latin originals in *Harduin*, Comm. in N. T. Hag. 1741. fol., Prolegg. to the different books. Theory of Aramaic originals of several N. T. writings; of a Coptic original of Mark (§ 99).

### *Impureness of the New Testament Language.*

#### § 2.

The Greek of the New Testament writers is not pure, but *Judaistic*. This arose from their Palestinian origin and education, from their imitating the example and yielding to the influence of the earlier Jewish-Greek Bible translators and writers, and from the nature of the spiritual matter which they had to present, which, being foreign to the Greeks, was in part borrowed from Judaism and in part new. The impureness, however, refers to the use of language rather than to the construction of sentences, and is greater in some writers than in others. The Greek, moreover, which they thus transformed, belonged to the so-called Common Dialect, especially to the popular language, and, in respect of certain peculiarities, to the *Macedonio-Alexandrian popular language*.

Hence we may discriminate in the language of the New Testament three elements: 1. the Greek; 2. the Jewish; 3. the Christian.\*

\* Olear. De stilo N. T. p. 380: In N. T. reperitur insuper sacrae quacdam dictionis forma, materiae evangelicae accommodata. Lücke, Hermeneut. d. N. T. p. 90, ff.

#### § 3 a.

The superstitious reverence for the Bible prevailing among Protestants opposed an obstacle to the unbiassed recognition of this mixed character of the New Testament language. Hence arose the controversy between the so-called Purists and the Hebraists.<sup>a</sup>

• Purists: *Seb. Pfochen*. Diatribe de linguae Gr. N. T. puritate, ubi quam plurimis qui vulgo finguntur Hebraismis larva detrahitur, et profanos quoque auctores ita esse locutos ad oculum demonstratur. Amst. 1629; ed. 2, 1633. 12mo. *Jac. Gross*. Trias propositionum theolog. stilum N. T. a barbaris criminationibus vindicantium. Jen. 1640 (against *Junge*). *Id. Observatt. pro Triade proposition. apolog.* (against *Wulfer*). *Id. Tertia defens. Triados*. Hamb. 1641 (against *J. Musaeus*). *Id. Quarta def. Triados*. Hamb. 1642 (against *J. Mus. Vindic.*). *Balth. Stolberg*, Tract. de solecismis et barbarismis Graecae N. T. dictioni falso tributis. Viteb. 1685; ed. 3, 1688. 4to. *Chr. Sig. Georg. Vindiciae N. T. ab Hebraismis*. Fref. 1732. 4to. *Id. Hierocriticus N. T. s. de stilo N. T.* Viteb. 1733. *Conr. Schwarz*, Commentar. crit. et phil. linguae Gr. N. T. Lips. 1736. 4to. *El. Palairet*, Observatt. phil. crit. in N. T. Lug. Bat. 1752. 8vo.

Hebraists or Hellenists: *Joach. Junge*, Sententt. doctiss. quorundam viorum de Hellenistis et Hellenistica dialecto. Jen. 1639. *Dan. Wulfer*, Innocentia Hellenistarum vindicata, 1640. *Joh. Musaeus*, Disqu. de stilo N. T. 1641. *Id. Vindiciae Disquisitionis de stilo N. T.* 1642. *Dan. Heins*. Exercitat. de lingua Hellenistica et Hellenistis. L. B. 1648. 8vo. *Thom. Gataker*, De stilo N. T. adv. *Pfochen*. diss. Lond. 1648. 4to, in his Opp. crit. *Traj. ad. Rh.* 1698. fol. *Jo. Vorst*. De Hebraismis N. T. comment. Amst. 1665. 4to. Accessere *Horat. Vitriniae Animadv.* ad Comment. de Hebr. N. T. curante *J. Fr. Fischer*. Lips. 1778. *Jo. Olear*. De stilo N. T. liber phil. theol. (Lips. 1668) auctus a *Joh. Conr. Schwarz*. Accedit *J. H. Boecleri* De lingua N. T. orig. dissert. Cob. 1721. 8vo. *Sam. Werenfels*, Diss. de stilo scriptorum N. T. Bat. 1698, in his Opusc. I. 311. *Jo. Leusden*, Libellus de dialectis N. T., singulatim de ejus Hebraismis, denuo editus a *J. Fr. Fischer*. Lips. 1792. 8vo.

A middle ground is taken by *J. H. Michael*. Diss. de textu N. T. Gr. Hal. 1707. *Ant. Blackwall*, Auctores sac. classici defensi et illustr. s. critica N. T. c. observatt. et hermeneut. N. T. dogmatica *Christ. Wollii*. Lips. 1736. 4to. *Theod. Beza*, De dono linguae et apostol. sermone ad Act. x. 46, and *Henr. Stephanus*, Praef. ad ed. N. T. 1576, had already formed a pretty unbiased and moderate judgment.

Several of the above-mentioned controversial works and others (e. g. *Mos. Solanus*, De stilo N. T. cont. *Seb. Pfochen*.) may be found in *Jac. Rhenscrdii Syntagm. dissertt. phil. theol. de stilo N. T.* Leov. 1702. 4to, and *Van der Honert*, Syntagm. diss. de stilo N. T. Gr. Amst. 1703. 4to. — Cf. *Mori Acroas*. acad. sup. hermeneut. N. T. ed. *Eichstädt*. I. 216, sqq. *Planck*, Einleit. in d. theol. Wissensch. II. 43, ff. *Winer*, Gramm. d. neutest. Sprach-idioms, § 1.

## § 3 b.

Although the latter have triumphed, the remarks of the former are not all to be rejected. A too hasty assumption

of Hebraisms was, to quite a late period, one of the vices of exegesis. Later biblical scholars and philologists, as *C. F. A. Fritzsche*, *Winer*, and *H. A. W. Meyer*, have gained themselves honor by their exact application of Greek philology to the language of the New Testament. Even here, however, there is danger of overdoing.

#### § 4.

The language of the New Testament and the Septuagint has been considered a dialect, and termed *Hellenistic*, from the Greek Jews, who were termed *Hellenists*.<sup>a</sup> But it is not a dialect, in the common sense of the word. Even the term *Hellenistic* seems inappropriate, although 'Ελληνιστής, Acts vi. 1, ix. 29, denotes a Greek Jew.<sup>b</sup>

The term *Alexandrian dialect* is improper, both for the New Testament language and that of the Septuagint, because it indicates the peculiar character of the Alexandrian Greek alone. The most correct term is the *Jewish-Greek language*, and, in regard to the New Testament, the *New Testament language*.

<sup>a</sup> First by *Jos. Just. Scaliger*, in his *Animadverss.* in *Euseb.* p. 134. Then *Drus. Annot. ad Act. vi. 6.* *Dan. Heins. Aristarch. sac. I.* 795; II. 898, ed. L. B. 1639. fol. *Exercitat. de lingua Hellen. et Hellenistis.* L. B. 1643. 8vo. *Apolog. adv. Crojum.* 1646. 12mo. *Lightfoot, Addend. ad Hor. Hebr. in 1 Cor. xiv. c. 1.* Opp. II. 929. On the other side, *Claud. Salmas. De lingua Hellenist. s. commentar. controversiam de lingua Hellen. decidens.* L. B. 1643. 8vo. *Funus linguae Hellen. s. confutatio Exercitationis de Hellenistica.* Ib. eod. an. *Ossilegium linguae Hellen. s. append. ad confut. Exercit. de Hellenistica.* Ib. eod. an. For other treatises, see *Eichstädt's ed. of Morus*, I. 233. *Fabric. Bibl. Gr.* IV. 893, ed. *Harl.*

<sup>b</sup> *Salmasius's* opinion (cf. *Carpzov. Crit. sac. V. T.* p. 507. *Eichst. ad Mor.* I. 227), that the word in the passage referred to denotes a Greek proselyte, is without foundation; at least the circumstance that Nicolas (Acts vi. 5), a proselyte of Antioch, was one of those deacons who were probably selected from the Hellenists, proves nothing. That Paul (2 Cor. xi. 22, Phil. iii. 5) calls himself a Hebrew, and not a Hellenist, proves as little. In Acts xi. 20 we should read "Ελληνας instead of 'Ελληνιστάς. See *Griesbach* on the passage.

*Inquiry into the New Testament Language.*

## § 5.

To the right understanding of any historical phenomenon a proper apprehension of its origin and development is indispensable. Hence the New Testament philologist must not only reduce the New Testament language to its elements, but also from these reproduce it, as it were, in a living form. Thus he will avoid the danger of treating it as a spiritless and lifeless compound,—a mode of handling which affects not only the language, but also, and too sensibly, the ideas closely connected with it. To solve this problem successfully, he must, at the outset, gain a clear apprehension of its two component elements, namely, Hellenism and Judaism. (See *Lücke*, *Hermeneut.* p. 92.)

## § 6 a.

For the proper treatment of the Greek element, a knowledge of the Greek language in its pure, classical development among the Attics, and of its change into the so-called διάλεκτος κοινή, is necessary. This change, occasioned by the Macedonian conquest, was produced by the infusion of elements which in part were borrowed from other dialects, in part followed the general usage pretty closely, but differed from the especial peculiarity of the Attic, and in part came into use in the course of time.<sup>a</sup> For comparing the New Testament language with both kinds of pure Greek we have valuable preparatory works, although they need sifting.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For a knowledge of the difference between the earlier and the later Greek, see *Phrynicus Eclogae nominum et verb. atticor. c. nott. Nunnerii, Hoeschelii, Scaligeri et de Pauw*, ed. expl. C. A. Lobeck. Lips. 1820. 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> *Georg. Raphelii Annotatt. philol. in N. T. ex Xenoph. collectae.* Hamb. 1709. 8vo; ed. 2, acc. praef. *Joa. Fechtii*, qua disseritur de stilo N. T. ejusdemque cum profanis scriptoribus conferendi studio. 1720. 8vo. *Id. Annotatt. philol. in N. T. ex Polybio et Arriano collectae.* Hamb. 1715. 8vo. *Id. Commentatt. in a. scr. hist. in Vet., philol. in N. T., ex Herodoto coll.* Luneb. 1731. 8vo. *Casp. Frid. Munthe, Obs. philol. in ss. N. T. libros ex Diodoro Sic. collectae.* Hafn. et Lips. 1755. 8vo.

*Joa. Bapt. Ottii Spicil. s. excerpta ex Fl. Josepho ad N. T. illustr. cura Sigeb. Havercamp. L. B. 1741. 8vo. Joa. Tob. Krebs, Obss. in N. T. ex Fl. Josepho. Lips. 1755. 8vo. Chr. Fr. Lösner, Obss. ad N. T. e Philone Alex. Lips. 1777. 8vo. Ad. Fr. Kühnii Spicil. Lösneri obss. in N. T. e Philone. Lips. 1785. 8vo. Lamb. Bos, Exercit. philol. ed. 2. auct. Franequ. 1713. 8vo. Id. Obss. misc. ad loca quaedam N. T. Ib. 1707. 8vo. Jac. Elsner, Obss. ss. in N. T. libros. Traj. ad Rh. 1720–28. 2 tom. 8vo. Jo. Alberti, Obss. philol. in ss. N. T. libros. L. B. 1725. 8vo. El. Palairet, Obss. (see § 3). Id. Spec. exercit. philol. critt. in ss. N. T. libros. Lond. 1755. 8vo. Ge. Dav. Kypke, Obss. ss. in N. T. libros. Vratisl. (Breslau), 1755. 2 tom. 8vo.*

### § 6 b.

The New Testament philologist has next to trace the distinctive peculiarities of the later *popular language* which appears in the New Testament, and into whose composition the various dialects entered, although the Macedonian predominated.\*

\* Olear. De stilo N. T. p. 282, sqq. Fr. Guil. Sturz, De dialecto Macedon. et Alexandrina. Lips. 1808. 8vo. Cf. Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1810. St. 6. p. 266, ff. H. Planck, De vera natura atque indole orationis Gr. N. T. Gott. 1810. 4to. Winer, Neutest. Gramm. § 2. Eichhorn, Einl. ins N. T. IV. § 10, ff. (which contains many errors).

Examples of the later Greek. Those indicated by \* are found in no Greek author, but belong perhaps to the language of the people. Words: \*ἀντιλυτρον, ἔκτρωμα, πάντοτε, καθώς for καθά, \*διαπονεῖσθαι, indignari, \*ἐκμυκτηρίζειν, \*ὅρθρίζειν, \*δειγματίζειν, στρημᾶν, δεκατοῦν, \*έξουδενοῦν (Att. ἔξουθενεῖν), σκορπίζειν, \*έγκρατεύεσθαι. Word-formations: μετοικεσία, γενέσια, ἀνταπόδομα, \*βάπτισμα, ἀσθένημα, κατάλυμα (Att. κατάλυσις), and other words in μα; ἀρτριᾶν, καθημερινός, πρωινός, ἐξάπινα. Meanings of words: ἀναστροφή, daily walk in life; γένημα, fruit of field and orchard; ἐπιτιμία, punishment; ὄψόνον, pay; εὐσχήμων, of quality; σχολή, school; ἀναπίπτειν, ἀνακλίνεσθαι, \*ψωμίζειν, χορτάζειν, to feed (spoken of men); συμβιβάζειν, to infer, to teach. Word-forms: Ἀρέτα for -ov, σατανᾶ, &c.; νοὶ for νῷ; τὸ πλοῦτος for ὁ πλ.; δύο, indeclinable in the genitive. Want of the dual: contractions, as Ἀρτεμίδωρος from Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Δημᾶς from Δημέτριος or Δῆμαρχος, &c. Exchange of the terminations of the 2d aorist for those of the 1st aorist; as, εἶδαν, εὑραν (LXX.), ήλθατε, ἐπεσα, ἀνέυραν, παρελθάτω (Codd. N. T.); ἔγνωκαν for -ασι; ἐδολιοῦσαν for ἐδολίσσων; κανχάσαι for κανχᾶ; δώῃ for δοίῃ; ἡμεθα for ἡμεν. Rarity of the optative: construction of ἵνα with the pres.; weakening of ἵνα in such forms as θέλω ἵνα; prepositions with adverbs. For other examples, see Klausen, Hermen. d. N. T. p. 339, ff. Win. § 3. Eichh. Einl. IV. § 13.

Supposed Cilicisms of the Ap. Paul. *Hieron.* ad Algasiam, Quaest. 10: *Multa sunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis et provinciae suae familiarius Apostolus utitur.* E quibus ex. gr. pauca ponenda sunt. *Mihi autem parum est judicari ab humano die,* h. e. ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας (1 Cor. iv. 3); *et, humanum dico,* h. e. ἀνθρώπινον λέγω (Rom. vi. 19): et, οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμᾶς, h. e. *non gravavi vos* (2 Cor. xii. 13): et quod nunc dicitur, μηδὲις ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύετω, i. e. *nullus brabium accipiat adversum vos* (Col. ii. 18). Quibus et aliis multis verbis usque hodie utuntur Cilices. Cf. *Stolberg de Cilicismis a Paulo usurpatiis, in his Exercit. ling. Gr.*

Latinisms, which were peculiar to the Greek of that time. *Olear.* p. 368, sqq. *Jo. Erh. Kapp,* De N. T. Latinismis merito ac falso suspectis. Lips. 1726. 4to. *Georg. Hierocrit.* P. II. Examples: adopted Latin words: κεντυρίων, κολωνία, κουστωδία, κοδράντης, κῆνος, λεγεών, μιλιον, μακέλλιον, σουδάριον, &c.; Latin phrases: τὸ ίκανὸν λαμβάνειν, ίκανὸν ποιῆσαι, συμβούλιον λαβεῖν, δοῦναι ἐργασίαν, ἔχε με παρηγγέλμενον.

## § 7.

For the proper treatment of the Jewish element of the New Testament language, an intimate acquaintance with the old Hebrew tongue, and with the books of the Old Testament, is needful, as well as a careful comparison of the Alexandrian version with it; for the Hebrew has exerted, not only a direct influence on the New Testament language, but also an indirect, through this version. An acquaintance with the apocryphal books of the Old Testament is also useful.<sup>a</sup> As, moreover, at the time of Christ an Aramaic dialect was the language of the country parts of Palestine, its influence on the New Testament language must also be traced. For this, a comparison of the Syriac version, and of the Talmudic and Rabbinical writings, is useful. Preparations for this investigation have been made with more industry than judgment.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Geo. Joa. Henke,* De usu librorum apocryph. V. T. in N. T. Hal. 1711. *Kuinöel,* Obs. ad N. T. ex libris apocryphis. Lips. 1794. 8vo. *Beckhaus,* Bemerk. ü. d. Gebrauch d. Apocryphen d. A. T. zur Erläut. d. neutest. Schreibart. 1808.

Examples of Hebrew words: ἄμην, σατᾶν, σατανᾶς, κορβᾶν, βάτος, σίκερα, &c. Hebraisms: Greek words with Hebrew meanings: αἰών, δικαιούνη, εἰρήνη, ἀνάθεμα, κοινόν, κρίσις, σάρξ, ψυχή, ῥῆμα, thing; δόξα, brilliancy, &c., φόβος, φοβεῖσθαι of religious reverence, νύμφη, daughter-in-law, ξύλον, διώκειν, ἔξομολογεῖσθαι, to praise, ἐκβάλλειν, send out, περιπατεῖν,

*behave*; Hebrew word-formations, phrases, and connections: μακροθυμία, πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν, προσωποληπτεῖν, τὸ πρόσωπον στηρίζειν, ζητεῖν ψυχήν, ίδειν τὸν θάνατον, ἔρχεσθαι δύσιον, πορεύεσθαι ἐν, ἀμαρτάνειν ἐνώπιον, ἐκλέγεσθαι ἐν, εἶναι εἰς, υἱοῦ τῆς Βασιλείας, υἱοῦ ἀπειθείας, κρίτης τῆς ἀδικίας, σκεύος ἐκλογῆς, τὰ δίηματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης, εὐλογημένη ἐν γυναικὶ, δύια δύοις, προσέθετο πέμψαι, πᾶς — οὐ, &c.

\* Vorst, *Olearius*, Leusden (§ 3). J. Drus. Annot. in N. T. s. praeteritorum libri X. Franequ. 1612. 4to. Pars alt. 1616. 4to. Jo. Lightfoot, Horas Hebr. et talm. Opp. T. II. Christ. Schöttgen, Hor. Hebr. et talm. Dred. 1733—42. 4to. Boysen, Erläut. d. Grundtextes d. N. T. aus d. Syr. Uebers. Quedlinb. 1761. 8vo. Wetstein's notes, in his ed. of the N. T. Hartmann, Linguist. Einl. in d. Studium d. A. T. p. 382, ff. Cf. Winer, above, § 3. — Boltens, Eichhorn, and others, retranslation into Aramaic.

Examples of Aramaic words: ְמִבְθָא, μαμμωνᾶς, ְרָקָא. Aramaisms: ἀφί-έναι τὰ δύφειλήματα אֲבֹתֵה קָבֵשׁ, γενέσθαι θανάτου אֲנִי תַּסְעַט, δύολογεῖν ἐν τωι, μία συββάτων.

### § 8.

Rightly to treat of the usage of the New Testament language, one should be able to plant himself in the very spirit of primitive Christianity in general, and of each New Testament writer in particular, and thus, as it were, to observe the very process by which new expressions and new conceptions were formed from the existing materials. Here, too, the comparison of the *apocryphal writings of the New Testament*, and of the *ecclesiastical writers*, in which the New Testament language was still further developed, renders good service.\*

\* Car. Imm. Nitzech, De apocryph. Evang. in explicandis canoniceis usu et abusu. Vit. 1808. J. E. Chr. Schmidt, Observatt. z. Erkl. d. N. T. aus d. Protoev. Jacob., in his Biblioth. f. Krit. u. Exeg. I. B. 1. St. Sigism. Basch. De interpret. N. T. ex Patribus apost. 1726. Frommann, Interpret. N. T. ex Hippolyto collectae. 1765. Id. Interpret. ex Ireneao. 1766. Id. Obss. ad interpr. N. T. ex Clemente. Rom. 1768.

Examples of N. T. idioms: δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦσθαι, πίστις, ἄνωθεν γεγνᾶσθαι, συνεγείρειν, ἐκκλησία, ἐκλεκτος, καινότης πνεύματος, γλώσσας λαλεῖν.

### § 9.

The Greek Church having for some time preserved, besides its ecclesiastical language, a generally correct under-

standing of the New Testament, the explanations of the old interpreters, scholiasts, and glossarists may profitably be used.<sup>a</sup>

\* *Origen.* Commentar. in Matth. Joann. ep. Rom., in Opp. ed. *de la Ruc.* Par. 1733 – 59. 4 vol. fol. — In ss. scripturas commentaria quaecumque Graece reperiri potuerunt, ed. *Huet.* Rothom. 1668. 2 vol. fol. *Chrysostom.* Homill. in Evangel. Act. Apost. et Epp. Paul., in Opp. cur. *Savilii.* Par. 1613. 8 vol. fol.; *Francof.* 1698. 12 Vol. fol.; ed. *Bern. de Montfaucon.* Par. 1718 – 38. 13 vol. fol. — Comment. in N. T. Gr. et Lat. *Heidelb.* 1591 – 1603. 4 vol. fol. — In omnes Pauli Epp. interpretat. Gr. ex ed. *Bern. Donati.* Veron. 1529. 4 tom. fol. — Homil. variae Gr. ed. *Hoeschel.* Aug. Vind. 1694. 8vo. — Homil. VII Gr. et Lat. *Tub.* 1701. 1709. 1755. 8vo. — Homil. IV ex omnibus ejus opp. selectae Gr. et Lat. ed. *Chr. Fr. Matthaci.* Misn. 1792. 2 vol. 8vo. *Theodore.* Commentar. in XIV Epp. Paul., in Opp. ed. *Jac. Sirmond.* Par. 1642. fol.; cur. *J. L. Schulzii* et *J. A. Nösselti.* Hal. 1769 – 74. 5 tom. 8vo. *Theophylact.* Comment. in Evang. Act. Ap. Epp. Paul. et cath., in Opp. stud. *Bonif. Finetti* et *Anton. Bongiovanni.* Venet. 1754 – 63. 4 vol. fol. *Euthym. Zigaben.* Comment. in IV Evang. Gr. et Lat. ed. *Chr. Fr. Matthaei.* Lips. 1792. 3 vol. 8vo. Expositiones antiqu. ex divers. Patrum Commentt. ab *Oecumen.* et *Aretha* collectae. Veron. 1532. fol. *Oecumen.* Comment. in Act. App. Paul. Epp. et Epp. cath. Gr. et Lat. interp. *Joa. Hentenio,* emend. *Morello.* Par. 1630. 2 vol. fol. Symbolarum in Matthaeum T. I. exhibens catenam Graec. PP. XXI, ed. *Petr. Possinus.* Tolos 1646. fol.; T. II. quo continetur catena PP. Graec. XXX, collect. *Niceta,* interpr. *Balth. Corderio.* Tol. 1647. fol. Catena Graec. PP. in Ev. sec. Marcum, coll. atque interpr. *P. Possino,* Rom. 1673. fol. Catena LXV Gr. PP. in Lucam, ed. *Balth. Corderius.* Antw. 1678. fol. Catena PP. Gr. in Joann. ed. *Corder.* Antw. 1630. fol. Cf. *J. A. Noesselt,* De catenis PP. Graec. in N. T. Hal. 1762. 4to. *Suidae Lexicon* notis perpetuis illustr. a *Lud. Küstero.* Cantabr. 1705. 3 vol. fol. *Hesych.* Lexicon cum notis dd. vv. suas animadvers. adj. *Jo. Alberti.* L. B. 1746 – 66. 2 vol. fol. *Nic. Schow,* Hesych. lex. e cod. Ms. bibl. D. Marci restitutum — s. supplem. ad ed. Hesych. Albertin. Lips. 1792. *Phavorini Lexicon.* Basil. 1538. Ven. 1712. fol. Glossae ss. Hesychii Graece excerpst, emendavit et not. illustr. *J. Chr. Gottl. Ernesti.* Lips. 1781. 8vo. *Suidae* et *Phavorini* Glossae ss. Gr. cum spicileg. gloss. ss. *Hesychii* et *Etymologici Magni* congressit, emend. et not. illustr. *J. C. G. Ernesti.* Lips. 1786. 8vo. Cf. *Ernesti,* Prolus. de glossariorum Graec. vera indeole et recto usu. Lips. 1741. 4to (also prefixed to Vol. I. of Alberti's ed. of Hesych.).

## SECTION II.

THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*Their Classification and Literature.*

## § 10.

THESE must, like the versions of the Old Testament, be classified according to their immediate or mediate character, and to their age. We shall first adduce the Eastern, and then the Western.

*Rich. Simon, Hist. crit. des Versions du N. T. à Rotterd. 1690. 4to.*  
*Translated into German by Cramer, with remarks by Semler. Hall. 1777–*  
*80. 2 vol. 8vo. Le Long, Bibl. sacr. ed. Masch. P. II. Vol. I. III.*  
*Walton, Prolegg. X. sqq. Fabricii Bibl. Gr. T. IV. p. 856, sqq. Rosen-*  
*müller, Handb. f. d. Litt. d. bibl. Krit. u. Exeg. B. III. Michaelis, Einl.*  
*I. 361, ff. Hänlein, Einl. II. 139, ff. Schmidt, Einl. II. 98, ff. 167, ff.*  
*Hug, Einl. I. § 61, ff. Bertholdt, II. § 191, ff. p. 632, ff. Eichhorn, Einl.*  
*IV. V. Cap. 3.*

I. *Syriac Versions.—1. Peshito.*

## § 11 a.

The ancient version in general use in the churches of Syria, called the *Peshito* (comp. Pt. I. § 64) contains in all its manuscripts, with a single exception (the Bodleian), and in the older printed editions of the New Testament, only the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen Pauline Epistles, together with the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Epistle of James.<sup>a</sup> The omission of the remaining books, viz. 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, is a remarkable circumstance in the history of the canon.<sup>b</sup>

\* Editions: 1. *Liber S. s. Evang. de Jesu Christo, Domino et Deo nostro, etc.* Vien. Aust. 1555. 2 vol. 4to, by *Moses of Merdin, Albr. Widnanastadt, and Wilh. Postellus.* See the history and description in *Rosenmüller*, III. 91, ff. *Hug*, § 69. *Hirt*, Or. Bibl. II. 260, ff. IV. 317, ff. V. 25, ff. *Le Long*, Bibl. PP. II.—2. A copy of this edition in Hebrew characters, altered, in part arbitrarily, in part from a MS.: 'Η καὶ διαθήκη. Testam. nov. דִּתְּקִינָא חֲדֹרָה אֶת אַתְּקָנָה. Est autem interpretatio Syr. N. T. Hebr. typis scripta, plerisque etiam locis emendata. Eadem Lat. sermone reddita, autore Imm. *Tremellio*, cuius etiam grammatica Chald. et Syr. adjecta est. Ex-cud. Henr. Stephan. a. 1569. fol. A useless copy of it in *El. Hutter's Op.* duodecim linguar. 1599. Cf. *Brun's*, in *Eichh. Rep.* XV. 159.—3. A copy, also altered from a MS., in Vol. V. of the Antwerp Polygl. printed by Plantin, 1572, fol., in both Syriac and Hebrew characters, ed. by *Guido Fabr. Boderianus (Guy le Fevre de la Boderie)*. Cf. *Herb. Marsh.* I. 142. Separate impressions, also with Hebrew letters: N. Dom. nostri J. C. Test. Syriace. Antw. ex off. Plantin. 1575. 16mo. Appended, are Variae lectt. e Cod. Ms. Colon. nuper a *Franc. Rapheleng.* collectae. Reprinted at Sulzb. by *Joh. Holst.* 1684. אֶתְּקִינָא חֲדֹרָה, καὶ διαθήκη. Nov. J. C. D. N. Test. Par. op. Jo. *Benenat.* 1583. 4to. (Edited by *de la Boderie*). Also in the Paris Polyglot, Vols. IX., X. (1645), the Antwerp copy is repeated; and from it in Vol. V. of the London Polygl. (1655), with the addition of John viii. 1—11, from the Philoxenian version, of the *Antilegomena* acc. to *Pococke*, and of the *Apocalypse* acc. to *de Dieu*; from this again in the Polygl. of *Reineccius*. Leipz. 1713. fol.—4. Nov. Dom. n. J. Chr. Test. Syr., cum vers. Lat. ex diversis editt. dil. recensitum. Access. in fine notatt. var. lect. ex V impressis editt. dil. coll. a *Mart. Trostio*. Cothen. Anhalt. 1621. 4to.—5. Nov. D. N. J. Chr. Test. Syr., c. punctis vocalibus et vers. Lat. Matthaei—accurante *Aegid. Gubirio*. Hamb. 1664. 8vo, according to the foregoing editions and a manuscript, with the addition of John viii. 1—11 and 1 John v. 7, and of the missing books. (2d edition in 1694, with the date not changed, but containing many errors of the press. See the distinctive marks in *Rosenmüller*, p. 116.) Also a Syriac Lexicon, published apart, Hamb. 1667. 8vo, and Notae crit. in N. T. Syr., containing various readings. Hamb. 1667. 8vo.—6. Nov. D. N. J. Christ. Test. Syr. c. vers. Lat. cur. *Joa. Leusden et Car. Schaaf* ed. ad omnes editt. dil. recensitum et var. lectt. adornatum. L. B. 1708. 4to. The mode of pointing differs in different parts of the work. Improved edition, 1717. Also Lex. Syr. concord. elab. a C. *Schaaf*. L. B. 1709.—7. Syrio-Arabic edition of the Congregation for Propagating the Faith. Rom. 1703. fol.—8. That of the English Bible Soc. Lond. 1816. 4to, from manuscripts.

In regard to the manuscripts of the Peshito, of which the oldest are written in Estrangheho, while the Nestorian are suspected of containing occasional alterations (e. g. 1 Cor. v. 8, *fermento puritatis* instead of *azymis puritatis*), see *J. G. Christ. Adler*, N. T. verss. Syr., simplex, Philox.

## 12 THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

et Hierosol., denuo examinatae et ad fidem Codd. MSS. Biblioth. Vatic., Angel. Asseman., Medic., Regiae al. novis obss. atque tabb. aeris incisis illustratae. Hafn. 1789. 4to. pp. 1–41.

<sup>b</sup> *Cosmas Indicopleustes de Mund. I. VII.* (*Galland. Bibl. Patr. XI. 535*) : παρὰ Σύρους δὲ εἰ μὴ αἱ τρεῖς μόναι αἱ προγεγραμμέναι οὐχ εὑρίσκονται· λέγω δὲ Ἰακώβουν, Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰωάννην. *Dionys. Barsalibi* (fl. 1166–1171) says in the preface to his Commentary on 2 Peter : This Epistle was not translated into the Syriac in ancient times with the (Holy) Scriptures, and is, therefore, found only in the translation of Thomas of Harkel. *Hug* (§ 65) supposes that the Apocalypse (cf. *Eichhorn*, Einl. II. 433) and the missing Catholic Epistles were not omitted until after the fourth century, because Ephræm Syrus knows and quotes these books ; and indeed, as he was not acquainted with the Greek, must have read them in a Syrian translation. But this omission is quite inconceivable. Cf. *Bertholdt*, p. 635. *Guerike*, Beitr. z. histor.-krit. Einl. ins N. T. p. 2, ff. *Michælis's* (I. 363, ff.) doubts whether the version of the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to the Peshito are set at rest by *Hug*, § 66.

### § 11 b.

The above-mentioned Bodleian manuscript<sup>a</sup> gives the missing Catholic Epistles in a more modern and more literal version, but far inferior to the Peshito. We may assume, on the ground of a comparison which has been instituted, that this version contains the original text of the Philoxenian version before its revision by Thomas of Harkel (§ 13). That of the Apocalypse (in a Leyden and a Florentine manuscript) is shown, both by its literal character and by an extant account, to be a part of the same, after its revision by Thomas.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It contains the Acts and the three Catholic Epistles according to the Peshito, and also the four above mentioned : 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude.

<sup>b</sup> *Eichhorn*, IV. § 61, 62. The subscript of a Florentine MS. of the Apoc. says that it is a Codex anno 1582 Romae descriptus ab autographo per vetusto, ab ipso, ut perhibetur, Thoma Heracl. exarato anno 622. Editions of these additions to the Peshito : Epp. IV. Petri sec., Joh. sec. et tert. et Judæ una ex Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MS. exempl. — depromtae et charactere Hebr., vers. Lat. notisque quibusdam insignitae op. *Edu. Po-cocke*. L. B. 1630. 4to. Apocal. s. Joh. ex MS. exempl. Biblioth. Scaligeri deprompta, charactere Syr. et Hebr., cum vers. Lat. et notis op. *Lud. de Dieu*. L. B. 1627. 4to ; reprinted at the end of *Lud. de Dieu*,

Crit. sacr. Amst. 1683. fol. The translation of these books is found also in Vol. X. of the Paris Polyglot, in Vol. V. of the London, and in the Gutbirian and Leusden-Schaaf editions.

## § 11 c.

The later origin of the New Testament collection (Pt. I. § 21) does not allow of our ascribing an apostolic origin to the Peshito, or of dating its composition earlier than the end of the second century.<sup>a</sup> It is old, in part because the so-called *Antilegomena* were not received into it; in part because it was accepted by all the Syrian church parties; in part because the text on which it is based is very old. The early Christian literature of the Syrians, beginning with *Bardesanes* (after the middle of the second century), also indicates that they early felt and met the want of a Syrian translation.<sup>b</sup> That the Peshito was in church use in Edessa in the first half of the fourth century, is attested by *Ephræm*.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Traditions of the Syrians that Achæus, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus, was the author. *Assemani Bibl. orient.* II. 486. *Michael. Einl.* I. 388, places it in the first century. *Hug*, § 67, thought he observed a difference in the style of translation, and therefore of authors; against this, see *Eichhorn*, p. 406.

<sup>b</sup> *Hug*, § 68. But in the remark (*Euseb. H. E. IV. 22*) of Hegesippus: ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἐβραιοὺς εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἐβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τιθησι, — this scholar may be in error in finding a trace of the Syriac version, although τὸ Συρ. cannot be the Gospel of the Hebrews written in Syriac (*Olshausen, Echth. d. Evangg.* p. 41).

<sup>c</sup> *Storr, Obss. super N. T. verss. Syr.* Stuttg. 1772. p. 10, sqq.

## § 11 d.

The Peshito is an immediate, faithful, free, but seldom paraphrastic, translation. It even contains many Greek words. Also some errors, which can be explained only from the original text.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Greek words: ἀνάγκη, Matth. xviii. 7, and elsewhere.; στοιχεῖα, Gal. iv. 9, and elsewhere.; τιμή, ἀγρός, ξένος, Matth. xxvii. 6, f., and elsewhere. Mistakes: substitution of ἑταῖρος for ἑτερος, Luke xiv. 31, 1 Cor. iv. 6, and elsewhere.; substitution of ἐκολλήθησαν for ἀκολουθοῦσιν, Mark vi. 1; of ἵππουρ. for ἵππουρ., Eph. vi. 12; — false construction: *miratus est et credidit*

*doctrinae Christi*, Acts xiii. 12. *Free translations*: omission of synonymous, Jas. i. 17, πάσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον, *omnis donatio bona et completa*; Matth. xxiv. 24, σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, *signa magna*; — omission of repetitions, Matth. v. 17, οὐκ ἡλθον καταλῦσαι, *nequaquam ut destruam*; Matth. iv. 23, xxiv. 38, xxv. 20; — omission of adjectives, as θῶλος, Matth. xxvi. 56; of pronouns; of the copula εἰμί; of an unnecessary verb, as ἀρον, Matth. xvii. 27; of conjunctions, as γάρ, καί, ὅτι; of adverbs, as ἔτι, ἥδη, τότε; — insertion of the copula εἰμί, Eph. ii. 7, and elsewh.; of adjectives, as εἰς, Matth. viii. 2; of pronouns (often, not always, *our Lord for the Lord*), conjunctions, and adverbs; — change of substantives into adjectives, Eph. vi. 12, and the reverse, Eph. iv. 17; of one preposition into another, Matth. xxii. 37, and elsewh.; of one conjunction into another; of one case into another; of the active into the passive, and the reverse; of one tense into another; — change in the order of the words. Acts xxiii. 27, 31, στρατιῶται, *Romani*; Matth. xvii. 19, ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό, *sanare illum*; Acts ii. 42, προσκαρτεροῦντες . . . κ. τῇ κοινωνίᾳ κ. τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου κ. ταῖς προσευχαῖς, *et communicabant in precatione et in fractione eucharisticæ*, cf. Acts xx. 7; Matth. xii. 4, ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως, *panis mensæ Domini*; 1 Cor. xi. 20, οὐκ ἔστι κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν, *non, sicut justum est in die Domini nostri, comeditis et bibilis*.

### § 11 e.

The text which this version follows is one of the oldest, and is closely related to that of Cod. D, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and the Itala, though often quite independent.<sup>a</sup> Its use in criticism, if more carefully collated than heretofore,<sup>b</sup> is important. Through its happy apprehension of the sense, it often renders the commentator good service.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Matth. vi. 15, \*—τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, with D 1. It. Arm. all. (not Pers.); ver. 18, —ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, with BDGKLM 1. all. Syr. p. hier Copt. Arm. all. Pers.; vii. 29, + καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι, with C It. Syr. p. Arm. Pers. all.; viii. 8, λόγῳ, with BCFKLMS It. Syr. p. Copt. Arm. all. (not Pers.); ix. 8, ἐφοβήθησαν, with BD 1. It. Syr. p. Arm. Pers. Clem. R. Or. all.; ix. 15, ηστένειν for πενθεῖν, with D It. Sahid. Pers. all.; ix. 35, —ἐν τῷ λαῷ, with BC\*DS 1. It. Syr. p. Pers. all.; xviii. 10, —ἐν οὐρανοῖς, with 1. It. Pers. Clem. Or. all.; xxvii. 35, + ἵνα πληρωθῇ, with rec. It. Syr. Pers. Copt. Sahid. Aeth. Vlg. Chrys. all.; xxviii. 9, —ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, κ. τ. λ., with BD It. Pers. Arm. all.; Marc. i. 2, ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ, with D 1. It. Arm. Pers. all.; ver. 11, ἐν σοί, with

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\* — indicates the omission, + the addition.

BDL It. Aeth. Copt. Arm. Pers. all.; ver. 21, —*αῖρει τὸ πλήρωμα τὸ καινὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ*, with D It. Vulg. Pers.; ver. 22, —*ὁ νέος*, with BDL It. Copt. Arm. Vlg.; x. 27, *παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ δυνατόν*, with D It. Clem. all. (not Pers.); Acts ii. 30, —*τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, κ. τ. λ.*, with ACD\*\* Arm. Erp. Vlg. all.; iii. 20, *προκεχειρισμένον*, with ACDE Syr. p. Arm. Erp. all.; 2 Cor. i. 10, —*καὶ ρύνεται*, with AD\* It. Vlg. MS. all. (not Erp.); Gal. iii. 1, —*τῇ ἀληθ., κ. τ. λ.*, with ABD\*FG Erp. Copt. Sah. It. Vulg. MS.; ver. 12, —*ἀνθρώπος*, with ABCDFG Vulg. Arm. Erp. all. *Differing from D It.*; Matth. iii. 6, +*ποραμῷ*, with BCM Or. Pers. all.; Luke xiv. 5, *νιός* for *δόνος*, with ABE all. Pers. all.; Acts ii. 23, —*λαβόντες*, with AC Arm. Erp.; 2 Cor. xi. 3, *οὐτῶς*, with Vulg. Erp. all. 1. rec. against BD\*FG It. Clem. Arm. all.; Gal. iii. 1, —*ἐν ὑμῖν*, with ABC Arm. Erp. Vlg. MS. all.; iv. 15, *ποῦ* for *τίς*, with ABCFG Arm. Vulg. Erp. all. *Readings supported by few or no uncial Codices*: Acts xviii. 9, —*ἐν νυκτὶ*, with A Erp.; Joh. iv. 12, +*τοῦτο*, with 69 all. It. Arm. Pers.; ver. 41, +*εἰς αὐτὸν*, with 12 all. Arm. Pers. all.; Gal. v. 13, +*ὑμῶν*, with 37 all. Syr. p. Arm. Erp.; Acts xiii. 48, *τὸν θεόν* for *τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου*, with 68 Syr. p. Erp. Aeth. *Readings not supported by Codices*: Matth. xv. 27, +*καὶ ζῆ*, with Syr. hier. Pers.; xv. 32, *ἰδού* for *ἡδη*, with Copt.; Joh. iv. 45, +*τὰ σημεῖα*, with Arm. (Persic drops *πάντα*); Acts ii. 1, *τὰς ἡμέρας* for *τὴν ἡμέραν*, with It. Vulg. Arm. Erp.; iii. 12, *ἡ ἐξουσίᾳ* for *ἡ εὐσεβείᾳ*, with Arm. Vulg. reg. tol. Iren. Erp. *Readings peculiar to it alone*: Luke viii. 22, —*καὶ ἀνίχθησαν*, with Pers.; Rom. vii. 17, *οὐκ* for *οὐκέτι*, with Erp.; 1 Thess. iii. 12, —*ὁ κύρος*, with Erp.; Hebr. ix. 20, —*πρὸς ἴμας*, alone. *An arbitrary alteration of the text*: Rom. v. 7, *ἀδίκου* instead of *δικαίου*, with Erp. *Additions*: Matth. vi. 13, the doxology, with Aeth. Arm. Pers. all.; xx. 22, *ἡ τὸ βάπτισμα, κ. τ. λ.*, with CFGHKM all. Arm. Slav. Pers. all.; xxviii. 18, *καθὼς ἀπέσταλκε με, κ. τ. λ.*, from Joh. xx. 21, with Arm. Pers.; Mark vi. 11, *ἀμὴν λέγω, κ. τ. λ.*, with Pers.; Acts xiv. 10, +*σοι λέγω, κ. τ. λ.*, with CD 13. all. Erp. Copt. Sahid. cant., and the like elsewh. The agreement with the It. *Bengel* (App. crit.) explained by a use of the same on the part of the translator. According to *Griesb.* (Hist. text. Gr. epp. Paulin. § 12, Prolegg. in N. T. p. 35, Melet. II. de vet. text. N. T. recenss.), the Peshito has suffered various interpolations and alterations through the use of Greek MSS. *Hug*, § 67, *Eichh.* § 58, more correctly find in it an old, unrevised text.

\* The divergences from the Greek text are given by *Reusch* (Syr. interpr. cum fonte N. T. Gr. collat. 1741), but without further critical collation. Better principles for its critical use, in view of the translator's peculiar method, are laid down by *Winer*, De vers. N. T. Syr. usu critico caute instituendo. Erl. 1823. Observatt. in ep. Jac. ex. vers. Syr. maximam partem crit. Erl. 1827. *Lochlein*, Syrus ep. ad Ephes. interpr. Erl. 1835. The various readings adduced from the Peshito (also in *Rückert*, Erkl.d. Br. an d. Eph.) are often only variations in translation, e. g. Matth. ix. 18, xiii. 41, xxii. 40, xxv. 29, Eph. iv. 13.

\* Mich. Weber, De usu vers. Syr. hermeneutico. Lips. 1778. J. D. Michael. Curae in vers. Syr. Act. Apost. Gott. 1775. 4to.

### *Offspring of the Peshito.*

§ 12 a.

1. The *Arabic version* (probably prepared for the Syrians who spoke Arabic) of the *Acts*, the *Epistles of Paul, James, 1 Peter, 1 John*, called by the critics *Arabs Erpenii*.<sup>a</sup> That the Peshito is its parent has been most fully proved by *Michaëlis* in the Book of Acts, although some sections of this book seem drawn from the Coptic version, and variations from the Syriac text also occur elsewhere.<sup>b</sup> The original text of the version of the disputed Catholic Epistles, in the Arabic New Testament of Erpenius, is uncertain.<sup>c</sup>

\* N. D. N. J. Chr. Test. Arab. ex Bibl. Leid. ed. Th. Erpenio. Leid.  
1616. 4to.

<sup>b</sup> *J. D. Mich.* Cur. in vers. Syr. Act. App. Besides the examples of variation adduced in § 11 e, note a, observe also, Acts ii. 26, ἡ γλῶσσα, Pesh. ἡ δόξα, Epr. ἡ γλ.; 2 Cor. xi. 8, Peshito omits καὶ ὑστερθεῖς, Epr. has it; 1 Pet. ii. 5, Peshito omits πνευματικάς, Epr. has it. Cf. also *Hug*, I. § 101. *Eichh.* V. § 74.

\* Eichhorn, V. § 75. Sometimes it agrees with the text of the (spurious) Peshito, sometimes not; e. g. 3 John 12, Jude 4, f. 23. Separate edd. of Catholic Epistles: Joh. epp. cath. Arab. et Aeth. L. B. 1654. 4to. Jacobi ep. Arab. et Aeth. Ib. eod. a. Judae ep. Arab. et Aeth. Ib. eod. a. Other Arabic versions, see §§ 17, 21.

§ 12 b.

2. The *Persian version of the Gospels*, in Vol. V. of the London Polyglot,<sup>a</sup> shows its descent from the Peshito by misunderstandings of the Syriac text, by retaining Syriac words, and by peculiar readings of the Peshito.<sup>b</sup>

\* Latin translation by Chr. A. Bode. Helmst. 1751. 4to. in 4 pts. Against Mill's and Bengel's critical use of this version, see the same author's Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana. Hal. 1767. 2 vol.

<sup>b</sup> Eichh. V. § 90. Cf. § 11 e, note a. Besides the instances of critical variation there adduced, observe: Math. x. 20, + τῆς βουλῆς; Luke viii. 14, the Pesh. does not give πορεύομενοι, the Pers. has it; Matth. i. 22,

Pers. + 'H̄oaiou, with Syr. p. hier. It. Hieron. Cf. C. B. Michaël. De var. lectt. N. T. § 70, 72, 77. Eichh. V. 413, f.

## 2. Philoxenian Version.

### § 13 a.

Another Syriac version contains all the books of the New Testament, excepting the Apocalypse (unless the version of this book mentioned in § 11 b belong to it), and differs from the Peshito, on which it is based, by a literalness so extreme as to be ungrammatical.<sup>a</sup> Its text is moreover furnished with the Hexaplar signs, and the majority of the MSS. have critical and other remarks in the margin. It bears the name of *Philoxenus* or *Xenias*, the Monophysite Bishop of Hierapolis, in whose time, and at whose request, it was prepared by the rural bishop *Polycarp*, A. D. 508, either to promote an exacter understanding of the Scripture (*Bertholdi*), or for a Monophysite sectarian purpose (*Hug, Eichhorn*). In A. D. 616 it underwent a revision by *Thomas* of Harkel (Harclea, usually Heraclea, whence it is also called the *Harclean* version), who collated it, in Alexandria, with two (or more) Greek MSS.<sup>b</sup> It has been printed from this revision.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It has more Greek words than the Peshito, and even in the Greek cases (e. g. Mark i. 28) ; it imitates the Greek article by means of the pronouns οὐαὶ, &c., the Greek etymology (e.g. of εὐσέβεια by *timor pulcher*), the Greek construction (e.g. John iii. 4, *erat ei vestem*, Mark xiv. 58, διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, *p̄cr* [כִּיר־תְּרַס] *tres dies*, instead of *in tribus diebus*, Pesh.). Even the suffix pronoun, pleonastic in Syriac, is marked by an obelos, Mark xiii. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Subscription of the Gospels, in *Adler's Verss.* Syr. p. 45, sqq. : "Est autem hic liber quatuor Evangelistarum s., qui conversus fuit ex lingua Graeca in Syram cum accuratione multa et labore magno primum quidem in Mabug urbe a. 819 Alexandr. Mac. (Chr. 508) in diebus s. dom. Philoxeni confessoris, ejus urbi episcopi. (Polycarp is mentioned by *Moses Agelaeus*, in *Asseman. Bibl. or. II. 83.*) Collatus autem fuit postea multa cum diligentia a me Thoma paupere cum duobus (al. tribus) exemplaribus Graecis in Antonia Alexandriae urbis magnae, in monasterio Antoniano, iterumque (uncantered) scriptus et collatus est in loco dicto a. 927 ejusd. Alexandri, inductione quarta," etc. On account of this *iterum*, Michaëlis, Storr, and Hug suppose a second revision or collation, but Eichhorn gives the word

only a repetitive meaning: *namely, 'for the second time'* (*Eichh.* Rep. VII. 246, f.). *Abulfarag.* Chron. Syr. ad a. 927, in *Asseman.* II. 234, makes Thomas of Harkel a reviser. *G. H. Bernstein,* De Charkensi N. T. vers. Syr. (Vratisl. 1837) p. 10, regards the version not as a revision of the Philoxenian, but as a new one, and indeed, on the ground of a passage in *Gregor. Bar-Hebr.* [i. e. *Abulfaragius*] Praef. horrei mysteriorum (in Chrestom. Syr. Kirsch. ed. *Bernst.* p. 143. *Nicol. Wiseman,* Hor. Syr. I. 84): "redditum est tertio Alexandriae opera pii Thomae Charkl." But in the passage before referred to he expresses himself otherwise, and the above subscript is decisive. Thomas was contemporary with the author of the Hexaplar Syriac Version of the O. T., Paul of Tella (Pt. I. § 49), and perhaps imitated him.

\* *Ss. Evang.* vers. Syr. Philoxeniana, nunc primum ed. cum interpret. et annotat. *Joseph. White,* T. I. II. Oxon. 1778. 4to. *Act. Apost.* et Epp. tam cathol. quam Paul. — T. I. *Act. App.* et Epp. cath. compl. 1799. T. II. Epp. Paul. compl. 1803. Respecting its MSS.: *H. E. G. Paulus,* Accurior MSS., quibus vers. N. T. Philox. continetur, catalogus. Helmst. 1788. *Adler,* Bibl. krit. Reise, p. 105, ff. *Id. Nov. Test. verss.* Syr. p. 52, ff.

### § 13 b.

What part of the Philoxenian version, in its present form, belongs to Polycarp, and what to Thomas, has become a subject of critical speculation. The critical signs and the remarks are ascribed by Wetstein and White to Thomas; but as a Medicean MS. in Florence, examined by Adler,<sup>a</sup> lacks the subscript in which Thomas is mentioned, and yet contains these signs, these must, as Storr supposed, have been already introduced, at least in part, by Polycarp. It is, however, disputed whether they refer to the variations of the new translation from the Peshito (*Wetst., Storr, Eichh., Griesb.*), or have come from a MS. of Origen's already supplied with such signs (*Hug, Bertholdt*).<sup>b</sup> The marginal remarks Storr and Eichhorn ascribe in part to Polycarp, but Hug and Bertholdt to Thomas only,<sup>c</sup> for that Medicean MS. has nothing in the margin.

<sup>a</sup> Verss. N. T. Syriacae, p. 52, sqq. He considers it as the apographum antiquioris Philoxeniana vers. a Thoma Charkensi nondum revisae et castigatae.

<sup>b</sup> They seem really to refer to the Peshito in the passages: Matt. xvi. 28, *Pesh.* quod sunt quidam qui stant hic; *Philox.* quod sunt quidam ~~qui~~ ex

iis + qui hic stant; — Mark ix. 19, where the *huc* (which is wanting in the Peshito) is distinguished by an asterisk; — Mark xi. 10, where after David follows + pax in coelo et gloria in excelsis +, and in the margin stands: pax etc. non in omnibus exemplaribus Graecis invenitur, neque in illo Mar Xenaja, in nonnullis autem accuratis, ut putamus, invenimus. Other instances in *Storr*, Von der philox. syr. Uebers. d. Evangg. in *Eichh.* Rep. VII. 52, f. In Mark xiv. 65, however, the asterisk is not prefixed to words which are wanting in the Peshito. Moreover, according to *Adler* (Bibl. krit. R. p. 106, ff.), where passages are distinguished by asterisks, the manuscripts often have marginal notes, stating that the words were not found in Greek MSS.

\* The above marginal note to Mark xi. 10 seems really to belong to Polycarp, who probably used a MS. of Xenaias, whereas Thomas collated Alexandrian MSS.

### § 13 c.

This version is valuable in the criticism of the New Testament, and especially on account of the ancient readings contained in the marginal notes;<sup>a</sup> although the confused state of its text makes its use in criticism difficult.<sup>b</sup>

\* The Codex compared by Thomas has affinity with the Cod. Cantabr. and Clarom. The 180 readings of the marginal notes collated by *Adler* (De verss. Syr. pp. 79 – 133) agree 130 times with BCDL 1. 33. 69, and others. The Philoxenian itself follows chiefly the Peshito, but not seldom has inferior readings, e. g. Matt. xxiii. 25, + τοῦ πίνακος; xxviii. 1, σαββάτων; ver. 9, adoption of the words ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, κ. τ. λ.; Mark i. 2, ἐν τοῖς προφήταις; v. 19, πάντες οἱ δάιμονες.

<sup>b</sup> The critical signs have in part disappeared, the readings of the text come into the margin, and those of the margin come into the text, &c. *Storr* (ut supra), pp. 23, 41, f., 45. *Eichh.* p. 489, ff. The readings of this version *Weistein* has already noted, in part, however, incompletely, and in part incorrectly; after him *Gloc. Ridley*, De Syr. verss. indole et usu diss. Philoxenianam cum simplici e duobus pervet. Codd. MSS. ab Amida transmissis conferens. Oxon. 1761, (in *J. J. Wetst. Libelli ad crit. et interpr. N. T. ed. Semler*), *Storr*, Observ. super N. T. verss. Syr. 1772, and especially, with the use of White's edition, in *Eichh.* Rep. X. 1, ff. (but only on the Gospels: comp. also *Mich. Or. Bibl.* XVI. p. 146, ff.); they may be found in the editions of *Griesbach* and others.

### 3. Jerusalem-Syriac Version.

#### § 14.

A Vatican MS. of A. D. 1030, from a convent at Antioch, contains an Evangeliarium in a Chaldaeo-Syriac dialect,

similar to that of the Jerusalem Talmud, and in a peculiar character. In its readings it often differs from the Peshito and the Philoxenian, and follows Codd. B and D.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> History, description, extracts, and Matt. xxvii. 3–32 as a specimen, in Adler, N. T. verss. Syr. I. III. p. 137, sqq. Eichhorn, Allg. Bibl. II. 498, ff. Einl. IV. § 65, f. *Herb. Marsh.*, I. 181. It contains the section John vii. 53 — viii. 1–11, wanting in the Peshito and the Philoxenian; it adds οὐδὲ ὁ νίος, Matt. xxiv. 36, with BD. It omits καὶ πνύι, Mat. iii. 11, with ES, &c., καὶ προσεύχεσθε, κ. τ. λ. Matt. v. 44.

## II. *Ethiopic Versions.*

### § 15 a.

1. The ancient Ethiopic version of the N. T., which may have had the same origin as that of the O. T. (see Pt. I § 50),<sup>a</sup> was made immediately from the Greek text, which it often follows very literally, and with misunderstandings. Its critical character is very variable; yet it often agrees with the Itala and the Peshito.<sup>b</sup> It has been very incorrectly published.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For a collection of all the notices and traditions, see *Hug*, § 97.

<sup>b</sup> Schmidt, Einl. II. 142, ff. *Hug*, § 98. *Eichhorn*, § 78. *Misunderstandings*: Matt. iv. 13, ἐν ὅροις Ζαθουλῶν, *in monte Z.*; Acts ii. 37, κατενίγησαν τὴν καρδία, *aperti sunt quoad animum* (*κατηνόιχθησαν*); Acts iii. 20, προκεχειρισμένον, *quem praeunxit* (but also Cod. 46 has *προκεχρισμένον*); Luke viii. 29, πέδαις φυλασσόμενος, *a parvulis* (*παιδίοις*) *custoditus*; 1 Cor. xii. 28, καὶ οὐς μὲν ἔθετο, κ. τ. λ., *aurem* (*οὐς*) *posuit ecclesiae*. The Ethiopic often agrees with the Coptic. Hence *Bengel* thought it a translation of the Coptic. Against this, however, are many examples of variation (*Chr. B. Michaēl. De var. N. T. lectt.* § 26). *Agreement with the Itala against the Peshito*: Matt. vi. 4, *προσεύχεσθε*, οὐκ ἔστεσθε; xiv. 3, καὶ ἔθετο omitted; xvi. 3, *ὑποκριτά* omitted; — *with Pesh. contrary to It.*: Matt. xi. 19, ἔργων instead of *τέκνων*; xiii. 52, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν or τὴν βασιλείᾳ (*It. ἐν τῇ βασ.*); Mark i. 10, where the *It.* has the addition καὶ μένον; John i. 18, θεός instead of *νίος*, with both; Matt. ix. 8, ἐφοβήθησαν; ver. 13, εἰς μετάνοιαν omitted; ver. 35, ἐν τῷ λαῷ omitted; John i. 42, πρότον; Eph. v. 9, φωτός, and often; — but frequent variation from both: Matt. xii. 35, τῆς καρδίας. It is a peculiarity of this version that it often combines two different readings: Mark xv. 8, *ascendit et clamavit*; Luke vi. 48; John i. 28, vi. 69, xii. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Edited by three Ethiopic ecclesiastics, Rome, 1548–49. 2 vol. 4to.

"Acta App. maximam partem Romae translatā sunt e lingua Lat. et Gr. in Aethiopicam propter defectum photographi." S. Joh. epp. cath. III., Arab. et Aeth. cur. J. G. Nisseli et Theod. Petraci. L. B. 1654. 4to. S. Judae ep. cath. Arab. et Aeth. L. B. 1654 (by the same editors). S. Jac. ep. cath. Arab. et Aeth. cur. Petraci. L. B. 1654. 4to. The copy in the London Polygl. is almost useless. Latin translation by Chr. A. Bode, 1752–55. 2 vol. 4to. N. T. ex vers. Aeth. interpr. cum Graeco ipsius fonte contulit Chr. A. Bode. Brunsv. 1753. 4to.

## § 15 b.

2. Of the version in the later *Amharic* dialect only a fragment of Luke is known.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> J. E. Chr. Schmidt, Beitr. z. Kenntniss der Amhar. Uebers. in his Bibl. f. Kr. Ex. u. KG. I. 307, ff.

III. *Egyptian Versions.*

## § 16 a.

The New Testament, like the Greek Old Testament (Pt. I. § 51), was translated into native Egyptian (Coptic), after the Greek language had been supplanted by the Coptic and become unknown even to the majority of the clergy. The existence of Egyptian versions of the Bible in the fourth century has been proved with tolerable certainty.<sup>a</sup> Perhaps, however, their origin dates in the second half of the third century.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Even in the fourth century all the monks in the Tabennic convent and on the shore of the Red Sea spoke Egyptian only (*Renaudot*, Liturg. Orient. collect. I. 205). Bishops who knew not Greek attended the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Hence, the Scriptures must soon have been read in divine service, not only in Greek, but also in Coptic. That this was the custom is shown, partly by a passage from an old Coptic glossary in *Renaudot*, p. 207, and partly by the very old fragment of John published by *Georgi* (see following §, note a). The Egyptian monastic regulations, especially of *Pachomius*, require the reading of Scripture, psalm-prayers, &c., which could scarcely take place except in the native language. *Münster*, Ueb. d. kopt. Ueberss. des N. T., in *Eichh. Allg. Bibl.* IV. 26, ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Hug*, Einl. § 90, ff. Allg. Encykl. II. 37.

## § 16 b.

1. The version in the *Upper Egyptian* or *Sahidic* dialect, probably the older, of which only fragments and readings are known,<sup>a</sup> agrees in its readings oftener with Cod. D, but also with the other most ancient Codd. and the Peshito, and is a valuable document.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *J. A. Mingarelli*, Aegypt. Codd. reliquiae Venet. in Bibl. Nan. assertae (Math. xviii. 21 — xxi. 15, John ix. 17 — xv. 1), Fasc. I. Bon. 1785. Cf. *Michaël*. N. or. Bibl. IV. 64, ff. *Fr. Münter*, Comm. de indole vers. N. T. Sahid. Acc. fragm. Epp. Paul. ad Tim. ex membr. Sahid. Hasn. 1789. *Georgii* Fragm. Evang. S. Joh. Graeco-Copto-Theb. sacc. IV. (John vi. 21 — 59, vi. 68 — viii. 23). Rom. 1789. 4to. Cf. *Eichhorn*, A. Bibl. III. 253, ff. *Woide's* Examples of the agreement of the Sahid. vers. with the Cod. Cantabri., in *Michaël*. Or. Bibl. III. 202, ff. Varr. lectt. Epp. Joh. et Jud. e vers. Aegypt. utriusque dialecti collectae, *ibid.* X. 190, sqq. Appendix ad edit. N. T. ex eod. MS. Alex. a C. G. *Woide* descripti, in qua continetur fragm. N. T. dialecti superioris Aegypti, etc. Oxon. 1799. fol. *Zoëga*, Catal. codd. Copt. MSS. Musei Borg. p. 218, sqq.

<sup>b</sup> *Griesbach*, Prolegg. p. lxxi. ed. *Schulz*. *Schmidt*, II. 147, ff. *Hug*, § 95. *Eichh.* V. § 69. Examples: Acts i. 2, + κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγ. before οὐς ἔξελέξ., D. οὐς ἔξελ. + κ. ἐκέλευσεν κηρ. τ. εὐαγγ.; ver. 5, + ἦως τῆς πεντεκοστῆς; v. 4, ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν for τὸ πράγμα τοῦτο, D. Sahid. alone; ver. 35, τοὺς ἄρχοντας κ. τ. συνεδρίους, D. Sahid. alone, cf. *Woide*, Or. Bibl. III. 202, ff. Luke ix. 10, εἰς κώμην λεγομένην Βηθσαΐδά, D. Sah. alone; Acts ii. 41, —ἀσμένως ACD Copt. Sah. Aeth. Vulg. Clem. alone, and frequently. *Differing from D*: John x. 26, —καθὼς εἶπος ὑμῖν with BKLM\* 24\* all. Copt. Vulg. It. all.; 1 Cor. x. 28, ἵερθντον with AB Clem. all. *Agreeing with Pesh.*: Matt. ix. 8, 15, xxiii. 8, —δ Χριστός; 1 Cor. ix. 16, ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ with Vulg. Aeth. Tert. all.

## § 16 c.

2. The *Lower Egyptian* or *Memphitic* version, which has been published entire,<sup>a</sup> often agrees with the Sahidic, but follows also its own course. Its readings, on the whole, follow the oldest text (that of Codd. ABCDL, Syr. It.).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> N. T. Aegyptium, vulgo Copticum, ex MSS. Bodlej. descr., cum Vatic. et Parisiensibus cont. et in Lat. serm. conv. *Dav. Wilkins*. Oxon. 1716. 4to. More correct, N. T. Coptice ed. *M. G. Schwartz*. P. I. Vol. I. II. Quatuor Evangg. in dial. lingv. Copt. Memphit. prescripta ad Codd.

MSS. Copt. in reg. Bibl. Berol. adserat. nec non libri a Wilkinsio emissi fidem. Lips. 1846–47. 4to.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Münster*, in *Eichh.* Allg. Bibl. IV. 403, the text of this version is Alexandrian in Acts and the Epp., but in the Gospels more Western. *Eichhorn* holds that the comparison in 1 John by *Woide*, Or. Bibl. X. 199, ff., also shows the former. But as the Cod. Clarom. is here silent, it cannot be brought into the comparison. On the other hand, I have found that, when the Coptic agrees with ABC, others (such as the Syr. Vulg.) usually follow it, and that it frequently differs from the former; e. g. 1 John i. 3–5, ii. 6, 8, 21, iii. 2, 13, 14, 17, (+ *τοῖς*) 18, iv. 3 (+ *ἐν σαρκὶ ἡλίῳ*). In the Ep. to the Romans it often agrees with Codd. AC, especially in omitting xvi. 24; but sometimes also with DEFG, e. g. vii. 23, x. 5, 8, xiv. 16, xv. 10, 24, xvi. 26. In the Gospels it follows none of the characteristic readings of Cod. D, as *Hug*, § 23, ff., gives them, and in Mark i. ii. it coincides eleven times with the Alexand. Codd. (cf. also the omission, Mark xi. 26), and, on the other hand, not with D in the characteristic readings, ii. 19, 22, 23, 24, 27 (compare, however, the addition in Luke vi. 20, with Cod. 1. all. Arm. It.). According to *Hug*, § 93, the Coptic version follows in the Gospels the Codd. BCL, in Acts and the Epp. ABC, or (according to his system) the revised text of Hesychius, which is manifestly incorrect. More correctly, *Eichh.* § 95. According to our observation, it very frequently agrees with the Codd. ABCDEFG, though it not seldom varies from them, and adheres to the common text, e. g. Rom. ii. 8, 17, vi. 11, viii. 26, x. 15, xiii. 9, xv. 8, xvi. 14.

### § 16 d.

3. Remains of an Egyptian version in the *Basmuric* dialect are extant.\* It is disputed to what province this belongs. Perhaps it is only a variety of the Sahidic, from which the version seems to have come.<sup>b</sup>

\* Fragments in *Georgi*, Praef. ad fragm. Joann. Graeco-Copto-Theb. § 12. *Münster*, De vers. N. T. Sahid. § 12, 13. *Zoëga*, Catal. p. 145, sqq. *W. F. Engelbreth*, Fragm. Basmurico-Copt. V. et N. T. Hafn. 1811. 4to.

<sup>b</sup> *Hug*, § 96. *Tychsen*, in *Michaelis's* N. or. Bibl. VIII. 211, ff.

### *Coptic-Arabic Versions.*

### § 17.

Translations of the Bible from the Coptic into the Arabic became a necessity in Egypt, as, in consequence of advan-

cing Mohammedanism, the Coptic language became superseded by the Arabic. The Arabic of the Apocalypse in *Erpenius's* Arabic N. T.<sup>a</sup> is a translation of this sort. Of an Arabico-Coptic version of the Pauline Epistles, the letter to Philemon has been published.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> According to *J. H. Michael*. *De var. lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, § 29. Comp. *J. D. Michael*. *Curae in Act. App.* p. 53. It often varies, however, from the Coptic, as *J. D. Michael*, *H. Marsh.* I. 201, *Eichh.* V: 63, show.

<sup>b</sup> By *Hug*, § 103. [He gives, however, only the first eleven verses.]

#### IV. Armenian Version.

##### § 18.

The Armenian version of the N. T. has the same origin as that of the O. T. (cf. Pt. I. § 52). It was made from the original Greek text; for *Joh. Ekelensis* and *Joseph Palnensis*, who assisted *Miesrob* in the work, had (A. D. 431) brought with them a Greek Bible from Ephesus, and gone thence to Alexandria to perfect their knowledge of Greek.<sup>a</sup> According to *Gregory Bar-Hebraeus*, this version has been interpolated from the Peshito (I. § 52, note c), and indeed its text has great affinity with the Syriac, though this may have its ground in the MS. or MSS. which they used. As little does its relationship to the Itala justify the assumption of interpolation from the Vulgate, from which 1 John v. 7 has, without doubt, been smuggled in.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Moses Chorenens*. *Hist. Arm.* III. 61. Cf. *Rich. Simon*, *Hist. crit. des Vers. d. N. T. Chap. 17.*

<sup>b</sup> Examples of agreement with the Peshito, see § 11 e, note a. With D, It.; Matt. xv. 32, ἡμέραι τρεῖς, καὶ, κ. τ. λ.; xviii. 33, οὐκ ἔδει οὖν, κ. τ. λ. with Vulg. Sahid.; xix. 10, τοῦ ἀνδρός with Ambr.; Mark ii. 9, ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἴκον σου; ver. 26, ἔφαγεν, κ. ἔδωκε . . . οὖστε, οὐδὲ οὐκ ἔξεστι, κ. τ. λ.; iv. 39, τῷ ἀνέμῳ κ. τῇ θαλάσσῃ κ. εἶπε; v. 33, δι' ὁ πεποίηκε λάθρᾳ. Frequently this agreement is supported by other testimony, as B, Orig., e. g. John iv. 30, 46, Gal. iv. 21, 25. *Hug*, § 87, ascribes a mixed character to the Armenian text. *Eichh.*, § 81, calls it an approximation to the unrevised text. *Bredenkamp*, in *Mich. Or. B.* VII. 139, ff., *Alter* in *Paul. Mem.* VIII. 186, ff., have given collations.

Edition in the whole Armenian Bible (I. § 52); latest critical ed., Venice,

1805. 4to; the N. T. separately, Amsterd. 1668. 8vo, 1698. 12mo; from which is printed: *Quatuor prima capp. Evang. Matth. una cum Orat. Domin. cap. vi. 9–13, ex vers. Armen. interpr. Amst. 1698. edita, ex Armen. ling. in Lat. transtulit, etc. C. A. Bode. Hal. 1756. 4to.* (The Armen. with Latin letters.) N. T. Armen. ed. a *Joh. Zohrab, Doctore Arm. Venet. 1789. 8vo. 1816.*

### V. Georgian Version.

#### § 19.

The Georgian version of the N. T. is immediate (I. § 53), but, like that of the O. T., interpolated from the Slavic.

Various readings have been collected from it by *Alter, Ueber georgianische Literatur. Wien. 1798. 8vo. p. 26, ff.*

### VI. Persic Version of the Gospels.

#### § 20.

The edition of a Persic version of the Gospels,<sup>a</sup> begun by *Wheelock* and finished by *Pierson*, gives a mixed text, the MS. of the above-mentioned Syro-Persic (§ 12 b) having been more or less used.<sup>b</sup> As an authority in criticism it is worth little. It appears in the critical apparatus as Pers. W.

<sup>a</sup> *Quatuor Evangg. D. N. J. Chr. vers. Persica, Syriacam, et Arab. scaviissime redolens, ad verba et mentem Graeci textus fideliter et venuste concinnata Codd. tribus MSS. . . . collatis per Abr. Whelocum, etc. sub auspiciis et imp. . . . D. Thom. Adams. Lond. 1657. fol. So Roscam., III. 156, gives the title. According to others, the work has two titles with different dates [viz. 1652 and 1657].*

<sup>b</sup> *Piers. Praef. : “ Cum Evangg. Persicis edendis Whelocus . . . operam navasset, tres sibi MSS. impetraverat, Oxon., Cantabr., et alterum Pocockianum, quorum uno descripto, ceteris collatis, fusorem in omnes commentarium destinaverat.”* There is, however, but one Pocock manuscript of the Pers. version. Cf. *Marsh. Anmerk. u. Zus. I. 210. Eichh. V. § 91.*

### VII. Immediate Arabic Versions.

#### § 21 a.

1. An Arabic version of the *Gospels* is extant in several editions from two MSS. (a Roman and a Leyden) with

variations.<sup>a</sup> It was prepared immediately from the Greek,<sup>b</sup> but has suffered interpolation from the Syriac and the Coptic.<sup>c</sup> On account of its use by the Syrians and the Copts, we must assign to it a tolerably ancient origin.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> 1. Evang. s. Dom. n. J. Chr. conscriptum a quatuor Evangelistis as. i. e. Matth., Marc., Luc., et Joh. Rom. in typogr. Medic. 1591. fol.; 2d ed. Arab. Lat., with new title, 1619 and 1774. 2. In the Arab. New Testament of *Erpen*. Leyd. 1616. 3. In the Paris Polygl., from the 2d Roman ed., with some alterations by *Sionita* (cf. *Hug*, § 106). 4. In the London Polygl., from the Parisian. Lately, 5. In the Syro-Arabic N. T. Rome, Press of the Propaganda, 1703 (§ 11 a, note a). The variations are, in part, of small consequence, and consist of orthographical differences, substitution of synonymous words, change in the position of words, and the like, but in part also in readings; e. g. Matt. ix. 30, Erp. *et dixit iis*, Rom. et Polygl. *dicens*; x. 18, Erp. *vobis*, Rom. et Polygl. *illis*; vi. 16, Rom. *thesaurus tuus, ibi cor tuum*; Erp. Polygl. *thesauri vestri, ibi erunt corda vestra*;—and also in readings which lean towards the Syriac and Coptic text; e. g. Matt. ix. 10, Erp. Copt. + Σιμωνος; i. 22, Syr. Polygl. —λέγοντος. Against the assertion of a difference of text in the four editions, which *Walton* and *Bode* made in different ways, *Storr* (De Evangg. Arab. Tub. 1775. 4to) has shown that the editions are essentially alike. In No. 5, *Hug*, I. 438, found likewise the text of the Erpenian.

<sup>b</sup> Etymological translations, e. g. Luke iii. 1, καὶ τετραρχῶντος, κ. τ. λ. dum Herodes esset princeps super quartam partem Galilaeae; xv. 25, τῶν πολιτῶν, ex magnatibus (from πολύς); Luke xxii. 6, ἐξωμολόγησε, gratias egit, is peculiar; Matt. xxv. 21, εὐ δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστὲ, ἐπὶ δόλιᾳ ἦν πιστός, bene est, serve bone, fidelus inventus es in paucō, is mistaken. Cf. *Mill*. Prolegg. § 1269, sq. *Hug*, I. 443, f.

<sup>c</sup> Occasioned by the use among the Copts and Syrians of bilingual codices, and of such manuscripts as the Vienna Cod. of the Arabic Gospels, No. 43, which has marginal and interlinear notes containing various readings from the Peshito, the Coptic, and the Greek text. Cf. *Storr*, l. c. § 20, sq.

<sup>d</sup> *Hug*, § 104, ff. Cf. *Eichh.* V. § 73.

### § 21 b.

2. The likewise immediate translation of the *Acts*, the *Pauline* and *Catholic Epistles*, and the *Apocalypse*, in the Paris and London Polyglots, is by another author, who was probably a native of *Cyrene*. It follows the Constantinopolitan text.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Proofs of its immediate character: *Acts* xii. 13, Ῥάδη, rosa; xix. 9, Τυράννου τινός, cuiusdam ex magnatibus; xxviii. 11, ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχει-

μακότι ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ, Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, παρασήμῳ Διοσκούρῳ, in navi Alexandrina quae hiemaverat illa in insula, (pertinente) ad hominem quendam Alexandrinum Dioscoridem nuncupatum; 2 Cor. vi. 14, μὴ γίνεσθε ἔτεροι γυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις, ne sint librae vestrae (γυγός, scales) propendentes ad infideles; Jud. 12, οὐτοὶ εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες, hi sunt qui amicas suas impudicas accumbere faciunt secum in conviviis. The difference between it and the transl. of the Gospels appears from the different rendering of frequently occurring words, e. g. διάβολος, Gospels أَبْلِسْ, *diabolus*, Epp. *الْمُكَارِ* *fraudulentus*. The translator indicates his country in Acts ii. 9, τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τ. κατὰ Κυρήνην, partibus Africæ, quae est patria nostra. Critical examples: Acts ii. 7, λέγ. πρὸς ἀλλήλους, against AC\* Copt. Aeth.; ver. 23, ἐκδ. λαβ., against AC Syr. Arm. Copt. Aeth. Vulg.; ver. 30, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, κ. τ. λ., against ACD\*\* Syr. Copt. Aeth. Vulg.; 1 Cor. vii. 3, τὴν ὄφειλ. εἴνοιαν, against ABCDEFG Copt. Aeth. Arm. It. etc.; ver. 5, τῇ ηποτείᾳ κ. προσευχῇ, against ABCDEFG. More in *Hug*, §§ 109 – 111.

### VIII. Gothic Version.

#### § 22 a.

Of a Gothic version only the *Gospels* were found at first, in the Codex Argenteus, at Upsala,<sup>a</sup> from which they have been printed.<sup>b</sup> Fragments of the Epistle to the Romans were afterwards found in a Codex rescriptus in the Wolfenbüttel library.<sup>c</sup> Important fragments of the Pauline Epistles (but not of the Epistle to the Hebrews), and two fragments of Matthew, have recently been discovered at Milan.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The history of this renowned manuscript see in *Zahn*, Histor. krit. Einl. in Ulfilas Bibelübers. p. 39, ff. *Von Ihre*, Diss. I de cod. argent. § 14, 15. Italy is probably the land of its birth. *Zahn*, Einl. p. 50. *Hug*, § 136.

<sup>b</sup> Quatuor D. N. Jes. Chr. Evang. verss. perantiquae duae, Goth. sc. et Anglo-Sax., quarum illam ex cod. argent. nunc primum deprompsit *Franc. Junius*, hanc ex codd. MSS. coll. emendatius recudi curavit *Thom. Mareschallus*, cuius etiam observatt. in utramque vers. subnectuntur. Accessit et glossar. Goth., cui praemittitur alphabet. Goth., Runicum, etc. op. ejusd. *Fr. Junii*. Dord. 1665. 4to; ed. 2, Amst. 1684. — D. N. Jea. Christi SS. Evang. ab Ulfila, Gothorum in Moesia episcopo, circa ann. a. n. Chr. CCCLX. ex Graeco Gothicæ translata, nunc cum parallelis versas. Sueo-Goth., Norr. s. Island. et Vulg. Lat. edita. Acc. Franc. Junii glossar. Goth., lingua Sueo-Goth. moderna et antiqua locupl. et illustrat.,

cura et st. *Geo. Stiernhielmi*. Stockh. 1671. 4to.—SS. *Evangg.* vers. Goth., ex cod. argent. emend. atque suppl., cum interpret. Lat. et annotatt. *Er. Benzeli* edidit, obes. suas adj. et grammatic. Gothic. praemisit *Edu. Lye*. Ox. 1750. 4to.

<sup>a</sup> *Uphilae* vers. Goth. nonnullorum capp. ep. ad Rom. e littera MSS. reascripti Biblioth. Guelpherb. eum var. monumentis ined. eruit. commen-tatns est deditaque foras *Franc. Ant. Knittel*. Brunsv. 1762. 4to.—Fragmenta vers. *Uphilanae*, contin. particulas aliquot ep. Pauli ad Rom. .... a *Fr. A. Knittel* edita, nunc cum aliquot annotatt. typis redditia a *J. Ihre*. Upaal. 1763. 4to; also in *Joh. ab Ihre*, Scripta vers. *Uphil.* et linguam Moeso-Goth. illustrantia .... ed. ab *Ant. Fr. Büsing*. Berol. 1773. 4to. Everything is united in the work : *Ulfila's Gothic Bibleübers.* nach *Ihrens Text*; mit e. gramm. wörtl. Lat. Übers. zwischen den Zeilen, sammt. e. Sprachl. u. e. Glossar. ausgearb. von *Fr. K. Fulda*, umgearb. von *W. F. H. Reinwald*, und den text nach *Ihren's* genauer Abecchr. d. silb. Hdscr. in Upaala sorgf. berichtigt .... herausg. von *J. Chr. Zahn*. Weissensf. 1808. 4to.

<sup>b</sup> *Uphilae* partium ined. in Ambros. palimpsestis ab *Ang. Mayo* repertarum spec. conjunctis curis ejusd. *Maii et Cor. Oct. Castillionaei* editum. Mediol. 1819. 4to. *Uphilae* vers. Goth. 2 Paul. ad Corinth. ep. quam ex Ambros. bibl. palimpsestis deppromtam c. interpretat., adnotatt., glossario ed. *Castillionaeus*. Med. 1829. 4to. Goth. vers. epp. D. Paul. ad Rom., ad Corinth. primae, ad Ephes. quae supersunt, etc. ed. *idem*. ibid. 1834. Goth. vers. epp. D. Paul. ad Gal., ad Phil., ad Col., ad Thess. primae quae supersunt, etc. ed. *id. ib.* 1835. Everything united in *Ulfila's*. *Vet. et N. T. vers. Goth.* fragmm. quae supersunt, ad fidem codd. castig. Latinit. donat. adnot. crit. instr. e. glossar. et gramm. ling. Goth. ed. *H. C. de Gabelentz* et *J. Loeb*. Vol. I. Altenb. 1836. 4to.

### § 22 b.

Several scholars have erroneously regarded this translation as Frankish.<sup>a</sup> But the nature of the language, in which Greek and Latin words occur, and a comparison of it with other remains of the Gothic language, place the matter beyond doubt.<sup>b</sup> The author is the Gothic Bishop *Ulfila* (fl. A. D. 359), to whom history ascribes the invention of a Gothic written character and a translation of the Bible.<sup>c</sup> It is made from the original Greek text,<sup>d</sup> and its critical character stands about midway between the oldest unrevised text and the common text.<sup>e</sup> It has experienced alterations in accord with the old Latin versions.<sup>f</sup>

\* Thes. epistol. *Lacroz*. I. 49. II. 281. *Wetst.* Prolegg. in N. T. See *Michael*. Einl. 498.

♦ *Ihre*, Ulfil. illustr. p. 259, sqq. *Zahn*, p. 25, ff. *Hug*, § 134, f. *Michaëlis*, p. 500, ff.

\* *Socrat*. H. E. IV. 27. al. 33. *Sozomen*, H. E. VI. 37. *Jornand*. De rebus Goth. c. 51.—Ueb. d. Leben u. d. Lehre des Ulfila. Bruchstücke eines ungedruckten Werkes aus d. Ende d. 4. Jahrh., herausgeb. von *G. Waitz*, 1840. *Hickes* (Institut. gramm. Anglo-Sax. et Moeso-Goth.) doubted its origin by Ulfilas: 1. because the translation agrees with Latin MSS. (see note f) ; 2. because no traces of Ulfilas's Arianism appear in it: one such, however, does appear in Phil. ii. 6, *λοι θεῷ, galeiko gutha*, similiter Deo. *Gabl.-Loëb*. Proll. p. xv. However, the extant translation of the Epistles seems to be later, p. xxi.

\* *Simeon Metaphrast.* in Act. Sanct. Sept. V. 41. ed. Antv.: Οὐρφέλος τὴν ἱερὰν ἡμῶν γραφὴν . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν γοτθικὴν γλώσσαν μεταβαλλών. Proofs of its immediate character: the approximation of the Gothic language to the Greek in the use of attraction, of participial construction, and the like; the closeness with which it follows it in the order of words; imitation of the Greek etymology, e. g. ὀλοκαυτόματα, *allbrunstim*, στηνωπηγία, *hlethrastakeins* (tent-pitching), ἔγκαινια, *inniujiha* (innovatio); many errors, e. g. substitution of ρίπτει for ρίσσει, *Mark ix. 8*; 1 Thes. v. 14, of ἀνέχ. for ἀντέχ.

\* Acc. to *Hug*, § 140, *Eichh.* § 87, its text is the Lucian or Constantinopolitan (?). It often agrees with the oldest codd. and the other versions, e. g. Matt. vi. 18, viii. 8, ix. 13, 35 (cf. § 11 e, note a); xi. 2, διά, with BCDPZ Syr. utr. Arm.; *Mark i. 2, 11, ii. 1, 17, 18, 20, John vi. 22, 39; Rom. vii. 6, ἀποθανόντες; x. 1, xiii. 9; Gal. ii. 14, πῶς; iv. 17, ὑμᾶς; iv. 26, — πάντων; 1 Thess. iii. 2, v. 3, — γάρ.* It wants the pericope John viii. 1, ff. Observe too, Luke vi. 20, + τῷ πνεύματι, with Arr. Syr. hieros. Arm. It often follows the common text in opposition to the oldest authorities, e. g. Matt. xxvii. 4, *Mark i. 5, κ. ἐβαπτ. πάντες; 16* (error in *Grob. Sch.*), 34, ii. 9, *καὶ; John vi. 40, 58, 60, Rom. vii. 18, 25, viii. 38,* (even against Eus. Damasc.) xi. 22, xii. 11, 1 Cor. vii. 5, *Gal. iii. 1.* (against Chrys. Theodoret. Theoph. Oec.) iv. 6, 15, 1 Thess. ii. 15, iv. 13, and has its additions, but with other versions, Matt. vi. 14, *Mark vi. 11.* Sometimes it has the common reading only in part: *Mark xi. 10, ἐν ὄνδρῳ without κυρίον; Rom. viii. 1, μὴ κ. σάρκ. περιπ. without δλλά κ. πνεῦμα;* or unites two readings, as Matt. vii. 8. A middle position is taken by the readings Matt. v. 47, φίλους, with EKLMS, many cursive MSS. Arm. Syr. p. Slav. Theoph.; *Mark i. 5, ἐξοπορεύοντο* with EFHLS It. Theoph.

\* Latinizing readings: Matt. x. 29, + τῆς θουλῆς, with Copt. Ar. Pers. It. Tert. all.; *Mark xiv. 65*, cum voluntate s. libenter, with Brix. Corb.; *Luke i. 3, + et spiritui s., with Ver. Germ.; ix. 43, + et dixit ei Petr. etc., with Corb. Colb. Brix.; ver. 50, + nemo est, etc., with Ver. Verc. Colb. Red.; *Mark vii. 3, crebro; Luke ix. 20, tu es Christus fil. Dei;**

2 Cor. v. 10, *īdia* instead of *īdā*. *Wetstein* (Proll. p. 306, ed. Seml.) erroneously assumes that the translator used Latin codices; *Griesbach* also (*Zahn*, p. 34) that the codices used by him were related to those on which the Latin version was based. *Zahn*, *Hug*, *Eichh.*, *Gabl.-Loeb.*, rightly assume that the translation was altered in Italy after Latin versions. Collation with such produced the marginal note *lustuns* (voluptates) on Eph. ii. 3, to the word *viljans* (voluntates). The words *annastodeith* (incipit) and *ustauh* (explicit), which stand at the beginning and the end, betray Latin influence. The Euthalian subscripts are also later additions. *Gabl.-Loeb.* Proll. p. xxiii.

### IX. Slavic Version.

#### § 23.

The Slavic Bible translators, *Cyrillus* and *Methodius* (I. § 54), in translating the N. T. used Greek MSS., probably of Constantinopolitan origin. Hence many critics consider the text also Constantinopolitan.<sup>a</sup> Whether this version was subsequently altered after the Latin is a disputed question.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> So *Hug*, § 143, after *Alter's* collation, in his edition of N. T. I. 1122, ff. According to *Dobrowsky* (*Michael. N. or. Bibl.* VII. 158, ff.), on the other hand, it follows chiefly Codd. D and L. *Eichhorn*, V. § 87, calls it Lucian or Constantinopolitan, but much mixed with Hesychian. Its relation to the oldest and to the common text as compared with the Gothic is characteristic (§ 22 b, note e). With the last it follows the first in Matt. viii. 8, Mark i. 11, John vi. 22, 39, 69, Gal. ii. 14, iv. 17, without and contrary to it in Mark i. 34, ii. 9, John v. 40, 58; without and contrary to the last it follows the second in Matt. vi. 18, ix. 13, 35, xi. 2, Mark i. 2, 5, ii. 1, 17, 18, 20, Rom. x. 1 (in opposition to *Chrysos.*), xiii. 9 (against *Thdrt. Thphlet.*); with it in the remainder of the passages quoted in § 22 b, note e. The bias of this translation towards the later text thus preponderates, as indeed its later origin (ninth century) would lead us to expect.

<sup>b</sup> *Hug* (2d ed. I. 492, 3d ed. I. 523) modifies his earlier charge (1st ed. I. 436), yet rather out of respect for *Dobrowsky*—who, in his *Slavanca* (Pt. 2. Prag. 1815), defended the Slavic version—than from conviction. *Eichhorn*, § 89, explains the Latinizing of the Slavic text from the character of the Asiatico-Byzantine text, on which it is based, which is interspersed with Alexandrine-Oriental readings.

For editions of the whole Slavic Bible, see I. § 54. The N. T., *Moak.* 1663. fol.; *Acts and Epp.* ib. 1653. fol.; the Gospels, 1512, in Wallachia, and 1575, at Wilna.

X. *Latin Versions.*1. *The Ancient Version before Jerome (the Itala).*

## § 24.

The remarks made in Part I. § 48, respecting the Old Testament, apply to the origin and character of the old Latin version of the New Testament, excepting that the latter is extant in a more complete and multiform shape,<sup>a</sup> and comes directly from the Greek original.<sup>b</sup> Its rendering is not only word for word, but often literal even to solecism.<sup>c</sup> In its characteristic readings it follows the oldest documents, especially Codd. Cantab. and Clarom. (D), and is remarkable for various excrescences and corruptions.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Matt. v. 16: *Luceat lumen vestrum coram hominibus, ut videant bona facta vestra, et clarificent patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est.* *Iren.* adv. haer. IV. 37. — *Luceat lumen vestrum coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et magnificant patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est.* *Hilar.* Pict. Tract. in Ps. lxv. — Matt. vi. 31: *Nolite cogitare dicentes: quid edemus, aut quid bibemus, aut quid vestiemur?* *haec enim nationes querunt.* *Cyprian.* De Orat. Dom. — *Nolite solliciti esse dicentes: quid manducabimus, et quid bibemus, aut quo operiemur:* *haec enim omnia gentes inquirunt.* *Augustin.* De op. Manich. c. 1. — Matt. xi. 12: *A diebus enim Joannis baptistae regnum coelorum cogitur et cogentes diripiunt illud.* *Ambros.* (l. V.) in Luc. c. 7, et de Cain et Abel, c. 4. — *A diebus autem Joannis regnum coelorum vim patitur et vim facientes diripiunt illud.* *Hilar.* Pict. in Ps. ii. n. 46. [*Optat.* De schism. Don. V. 5.] — *A diebus Joannis regnum coelorum violentum est, et qui vim faciunt diripiunt illud.* [Iren. Adv. haer. IV. 37.] — Col. ii. 8: *Videte, ne quis depraedetur per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam.* *Cyprian.* Ep. LII. — *Cavete, ne quis vos depraedetur per philosophiam et inanem seductionem secundum traditionem hominum et secundum elementa hujus mundi.* *Ambros.* De fide, I. 3. Comment. in Ps. cxviii. serm. 22. c. 1. — *Videte, ne quis vos spoliat per philosophiam et inanem deceptionem sec. trad. hom.* *Hilar.* de Trin. I. 13, XII. 20. — Matt. x. 31: *Multorum passerum superponite vos,* *Cant.* — *Multis vos meliores estis passeribus,* *Colb.* *Sangerm.* 1. *Clar.* — Matt. xv. 11: *Communicat (καυοῖ) hominem,* *Cant.* — *Coinquinat hominem,* *Colb.* — Tit. i. 4: *Christo Jesu salutari nostro,* *Sangerm.* *Clar.* . . . . *salvatore nostro,* *Ambrstr.* — Rom. i. 16: *Non me pudet Evangelii,* *Tertull.* — *Non enim erubesco Evangelium,* *Augustin.* *Laud.* For other examples, see *Hug*, § 113. *Eichhorn*, IV. § 48. The latter also maintains that there is but one old Latin version of the N. T.,

though altered by various readings (so also *Wiseman*, Two letters on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7, etc. Rom. 1835. *Lachm.* ed. N. T. maj. p. xi.), and supports this assertion by examples of similar mistakes which run through the different quotations. Acts i. 6, *si* in hoc tempore restituis, etc. Cod. Laud. Cant.; *si* hoc in tempore representabis, etc. Aug. Mark x. 40, *ἄλλοι* for *ἄλλ'* *οἰς*, Cant. Veron. Verc. Corb. (but also Cod. 225. Aeth.). John i. 13, *δε* . . . . *έγεννήθη*, *Iren.* Tert. Aug. all. He recommends the conjecture *Usitata* instead of *Itala*, and asserts the African origin of this translation, chiefly on the ground of its agreement with the Sahidic, from which he concludes that the text came thither from Alexandria.

<sup>b</sup> *Mistakes*: Matt. vi. 24, unum patietur, *ἀνέξεται* instead of *ἀντέξεται*; Eph. iv. 9, desperantes, *ἀπηλπικότες* instead of *ἀπηλγηκότες*; Hebr. vi. 1, fundamentum diruentes, *θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενοι*. More examples in *Weistein* (Prolegg. p. 226. ed. Seml.), among which, however, there are some which rest on false readings.

<sup>c</sup> *ὅτι*, *that*, it translates, even when used merely as a mark of quotation, by quia, quoniam. Matt. ix. 16, Mark ii. 21, *πλήρωμα*, plenitudo, multitudine, fortitudo; John ix. 7, *κολυμβήθρα*, natatoria; ix. 24, clamaverunt eum; Luke iv. 39, *ἀφίεναι* (*to leave*), dimittere; Rom. i. 24, *ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, desideria; ver. 28, *ἔδοκιμασαν*, probaverunt; Gal. iii. 15, *ἐπιδατάσσεται*, superordinat; John v. 18, quaerebant illum occidere, cf. vii. 20, and often; viii. 37, verbum meum non capit in vobis; x. 31, bajulaverunt lapides; xii. 13, exierunt in obviam; iv. 33, adulit illi manducare; vi. 19, juxta navem fieri; viii. 7, cum immanerent interrogare; iv. 23, adoraverunt patri; ix. 31, peccatorum audit; Matt. ix. 21, *si* tetigero . . . . vestimenti ejus; Luke ix. 19, nihil vos nocebit; Mark viii. 38, me confusus fuerit; Rom. i. 16, non erubesco evangelium; John i. 50, v. 20, majora horum; ix. 3, ut manifestetur opera Dei; xvii. 26, caritas quam dilexisti me. Hebraism: John ii. 7, implete hydriam aquam.

<sup>d</sup> Comp. the examples in § 11 e, note a. It also agrees with the citations of Clem. Alex. and of the oldest Latin fathers. It is free from many of the additions found in the Syriac and the common text, but often has others instead; longer ones, as Matt. xx. 28, Vos autem quaeritis de minimo (pusillo, *Ver.* *Verc.* *Corb.* *Germ.* *Colb.*) crescere, et de magno minui (et de majore minores fieri s. esse, *Verc.* *Corb.* *Clar.* all.) etc. *Cant.* *Ver.* all. with D; xxiv. 31, D *Cant.* *Ver.* all.; xxvii. 35 (§ 11 e, note a); Luke v. 14, D *Cant.*; vi. 11; John viii. 1, ff. of the adulteress. Shorter, as Matt. ix. 35, *καὶ πολλοί, κ. τ. λ.* L 13. all. (against D cant.); xxiv. 36, *οὐδὲ ὁ νιός*, with BD Aeth. Arm. Vulg. MS.; Mark v. 33, with Arm.; x. 12, similiter et qui dimissam dicit, moechatur, *Ver.* *Verc.* *Corb.* *Germ.* 2. without D; Mark xiv. 65, cum voluntate s. libenter, Brix. *Corb.* without D; xv. 27, nomine Zoathan, etc., *Colb.* without D; Luke iii. 10, ut vivamus, D *Cant.* *Ver.* all.; iv. 38, *καὶ Ἀνδρέου*; v. 33, *+ καὶ οἱ μαθῆται τῶν Φαρ.* D *Cant.* *Colb.*; ver. 37, *+ τοὺς παλαιούς*, D *Copt.* *Arm.* *Cant.* *Iren.*; vi. 20, 21, qui nunc

esuriant et sitiunt, Ver. Corb. all. without D; John iii. 6, + quia Deus spiritus est, Corb. + et de s. ex Deo natus est, Verc. Harl.

Editions, besides *Sabatier*, *Bibliorum SS. Latinae versas. antiquae Vol. III.*: *Jos. Blanchini*, *Evangeliarium quadrupl. Lat. vers. antiqueae. Rom. 1749. fol. 2 Partt. Joh. Martianay*, *Vulgata antiqua Lat. et Itala vers. Evang. sec. Matth. et ep. S. Jac. etc. Paris. 1695. 12mo.* In the editions of the Graeco-Lat. Codd. § 51, in *Semler's Paraphrases*, in *Matthaei's edition of the N. T.* The Cod. Verc. SS. Evangg. cod. Euseb. M. .... manu exaratus, ex autographo Basilicae Vercellensis .... op. et stud. *J. A. Irizi*. Med. 1749. 4to. *Jos. Dobrowsky*, *Fragm. Prag. Evang. S. Marci vulgo autographi. Prag. 1778. 4to.* *Alter, Descript. Cod. caea. purp. aur. argent. Vind.*, quo contin. *Fragmenta Lat. Lucae et Marci juxta vers. Lat. antiqu. Antehieronym.*, in *Paulus, N. Rep. III. 115, ff.*, and *Memorab. VII. 58, ff.* *Dav. Schulz*, *Diss. de Cod. IV. Evang. Bibl. Rhedigerianaæ, in quo vetus Lat. vers. continetur. Vratisl. 1814. 4to.* Fragments antiquiss. vers. It. Marci et Matth. in *Fleck, Wissenschaft. Reise B. II. Abth. 3. 1837.*

### *Its Daughter, the Anglo-Saxon.*

#### § 25.

The Anglo-Saxon version of the N. T., of which the Gospels are known, comes from the ancient Latin,<sup>a</sup> and is, therefore, probably older than that of the O. T. It had probably several authors; at least the Gospels were translated by several.

<sup>a</sup> *Thom. Marshall, Observatt. ad vers. Angl.-Sax. p. 495, sqq.*

*Editions:* *Evang. IV. Saxon. et Anglice, ex edit. Matth. Parker. London, 1571. 4to.* Edit. of *Will. d'Isle*. Ib. 1638. 4to, with fragments of the O. T. and the N. T.; with the Gothic version by *Thom. Marshall*. See § 22.

### *2. The Improved Version by Jerome.*

#### § 26.

Jerome, in improving the old Latin version (Pt. I. § 48), began with the N. T., and first with the Gospels.<sup>a</sup> Proceeding very cautiously, he consulted only old Greek MSS. on whose text the old Latin version was based,<sup>b</sup> and altered only where the meaning had been essentially changed;<sup>c</sup> on

which account in his Commentaries he often varies from the translation.<sup>d</sup> He asserts that he translated the whole N. T.<sup>e</sup>

This improved version of the N. T. shared the fate of Jerome's translation of the O. T. (Part I. §§ 70–72), suffered the same corruption, was subjected to the same critical attempts at improvement, and passed through the same editions.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. Praef. in IV. Evangg. ad Damas. : Novum opus facere me cogis ex veteri, ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa quasi quidam arbiter sedeam, et quia inter se variant, quae sint illa, quae cum Graeca consentiant veritate, decernam. Pius labor, sed periculosa prae sumtio. . . . corrigere ? Adversus quam invidiam duplex caussa me consolatur, quod et tu, qui summus sacerdos es, fieri jubes, et verum non esse quod variat, etiam maledicorum testimonio comprobatur. Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant, quibus: tot enim sunt exemplaria paene, quot codices. Sin autem veritas est quaerenda de pluribus: cur non ad Graecam originem revertentes, ea quae vel a vitiosis interpretibus male edita, vel a praesumtoribus imperitis emendata perversius, vel a librariis dormantibus addita sunt, aut mutata, corrigimus? . . . De Novo nunc loquor Testamento. . . . Hoc certe quum in nostro sermone discordat, et diversos rivulorum tramites ducit: uno de fonte quaerendum est.

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. l. c. : Praetermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in toto Veteri Instrumento post LXX interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse: quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt. Igitur haec praesens prae fati uncula pollicetur quatuor Evangelia — codicum Graecorum *emendata* collatione, sed *veterum*. But perhaps he sometimes consulted others also, as he does in his Commentary. Comment. on Matt. xxiv. 36: In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est *neque filius*: quum in Graecis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus hoc non habeatur adscriptum. Comm. ad Gal. iii. 1: Quod in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, etc.

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. Praef. in Evangg.: Quae ne multum a lectionis Latinae con stitudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum, quae sensum videbantur mutare, correctis reliqua manere pateremur, ut fuerant. He thus dropped the most of those excrescences (§ 24, note c), and placed, e. g. Rom. xii. 11, *Domino* instead of *tempori*; 1 Tim. i. 15, *fidelis* instead of *humanus*; restored, v. 19, the words *nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus*. But he did too little in this direction, and let much remain, e. g. Gal. v. 7, + μηδεν πειθεσθε. The text of the Vulgate agrees with that of the It., other old versions, and the oldest codd. in most of the passages adduced in § 11e, note a, as Matt. vi. 15, 18, viii. 8, ix. 13, 35, Mark i. 2, 11, 21, f.,

Acts ii. 30, iii. 12, Gal. iii. 1, — τὴν δληθ. κ. τ. λ., and is also, on other grounds, one of the most valuable critical authorities. But it adheres to the bad readings of the Itala, in opposition to better (Luke xiv. 5), or to all codd., Acts ii. 1, iii. 12, and leaves it where it has good readings, Luke iii. 2, Acts iii. 20, Gal. iv. 15, 2 Cor. xi. 3.

\* Ad Eph. iv. 19 : ἀπηλγηκότες multo aliud in Graeco significat quam in Latino *desperantes*, quippe qui ἀπηλπικότες nominantur, etc. Other examples in *West's Prolegg.* p. 228, ed. Seml.

• Ep. ad Lucin. LXXI. (28), § 5 : N. Test. Graecae reddidi auctoritati. Catal. script. eccles.: N. T. Graecae fidei reddidi : Vetus juxta Hebraicum transtuli.

<sup>f</sup> Latest of the N. T.: F. F. Fleck, N. T. Vulg. Edit. juxta textum Clement. VIII. . . . cum variant. in margine lectionibus antiqu. . . . cod. olim montis Amiatae in Etruria, nunc biblioth. Florent. Laurent. Mediceae sec. VI. scripti. Praemissa est comm. de Cod. Amiat. et versione Lat. vulg. 1840. Large 12mo. (This codex, containing the whole of the Old and New Test., and written stichometrically in the uncial character, was used in the Sixtine edition.) Lachmann, in his larger ed. of the N. T. (§ 48), gives the more ancient text, of the period before the tenth century, from old MSS., especially the Fulda MS. Comp. Rettig. in Stud. u. Krit. 1832. p. 900.

**SECTION III.**  
OF THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT.

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**SUBDIVISION I.**

**HISTORY OF THE TEXT.**

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**CHAPTER I.**

**HISTORY OF THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE TEXT.**

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*Original Manuscripts of the New Testament Books.*

**§ 27.**

THESE greatly to be wished for documents were early lost. No trace of them is discoverable, even in the remotest antiquity.<sup>a</sup> As, however, it is important for criticism to gain just views of the original external form of the text which comes under its review, we must seek to supply their loss, in some degree, by the teachings of ancient literature.<sup>b</sup>

\* The passages, *Ignat. ad Philadelph.* § 8, Ἐπεὶ οὐκονσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἔαν μή ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις (ἀρχαῖοις) εὑρώ, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω· καὶ λέγοντός μον αὐτοῖς, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι, ὅτι πρόκειται. 'Εμοί δὲ ἀρχεία ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· τὰ ἄθυτα ἀρχεία δὲ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ δ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ, and *Tertull.* *De praescript. haeret.* c. 36. (I. § 22, note e), have been misunderstood to mean Apostolic autographs. *Michaelis*, Einl. I. 270. *Hug*, I. § 14. *Bertholdt*, II. 416. *Griesbach*, *Curae in hist. textus Epist. Paul. sect. II.* § 4, sqq. *Opp.* II. 66, sqq., with *Gabler's* remark in preface, p. xxvi. sq.

Legend of the discovery of the autograph of the Evang. John in *Philostorg.* H. E. VII. 14. *Nicephor.* H. E. X. 33. Pretended discovery of

the same in Ephesus, *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. *Du Fresne*, p. 5. . . . αὐτὸς τὸ ἰδιόχειρον τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πεφύλακται χάρτι θεοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίων ἀγιωτάτῃ Ἑκκλησίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

• *Montfaucon*, Palaeogr. Graec. Par. 1708. fol. Lib. III. *Hug*, I. § 11, ff. § 41, ff. *Eichhorn*, IV. § 16, ff. *A. F. Pfeiffer*, Ueber Bücherhandschriften. 1810.

### *Writing-Materials, Writers, Style of Writing.*

#### § 28 a.

The N. T. authors probably used Egyptian paper (*πάπυρος, χάρτης*, see 2 John 12), and the letter-writers the finer Augustan, which was very perishable. Subsequently, however, the N. T. was written on parchment<sup>a</sup> (*διφθέραι*), and still later on cotton paper. The character generally in vogue was the uncial character. The smaller so-called cursive character first became general in the tenth century.<sup>b</sup> The writing usually had neither division of words nor punctuation, and was without accents, breathings, or the iota subscriptum.<sup>c</sup> Hence MSS. and old commentators sometimes divide the words of the N. T. differently.<sup>d</sup> They also disputed about the division of the sentences, and differed from each other.<sup>e</sup>

• *Hieron*. Ep. 141. (34 in *Vallarsi*), referring to the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea:—quam ex parte corruptam Acacius dehinc et Euzoius ejusdem Ecclesiae sacerdotes in membranis instaurare conati sunt. *Euseb.* Vit. Const. IV. 36, from a letter of Constantine to E.: Πρέπον γὰρ κατεφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι τὴν σῆμα συνέσει, ὅπως ἀν πεντήκοντα σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις ἔγκατασκεύεις, εὐανάγγειωσά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὑμετακόμεστα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶν τὴν τέχην ἐπισταμένων, γραφῆσαι κελεύσεις.

• *Montfaucon*, Palaeogr. IV. 262, sq. But there are also later MSS. in the uncial character, e. g. Cod. Evangg. Mat. V. sec. XII. vel XIII., Cod. Evangg. X. Ingolst. sec. XI. [Errors here. Cf. *Scholz*, N. T. I. p. xlii., sqq.]

• The Greeks after the time of *Aristophanes* of Byz., under *Ptolemy Epiph.*, used punctuation for grammatical purposes (*Montfaucon*, p. 31). The stichometric method of writing was also known. *Joseph. Antt.* Lib. XX. fin.: Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ κατατάσσω τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν, βίβλους μὲν εἴκοσι περιειλημμένην, ἐξ δὲ μυράσι στίχων. Comp. *Martianay*, Prolegg. ad *Hieron*. Opp. I. IV. 3. *Morini*, Exercitatt. p. 444. The same Aristophanes is said to have divided the old sign of aspiration H in halves, and to have used the one ἡ for the rough breathing, the other for the smooth; but most likely

the use of these signs was long confined to the schools. At length they found admission into the uncial writing of the N. T. and into the Codd. Vat. Clarom. etc. See the examples of writing in *Montfaucon* and *Blanchini*. — In the most ancient times an iota postscriptum (e. g. ΤΩΙ instead of τῷ) was sometimes used, sometimes not. After the fourth century it fell into disuse, and is wanting in all the uncial MSS. of the N. T.

\* Phil. i. 1, received text, σὺν ἐπισκόποις; Codd. 39. 67. 71. al. Chrys. Theoph. Cassiod., συνεπισκόποις. Phil. ii. 4, received text, ἔκαστος σκοπεῖτε; All. ἔκαστος σκοπεῖτε or σκοπούντες; Cod. Boern., ἔκάστος κοπούντες. Ep. Jud. 6, received text, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιτώτας; Cod. Diez. ἀλλαπολιτώτας. Gal. i. 9, προειρήκαμεν; Syr. Aeth. all. προείρηκα μέν.

\* *Epiph.* Anc. c. 75. p. 80. ed Pet. complains that some divide John i. 3 thus: πάντα δὶ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν; and proposes to divide it thus: πάντα δὶ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν, δὲ γέγονεν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. *Chrysost.* Homil. V. in Joann.: Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν τελείωσιν γέγονη τῷ οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπιβήσομεν κατὰ τοὺς αἰρετικούς (the Macedonians). Ἐκείνους γὰρ βουλόμενοι τὸ πνεῦμα κτιστὸν εἰπεῖν, φασὶν δὲ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ζωὴν ἡνὶ . . . διὸ ταῦτην ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ τὴν νενομισμένην ἔλθωμεν ἀνάγνωσίν τε καὶ ἐξήγησιν· τίς δέ ἐστιν αὐτῆς; τὸ μέχρι τοῦ δὲ γέγονεν ἀναπαύσας τὸν λόγον· εἴτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξῆς λέξεως ἀρέσασθαι τῆς λεγονότης· ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴν ἡνὶ. *Griesb.* Var. lect. ad h. l. *Hieron.* ad Eph. i. 5: Dupliciter legendum, ut *caritas* vel *cum superioribus* vel *inferioribus* copuletur. Ad ep. ad Philem. 4–6: Ambiguum dictum, utrum gratias agat Deo suo semper, an memoriam ejus faciat in orationibus suis semper. Sometimes the commentators give the correct punctuation in doubtful passages. *Theodoret.* ad 2 Cor. i. 3, iv. 4, Rom. ix. 22. Ancient MSS. also have sometimes a point. *Marsh*, Anmerkk. und Zusaätze, I. 456, ff.

### § 28 b.

As the ancient writers, when composing their works, often made use of copyists, we may look for the same in the N. T. writers. The Apostle Paul, we know, adopted this practice (Rom. xvi. 22, 1 Cor. xvi. 21, Col. iv. 18, 2 Thess. iii. 17; the contrary in Gal. vi. 11). By this means, however, errors might creep into the text, that would not always be discovered and removed on its revision by the author.

### *Stichometry, Punctuation, Accentuation.*

### § 29 a.

About A. D. 462 *Euthalius*, deacon at Alexandria, divided the text of the Pauline Epistles, and soon after that also of

the Acts and of the Catholic Epistles, into lines (*στίχους*), corresponding to the pauses which would naturally be made in reading. This division was called *στιχομετρία*, *stichometry*, from the lines being measured off and numbered.<sup>a</sup> It was much approved of, and passed into the MSS., of which several so arranged are extant.<sup>b</sup> Others have at least the number of lines at the end. Many also give the number of *ρήματα*, another designation of the same or a similar division.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Euthalius* explains himself on this point in his preface to the N. T. in *Zacagni's Collectan.* monum. vet. Eccles. Gr. (Rom. 1698. 4to), I. 403, sqq. and *Gallandi's Bibl. patr. et antiqu. script.* X. 199, sqq. : στιχηδὸν συνθεῖς τούτων τὸ ὄφος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμμετρίαν πρὸς εὐσημον ἀνάγρασιν. Cf. *Weist. Prolegg.* ed. *Senl.* p. 196. *J. G. Rosenmüller*, De fatis interpretat. litt. ss. IV. 4, sqq. *Hug*, § 44. The Gospels were also stichometrically written (see the stichometries in *Mill. Proll.* § 1028), though it is uncertain whether it was done by *Euthalius* himself.

<sup>b</sup> E. g. Cod. Cantabrig., where it appears thus: *Acts* i. 1.

ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΕΙΟΙ ΗΣΑΜΗΝ  
ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ  
ΩΝ ΗΡΩΑΤΟΙ ΗΣΠΟΙΕΙΝΤΕ  
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ ΑΧΡΙ ΗΣΗΜΕΡΑΣ  
ΑΝ ΕΝΗΜΦΘΕΝΤΕΙ ΛΑΜΕΝΟ ΣΤΟΙΧΟΣ ΤΟΙΟΙ  
ΔΙΑ ΠΝΣΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΥΣΕ ΞΕΛΕΓΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ  
ΚΗΡΥΞΣΕ ΙΝΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.

Cod. Coislin. in *Montfaucon*, Biblioth. Coislin. p. 259. Tit. ii. 2, 3.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΣ ΝΗΦΑΛΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
ΖΕΜΝΟΥΣ  
ΖΩΦΡΟΝΑΣ  
ΥΤΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ  
ΤΗ ΑΓΑΠΗ  
ΤΗ ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ  
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΙΔΑΣ ΩΣ ΑΥΤΩΣ  
ΕΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΙ ΙΕΡΟΠΡΕΠΕΙΣ  
ΜΗ ΔΙΑΒΟΔΟΥΣ  
ΜΗ ΟΙΝΩ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΔΕΔΟΥΛΩΜΕΝΑΣ  
ΚΑΛΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥΣ

<sup>c</sup> *Hug*, § 44. *Eichhorn*, § 18. p. 162.

### § 29 b.

Subsequently, to save space, the lines were not separated, but their close marked by a point, or their beginning

by large letters.<sup>a</sup> This, according to *Hug*, *Eichhorn*, &c., led to the grammatical punctuation; but punctuation had found its way into N. T. MSS., e. g. Cod. Alex., before stichometry appeared, and, like the latter, served to facilitate the reading.<sup>b</sup> The signs and principles of punctuation, which, after the ninth century, came more and more into vogue, were various,<sup>c</sup> and first obtained a more fixed form in the printed editions. In the ninth century the separation of the words by spaces or points between them became usual.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The former in Cod. Cyprus (on its age, cf. § 52). Matt. ii. 21, f. (*Monisac. Palaeogr. Gr.* p. 232): Ο δε εγερθεις. παρελαβε το παιδιον. και την μητερα αυτου. και ηλθεν εις γην Ισραηλ. ακουσας δε. οτι Αρχελαος βασιλευε επι της Ιουδαιας. αντ' Ηρωδου του πατρος αυτου. εφοβηθη εκει απελθειν. The latter is found e. g. in the Cod. Boern. *Hupfeld*, in *Stud. u. Kr.* 1837, p. 859, does not think that the points in the Cod. Cypr. are signs of the lines, because they are akin to the punctuation of the Cod. Boern.

<sup>b</sup> *Hupfeld*, as cited above. He denies the distinction between grammatical and other punctuation.

<sup>c</sup> *Isidor. Hisp. Origg.* I. 19: Ubi in initio pronuntiationis needum plena pars sensus est, et tamen respirare oportet, fit comma, id est particula sensus, punctumque ad unam literam ponitur et vocatur subdistinctio ab eo, quod punctum subtus, id est ad unam literam accipit. Ubi autem in sequentibus jam sententia sensum praestat, sed adhuc aliquid superest de sententiae plenitudine, fit colon mediamque literam puncto notamus et medium distinctionem vocamus, qui punctum ad medium literam ponimus. Ubi vero jam per gradus pronuntiando plenam sententiae clausulam facimus, fit periodus, punctumque ad caput literae ponimus, et vocatur distinctio i. e. disjunctio, quia integrum separat sententiam. So the punctuation of Cod. Basil. E. Others, as Cod. L, use a cross instead of a period; Cod. Vatic. 1067. Colb. 700. use it instead of almost all the signs of punctuation. The punctuation of Cod. Boern. is very bad. Compare *Ge. Fr. Rogall, De auctor. et antiquit. interpunct. in N. T. Regiom.* 1734.

<sup>d</sup> In the Cod. Aug., written in the ninth century, the words are separated by points. *Marsh, Zus. I.* 461.

### § 29 c.

Euthalius, by his stichometric edition of the N. T., gave also wider currency to accentuation,<sup>a</sup> which had previously, at least in the O. T.,<sup>b</sup> come into use. There are, however, later MSS. which have no accents; and accentuation did

not come into general use until the tenth century. The iota subscript came first into use about the same time in the cursive writing; though it is often found written in a line with the other letters.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Euthalius*: τήν τε τῶν πράξεων βίβλον ἅμα καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀναγνώνας κατὰ προσφδίαν . . . προσέταξας, ἀδελφὲ Ἀθανάσιε.

<sup>b</sup> *Epiphanius*. De ponderibus et mens. c. 2: Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες κατὰ προσφδίαν ἔστιξαν τὰς γραφάς, καὶ περὶ τῶν προσφδίων τάδε· ὅχεῖα', δασεῖα', βαρεῖα, ψυλή', περισπωμένη', κ. τ. λ.

<sup>c</sup> *Monisaucon*, Palaeogr. Gr. pp. 276, 278, 295.

### *Chapters and Verses.*

#### § 30 a.

The present division of the New Testament into chapters is, like that of the O. T. (Pt. I. § 78), an invention of Cardinal *Hugo*, who introduced it in his *Biblia cum postilla*, whence it came also into the Greek N. T. The present division of the New Testament into verses originated with *Robert Stephens*, who introduced it in his edition of A. D. 1551.

#### § 30 b.

Quite early in antiquity *κεφάλαια*, *capitula*, chapters, occur;<sup>a</sup> but probably they are, like the *Capitula of Jerome* in the O. T. (Pt. I. § 77, note c), undefined sections. There are two kinds of real sections in the Gospels: 1. In the middle of the third century *Ammonius* of Alexandria, to further his Harmony of the Gospels, divided the text into a multitude of small sections, *κεφάλαια*, which *Eusebius*, in the fourth century, used<sup>b</sup> in his *Canones Evangelici* (a revised edition of that Harmony). 2. Larger sections of the Gospels came subsequently into use, perhaps in imitation of the divisions of Justinian's Institutes.<sup>c</sup> They were called, to distinguish them from the former, *τίτλοι*, *breves*,<sup>d</sup> but were also called *κεφάλαια*.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Tertull.* Ad uxor. II. 2; De pudic. c. 16; De carne Christi, c. 19.

*Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. H. E. VII. 25* : . . . περὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου . . . τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν . . . τὸ βιβλίον καθ' ἑκαστον κεφάλαιον διευθύνοντες . . .

<sup>b</sup> A description of these Canones Evangg. in *Marsh*, I. 469. They may be found in *Mill's N. T.* published by *Küster*, in the editions of *Erasmus*, and in that of *Rob. Steph. A. D.* 1550.

<sup>c</sup> *Cæsarius*, brother of *Gregory of Nazianzum*, knows only the Ammonio-Eusebian sections. So also *Epiphanius* (note d). *Chrysostom* also seems unacquainted with the *τίτλοι*, for he makes no reference to them. *Euthymius* and *Theophylact* knew them.

<sup>d</sup> *Suid. s. v. τίτλος* : Τίτλος διαφέρει κεφαλαίον· καὶ δὲ μὲν Ματθαῖος ἔχει τίτλους ξη' (68), κεφάλαια τνέ' (355). δὲ Μάρκος τίτλους μη' (48), κεφάλαια τμβ' (352). δὲ Λουκᾶς τίτλους πγ' (83), κεφάλαια τμη' (348). δὲ Ιωάννης τίτλους ιη' (18), κεφάλαια σλβ' (232). *Cod. L.* : τὸ κατὰ Ματθ. εὐαγγ. ἔχει τίτλους ξη', καὶ κεφάλαια τνέ'. τὸ κατὰ Μάρκ. εὐαγγ. τίτλους μη', κεφάλαια σλδ. τὸ κατὰ Λουκ. εὐαγγ. ἔχει τίτλους πγ', κεφάλαια τμβ'. τὸ κατὰ Ιωάνν. εὐαγγ. ἔχει τίτλους ιη', κεφάλαια σλα'. *Caesar. Dial. 1. resp. 39* : Τέσσαρα ἡμένιν ὑπάρχει εὐαγγέλια, κεφαλαίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν ἔξηκοντα δύο. *Eriphæn. Ancor. c. 50. p. 54* : τέσσαρα εἰσὶν εὐαγγέλια, κεφαλαίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν ἔξηκοντα δύο.

<sup>e</sup> *Schott*, Introd. § 147, follows *Eichhorn*, IV. 172 (!) in supposing a sort of κεφάλαια between the Ammonio-Eusebian κεφάλαια and the τίτλοι; probably a misunderstanding.

### § 30 c.

The Acts and Epistles were likewise divided into κεφάλαια. *Euthalius* also introduced into his stichometric ed. of the N. T. tables of their contents. Those of the Pauline Epistles he found already existing; those of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles he drew up.\* The Apocalypse, *Andreas of Cappadocia* divided into 24 λόγοι and 72 κεφάλαια.

<sup>f</sup> *Euthal.* : Καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιστολὴν προτάξομεν τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν, ἐν τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ φιλοχρίστων πατέρων ἡμῶν (*Theodor. Mopsv.* ?) πεπονημένην. *Wetstein* (*Prolegg.* p. 197) erroneously regards *Euthalius* as the inventor of the division itself. *Hug*, § 48. *Eichhorn*, § 20. Number of the Chapters: *Acts*, 40; *James*, 6; *1 Pet.* 8; *2 Pet.* 4; *1 John*, 7; *2 John*, 1; *3 John*, 1; *Jude*, 4; *Ep. to the Rom.* 19; *1 Cor.* 9; *2 Cor.* 11; *Gal.* 12; *Eph.* 10; *Philipp.* 7; *Coloss.* 10; *1 Thess.* 7; *2 Thess.* 6; *Hebr.* 22; *1 Tim.* 18; *2 Tim.* 9; *Tit.* 6; *Philem.* 2.

*Lessons and Pericopes.*

## § 31 a.

The N. T. books, like those of the O. T., were very early read in the assemblies for public worship (Pt. I. § 19, note a), and for this purpose were probably soon divided, like the Pentateuch, into sections.<sup>a</sup> *Euthalius* introduced in his stichometric ed. a division of the Acts and Epistles into 57 lessons.<sup>b</sup> This also took place in the Gospels. But the number of festival days increasing, this division became unsuitable, and passages were selected for church lessons to the exclusion of many others (e. g. Luke ii. 22 – 29, x. 43 – xi. 27, xxi. 10 – 24, 28 – 32, John xiv. 18 – 20, xviii. 6 – 35). These sections were assigned to the Festivals and Sundays of the whole year, according to a certain cycle. They were then collected in a separate book called in general *Lectionarium*, ἔκλογάδιον, or in special *Evangeliarium*, when it contained sections of the Gospels, *Epistolare*, *Πραξαπόστολος*, when sections of the Acts and Epistles. The sections in these books often follow the order in which it was customary to read them. These reading-books arose among the Latin Christians in the fifth century, but among the Greeks not before the eighth century.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Whether περικοπή in *Clem. Alex. Strom.* IV. 503, VII. 750, is exactly such a section (*Scholz, Prolegg.* p. xxxi.) is very doubtful. Probably the same holds in regard to these as to the oldest chapters (§ 30), as Jerome translates περικοπή in *Origen by Capitulum*.

<sup>b</sup> *Euthal.* : Τὴν τῶν ἀναγνώσων ἀκριβεστάτην τομὴν . . . ἡμεῖς τεχνολγῆσατες ἀνακεφαλαιώσαμεθα. Number of the Euthalian Sections: Acts 16 (and indeed No. 1. contained 1 Ch. [i. 1–13], No. 2. 1 Ch. [i. 14–26], No. 3. 1 Ch. [iii. 1–iv. 31], No. 5. 2 Chh. [iv. 32–v. 42], No. 6. 2 Chh. [vi.], No. 7. 4 Chh. [vii. 1–viii. 39], &c., comp. *Augusti*, *Denkwürd.* VI. 124); Jas. 2; 1 Pet. 2; 2 Pet. 1; 1 John, 2; 2 John, 1; 3 John, 1; Jude, 1; Rom. 5; 1 Cor. 5; 2 Cor. 4; Gal. 2; Eph. 2; Phil. 2; Col. 2; 1 Thess. 1; 2 Thess. 1; Hebr. 3; 1 Tim. 1; 2 Tim. 1; Tit. 1; Philem. 2.—According to *Hug*, I. 266, *Eichh.* IV. 176, these 57 sections correspond to the number of Sundays and festivals, so that the whole N. T. was read through in order every year; but according to various statements of *Chrysostom*, *Augustin*, and others, certain books were read at certain times, e. g. *Genesis* in times of fast, *Job* and *Jonah* in Passion-week, and *Acts* between.

Easter and Pentecost. *Bingham*, Origg. eccl. XIV. 3. 3. p. 63, sqq. *Rheinwald*, Kirchl. Archäol. § 98, note 7.

<sup>a</sup> *Gennad.* De script. c. 79, of Musaeus (about 450): Excerpsit de scripturis lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas. According to *Sidon. Apollin.* IV. ep. 11, Claudianus Mamerclus introduced the use of *lectionaria* into the church of Vienne (*Bingham*, l. c. p. 71). Cf. *Hug*, I. 269. *Capitulare*, also *Lectionarium*, among the Greeks *αντικάπτον*, was the name of a catalogue of the lessons arranged according to the first and last words; *Menologium*, of such a catalogue for the holy days. See the *Synaxarium* and *Menologium* of the Codd. KM. 262. 274. in *Scholz's N. T.* Vol. I. In the MSS. these lessons are indicated by *α* (ἀρχή), *τ* (τέλος), by the number of the Sunday ΣΑ, ΣΒ, &c., or by the word *ἀνάγνωσμα*.

### § 31 b.

Our modern Pericopes, or Lessons, of the Gospels and Epistles are remains of these ancient lessons, which varied according to time and place. They are found, with few variations, in the Lectionarium called *Comes*,<sup>a</sup> a work erroneously ascribed to *Jerome*, and perhaps belonging to the ninth century. On the other hand, the oldest extant catalogue of lessons, the Lectionarium Gallicanum, as well as the Lectionarium Romanum, differs from them more widely.<sup>b</sup> The Pericopes of festivals are probably the oldest, although the selection of numerous accounts of miracles seems to indicate a time when the Divinity of Christ had to be maintained against the Arians.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Ed. J. Pamelius*, 2 tom. Colon. 1675; best in *Baluz. Capitul. reg.* Franc. T. II. p. 1309, also in *Vallars. Opp. Hieron.* XI. 526.

<sup>b</sup> They are compared together in *Rheinwald*, Kirchl. Archäol. Beil. XXII. *Augusti*, Denkw. VI. 212, ff.

<sup>c</sup> *Augusti*, ut supra, 203, ff. *Lisco*, Das Kirchenjahr, I. 84, f. Comp. also *Thamer*, De orig. et dignitate pericopar. Jen. 1716. 4to. *Gul. Rothe*, De pericoporum, quae hodie in eccl. Danorum usurpantur, origine. Havn. 1839. *E. Ranke*, Das kirchliche Perikopenystem aus den ältesten Urkunden der Röm. Liturgie dargelegt und erläutert. Berl. 1847.

### *Superscriptions and Subscripts.*

### § 32 a.

The superscriptions of the N. T. books were not given by their authors, but by readers after their time. This

appears,—1. from their character, which, at least in part, is not in harmony with the authors, their objects, or their relation to their first readers;<sup>a</sup> 2. from their being different in different MSS.;<sup>b</sup> 3. from the testimony of the Fathers.<sup>c</sup> The Evangelists perhaps prefixed to their work the title *εὐαγγέλιον* only.<sup>d</sup> The discriminating titles, *κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, &c., were subsequently added.

<sup>a</sup> E. g. *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* — ή *πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη* — *Ιωάννου ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη*.

<sup>b</sup> E. g. *αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων* — *Λουκᾶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ πράξεις ἀποστόλων* — *αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀγίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ* — *πράξεις τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων, συγγραφεῖσαι ὑπὸ Λουκᾶ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ*.

<sup>c</sup> *Tertull.* *Adv. Marc.* iv. 2: *Contra Marcion Evangelio, scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem, quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adfingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus everttere.* Cf. c. 5: *Dico itaque apud illas (ecclesias) nec solas jam apostolicas, sed apud universas, quae illis de societate sacramenti confoederantur, id Evangelium Lucae ab initio editionis suaee stare.* iv. 11: — *epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodicenos.* c. 17: *ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus expiator.* *Nihil autem de titulis interest.* *Chrysostom.* *Homil.* I. in ep. ad Rom. *Μωϋσῆς μὲν πέτε βιβλία συγγράψας, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ δοματοῦ ἔαντοῦ τέθεικεν, οὐδὲ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνοις τὰ μετ' ἐκείνον συνθέτεις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ματθαῖος, οὐδὲ Ἰωάννης, οὐ Μάρκος, οὐ Λουκᾶς· δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος πανταχοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ δοματοῦ αὐτοῦ προτίθησι.*

<sup>d</sup> *Chrysostom.* *Homil.* I. in *Matth.* *pref.* : *διὰ τοῦτο εὐαγγέλιον τὴν ιστορίαν ἐκάλεσεν.*

### § 32 b.

The subscripts were originally only repetitions of the superscriptions; afterwards, however, historic statements drawn from tradition or conjecture were added.<sup>a</sup> Euthalius introduced such (in part) incorrect subscripts into his stichometric edition, using the statements of the *Synopsis Scripturæ* [erroneously ascribed to Athanasius]. They have thus been propagated in the MSS.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> E. g. *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον* — *τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Ματθ. εὐαγγελίου . . . ἔξεδόθη ἵν' αὐτοῦ ο. ἐγράφη . . . ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ο. Παλαιστίνη ο. ἀνατολῇ . . . τῇ Ἐβραιΐδι διαλέκτῳ ο. Ἐβραϊστὶ . . . μετὰ χρόνους η̄ τῆς τοῦ*

Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως . . . . ἡρμηνεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰακώβου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου.

<sup>α</sup> Erroneously: πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ρώμης. πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς α'. β'. ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν. πρὸς Κορινθίους α'. ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων. Cf. Paley, Horae Paulini, deutsche Uebers. p. 325, f.

*Conclusions from the Foregoing, affecting the Criticism of the Text.*

§ 33.

Accordingly, the text of the N. T., whose investigation and restoration are the problem of criticism, comprises nothing but what is indicated by the mere letters, without regard to their division into words, their punctuation, or accentuation. The division into chapters and verses, and the super- and sub-scriptions are, moreover, adventitious.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT ITSELF.

I. — OF THE UNPRINTED TEXT.

*It has remained free from gross Corruptions.*

§ 34 a.

The Catholics, out of respect for the history, have refrained from extensive corruptions of the text. Under the early established unity of the Catholic Church, such were, indeed, scarcely possible. In this respect they were extremely watchful of the heretics, whom they charge, sometimes falsely, with corrupting the Scriptures.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Iren. Adv. haer. IV. 6, 1: *Nemo cognoscit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis cognoscit nisi filius et cui voluerit filius revelare.* Sic et Mat-

thaeus (xi. 27) posuit et Lucas (X. 22) similiter, et Marcus idem ipsum. Joannes enim praeterit locum hunc. Hi autem, qui *peritiores Apostolis* volunt esse, sic describunt: *Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius, nec filium nisi pater et cui voluerit filius revelare*: et interpretantur, quasi a nullo cognitus sit verus Deus ante Domini nostri adventum, et eum Deum, qui a Prophetis sit annuntiatus, dicunt non esse patrem Christi. Comp., however, *Justin. M. Apol.* II. 95. — *Tertullian*. De carne Christi, c. 19: Quid est ergo: *non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt?* Hoc quidem capitulo ego potius utar, quum adulteratores ejus obduxero. Sic enim scriptum esse contendunt, non: *non ex sanguine, nec ex carnis voluntate, nec ex viri, sed ex Deo natus est*: quasi supra dictos credentes in nomine ejus designet. (The *non* must be read twice.) But the heretical reading is the correct one. — *Ambros*. De fide V. 8: Scriptum est, inquit (*Ariani*): *De die autem illo et hora nemo scit, neque angeli colorum, nec filius, nisi solus pater*. Primum veteres non habent codices Graeci, *quod nec filius scit*. Sed non mirum, si et hoc falsarunt, qui scripturas interpolavere. But comp. the various readings of Matt. xxiv. 36 and Mark xiii. 32. — *Ambros*. De spir. sancto, III. 11: Ipse Dominus dixit in Evangelio (John iii. 6): *quoniam Deus spiritus est*. Quem locum ita expresse Ariani testificamini esse de spiritu, ut eum de vestris codicibus auferatis; atque utinam de vestris et non etiam de ecclesiae codicibus tolleretis. But see the various readings of John iii. 6.

## § 34 b.

*Marcion* especially is charged with corrupting the Gospel of Luke and the Pauline Epistles.<sup>a</sup> His course in regard to Luke we shall see further on (§ 70, ff.). As respects the Pauline Epistles, the charges of the Fathers are in a measure unfounded, for either he had correct readings or such as elsewhere occur, or his readings are innocent errors.<sup>b</sup> Others of his readings, however, and especially certain omissions, are, not without reason, ascribed to heretical designs,<sup>c</sup> and several are such and so important that they can be regarded only as designed corruptions.<sup>d</sup> In other statements *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* contradict each other. The former adduces from the Epistles to the Thessalonians only small corruptions; the latter declares them wholly corrupted (p. 371, ed. Petav.). The former complains of trifling corruptions of the Epistle to the Philippians (c. 20), and declares the Epistle to Philemon quite uninjured (c. 21); the latter declares both to be wholly corrupted (p. 373, sqq.).<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Iren.* Adv. haer. I. 27. 2:—Apostoli Pauli literas abscidit, auferens quaecunque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo, qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic pater Domini nostri J. C., et quaecunque ex Propheticis memorans Apostolus docuit, praenuntiantibus adventum Domini. *Tertull.* Adv. Marc. I. V. *Epiphan.* Adv. haeres. XLII. § 9: τιὰ περιέμενον, τιὰ δὲ ἀλλοιώσας κεφάλαια. The following writers have tried to defend him: *Löffler*, Marcionem Pauli epp. et Lucae evang. adulterasse dubitatur. 1788. in *Velthusen*, *Kuinöhl*, et *Ruperti*, Commentt. theol. I. 180, sqq. *Schelling*, De Marcione epp. Paulinarum emendatore. 1795. *Eichhorn*, Einl. III. I. 35. *Ritschl*, Das Evang. Marc. p. 151, ff. *Baur*, Krit. Unters. üb. d. kan. Evangg. p. 413, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Gal. ii. 5. *Marc.* correctly: οἵς οὐδέ. *Tertull.* (I. V. 3), with other Latin authorities, omitted it. 2 Cor. iv. 4: *Tertull.* (I. V. c. 11) charges him with connecting the words δὸς θεὸς τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου, which alone is correct. 1 Thess. ii. 15: *Marc.* τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας, with text. rec.; *Tertull.* c. 15, τοὺς προφήτας. Gal. v. 9: *Marc.* with DE Vulg. etc. δολοί, *Epiph.* ἐγκοί. 1 Cor. x. 19: *Marc.* ὅτι λερόθυτόν τι ἔστιν ἡ εἰδωλόθυτόν τι ἔστιν; *Epiph.* ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τι ἔστιν; text. rec. ὅτι εἰδωλον τι ἔστιν; ἡ δολοί εἰδωλόθυτόν τι ἔστιν; Cf. var. lect. in *Griesb.* 1 Cor. xiv. 19: *Marc.* with *Ambrstr.* διὰ τὸν νόμον instead of διὰ τοῦ νοός μου. 1 Cor. ix. 8: *Marc.* εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος Μωσέως ταῦτα οὐ λέγει, where the εἰ probably sprang from γ; for *Marc.* read v. 10. Eph. v. 31: *Marc.* omitted τῇ γυναικὶ (comp. note d), a senseless error in transcription.

<sup>c</sup> The reading 1 Cor. xv. 45, ὁ ἵσχατος κύριος instead of ὁ ἵσχατος Ἀδάμ, had, according to *Tertull.* c. 10, this ground: Ne si et Dominum novissimum haberet Adam, et ejusdem Christum defenderemus in Adam novissimo, cuius et primum. 2 Thess. i. 8: *Marc.* omitted ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, ne scilicet nostratem Deum faceret (*Tertull.* c. 16). Eph. ii. 15: *Marc.* τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ (without αὐτοῦ), ut inimicitiae daret carnem quasi carnali vitio, non Christo aemulae. . . . cuius supra sanguinem confessus es, hic negas carnem (*Tertull.* c. 17). Eph. ii. 20: *Marc.* omitted καὶ προφῆτῶν: timuit scilicet, ne et super veterum prophetarum fundamenta aedificatio nostra constaret in Christo (*Tertull.* c. 17). Col. i. 15: *M.* omitted πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως and the whole 16 ver.: “haec enim Marcioni displicere oportebat” (*Tertull.* c. 19), which *Ritschl* and *Baur* erroneously deny.

<sup>d</sup> According to *Jerome* (Comment. in ep. ad Gal.), Gal. iii. 6–9 was omitted; and *Hahn* (Das Evang. Marc. p. 52) finds this also in *Tertull.* V. 3: Quum adjicit: omnes enim filii estis fidei, ostenditur, quid supra haereticis industria eraserit, mentionem sc. Abrahae. *R.* and *B.*, however, assert that only ver. 7 can have been omitted, and probably through a mistake in copying. As *Tertull.* says: Accepimus igitur benedictionem spiritalem per fidem (Gal. iii. 14, second half) inquit. . . . sed cum adjicit, omnes enim estis filii fidei (ver. 26), *H.* concludes that Marcion read only the second half of ver. 14, and proceeded at once to ver. 26, which *R.* contradicts. According to *H.* iv. 3 followed iii. 26, and ran thus: Adhuc secundum hominem dico (from

ver. 15), *dum essemus parvuli*, etc. according to *Tertull.* c. 4: *Adhuc secundum hominem dico, dum essemus parvuli*, etc. *Atquin non est hoc humanitus dictum, non enim exemplum est, sed veritas. . . . Illud autem fuit (humanitus dictum) quod cum secundum hominem dixisset (ver. 15): tamen testamentum nemo spernit*, etc. . . . Erubescat spongia Marcionis. According to *R.* the last words refer only to the supplying of the formula *κατὰ ἀνθρώπου λέγω*; according to *B.* to the omission of ver. 7 (!). Of Gal. iv. 4, *Marc.* dropped *γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμου* (against this *Ritschl*, p. 160). He left the most of chap. iv. 21–31 standing, and helped himself by supposing an allegory after ver. 24; but he struck out ver. 27–30, which passage *Tertull.* does not quote. In 2 Cor. iv. 13, *Marc.* according to *Epiph.* omitted the words, *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ἐπίστενα, διὸ Λαλῆσσα*. *Tertull.* also omits to mention it. — After citing Rom. ii. 2, *Tertull.* says (c. 13): *Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola Marcion fecerit, de nostri instrumenti integritate parebit. Mihi sufficit, quae proinde eradenda non vidit, quasi negligentias et caecitates ejus accipere*; and then goes on with chap. ii. 16, so that what lay between seems to have been wanting. But *Epiphanius* quotes chap. ii. 12. After Rom. viii. 11, *Tertullian* says (c. 14): *Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisaे scripturae, sed apprehendo testimonium perhibentem Apostolum Israeli, quod quidem zelum Dei habeant (Rom. x. 1–4)*. — *Atquin exclamat: O profundum divitiarum*, etc. (Rom. xi. 33). *Unde illa eruptio? Ex recordatione scilicet scripturarum, quas retro revolverat, ex contemplatione sacramentorum, quae supra disseruerat in fidem Christi ex lege venientem. Haec si Marcion de industria erasit, quid Apostolus ejus exclamat?* Cap. x. 5—xi. 32 was wholly wanting, and xi. 33 followed x. 4. *Epiphanius* cites only x. 4, between viii. 4 and xiii. 8. What *R.* and *B.* answer to this has no weight. — Eph. iii. 9: *Marc. τῷ θεῷ, τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι*, without *ἐν* and *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (*Tertull.* c. 18). In chap. v. 31, *Marcion* omitted *καὶ προσκόλληθῆσται πρὸς τὴν γυναικὰ αὐτοῦ* (*Tertull.* c. 18; according to *Epiph.* Schol. III. p. 318, only *γυναικί* [com. text *πρὸς τ. γ. αὐτ.*] was dropped). In chap. vi. 2, he omitted *ἥτις ἔστιν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ* (*Tertull.* l. c.).

\* Probably the Marcionites constantly allowed themselves to make alterations. *Origen* complains, Comm. in ep. ad Rom. ad xvi. 25, of a great corruption: *Caput hoc (xvi. 25–27) Marcion, a quo scripturae evangeliæ atque apostolicae interpolatae sunt, de hac epistola penitus abstulit. Et non solum hoc, sed et ab eo, ubi scriptum est: omne autem, quod non ex fide est, peccatum est (xiv. 23), usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit.*

### *Early Rise of False Readings.*

#### § 35.

Besides the natural occasions of false readings, the corruption of the text was promoted by the slight regard in

which the Christians of the first centuries held the letter, and the arbitrariness with which many allowed themselves to make alterations. False readings crept in at an early period, as was then expressly asserted, and is evident from the citations of the Church writers.<sup>a</sup> But when, in later times, controversies about dogmas, and exegetical labor, brought about a greater regard for the text, this laxness passed away.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Dionys.* of Corinth, in *Euseb.* H. E. IV. 23 : ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ . . . . ἔγραψα· καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγέμκαν, Δὲν ἔξαιρούντες, ἀ δὲ προστιθέντες . . . . οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ῥάβδουργῆσαι τινες ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν. *Clem. Alex.* Strom. I. IV. c. 6. p. 490, ed. Sylb.: Μακάριοι, φήσιν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἔνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ νιὸν θεοῦ κληθήσονται· ή, δις τινες τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια, Μακάριοι, φήσιν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι. *Origen*, Comm. in Matth. xv. 671, ed. Ruiae: Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τολμηροῦ τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἡ ἀδιαιρούντων. *Origen's own rashness in emendation*, in John i. 28. Comm. in Joann. vi. 140. *Epiphanius*. Ancor. c. 31, ed. Petav. II. 36 : Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκλαυσε (δ 'Ιησοῦς), κείται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις. 'Ορθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλοντο τὸ ῥητόν, φοβηθέντες καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸ ἴσχυρότατον. *Scholz* (Prolegg.), to support his assertion that the text of the N. T. was preserved incorrupt during the first centuries, has laid down several untenable positions; among them (§ 4) this, that the oldest citations of N. T. passages often give the unadulterated text. Against this observe *Polycarp*. ad Philipp. c. 1: δν ἔγειρεν ὁ θεὸς λύσας τὰς ὡδίνας τοῦ ἄδον (Acts ii. 24). D. Syr. and others have this last instead of θανάτου. In c. 5 he omits in the passage 1 Cor. vi. 10, οὐ with ABDE and others. Further see *Tischendorf*, Proll. ad ed. N. T. [Lips. 1841.] p. xxv. sqq.

<sup>b</sup> *Griesb.* Hist. text. Gr. Epp. Paul., Opusc. II. 129. *Rinck*, Lucubr. crit. p. 10.

### *Modes of their Origin.*

#### § 36 a.

The same here took place as in the O. T. text (cf. Pt. I. § 83, ff.). I. False readings arose through error : 1. Of sight: exchange of letters, misplacement of words, omission of words and sentences per ὁμοιοτέλευτον, or even repetition.<sup>a</sup>

2. Of hearing; especially through itacism in pronunciation.<sup>b</sup> 3. Of memory: misplacement of words, exchange of synonymes.<sup>c</sup> 4. Of the understanding: false division of words, false reading of abbreviations, adoption of glosses and parallelisms into the text.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Mark v. 14: ἀνήγγειλαν for ἀπήγγειλαν. Acts xxvii. 6: ἀνεβίβασεν for ἐνεβίβασεν. Rom. xii. 13: μνεῖαις for χρεῖαις. Rom. i. 13: καρπόν τινα (common text) for τινὰ καρπόν. Rom. ix. 11: τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθετος for πρ. τ. θ. Matt. v. 19: D and other Codd. omit all that follows the first ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Matt. x. 23: φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἀλλην (received text) for φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν, καν ἐκ ταύτης διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην (cf., on the other hand, our remarks on the passage). Rom. xiv. 6: ABC DEFG and other authorities drop the words καὶ δ μὴ φρονῶν — φρονεῖ, &c. In Matt. xxvii. 35, this supposition is untenable on other grounds. Luke vii. 21: ἔχαρισα τὸ βλέπειν for ἔχ. βλ. Luke ix. 49: ἐκβάλλοντα τὰ δαμόνια for ἐκβ. δαμ. 1 Thess. ii. 7: ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι for ἐγεν. ήπιοι.

<sup>b</sup> Rom. ii. 17: ἵδε for εἰ δέ. 1 John iv. 2: γινώσκεται for γινώσκετε. Matt. xxvii. 6: κενῷ for καινῷ. 1 Cor. x. 13: ἥλειφεν (Cod. Alex.) for ἔληφεν. 1 Pet. ii. 3: χριστός (Cod. Diez.) for χρηστός. Acts xvii. 31: εἰκουμένην for οἰκουμένην. Acts v. 19: ἤντε (Cod. Diez.) for ἤνοιξε. Acts v. 36, received text προσεκολλήθη; probably more correctly προσεκλίθη (AB), in its stead προσεκλήθη (CD\*E). — Luke iii. 35: ῥαγάβ for ῥαγοῦ, φαλέγ for φαλέκ. Rom. i. 30: κακολάλους (Cod. D) for καταλάλους.

<sup>c</sup> Matt. xx. 10: ἀνὰ δημάριον καὶ αὐτοὶ for κ. αὐ. ἀν. δην. John xvi. 22: νῦν μὲν λύπην for λύπην μὲν νῦν. xviii. 7: ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς for αὐτ. ἐπ. 1 Cor. xii. 20: νυνὶ for νῦν. Revelation xvii. 17: τὰ ρήματα (com. text) for οἱ λόγοι. 1 Pet. iii. 13: μαμηταί (com. text) for ζηλωταί. Rom. ii. 16: δὲ for δῆτε. Acts ix. 26: εἰς for ἐν. Acts xvi. 40: εἰς (com. text) for πρός. Acts xviii. 2: ἀπό for ἐκ, and many others.

<sup>d</sup> Phil. i. 1: συνεπισκόποις for σὺν ἐπισκόποις. 2 Cor. xii. 19: τὰ δέ for τάδε. 1 Tim. iii. 16: for ΘΕΣ was read ΟΣ, Ο, or vice versa. Acts i. 12: after σαββάτου ἔχον ὄδόν, Cod. 40 reads τοσούτον δὲ τὸ διάστημα, δόσον δυνατὸν Ἰουδαίον περιπατῆσαι ἐν σαββάτῳ. Rom. viii. 28: after συνεργεῖ, Codd. AB, θεός. 2 Cor. viii. 4: after δύοις, com. text, δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς. In Cod. Cant. in Matt. xxvi. 60, the grammatical sign τὸ ἔχης is adopted. Cf. Credner, Beitr. I. 461. Matt. xxvii. 35, supplied from John xix. 24. Acts ix. 5, f. from xxvi. 14.

### § 36 b.

II. The text was altered also with more or less distinct design: 1. To correct, beautify, or make perspicuous the language.<sup>a</sup> 2. To remove historical, geographical, archæo-

ological, and dogmatic difficulties, and to introduce dogmas into the text.<sup>b</sup> 3. To follow the explanations of distinguished commentators.<sup>c</sup> 4. The liturgical use of the N. T. occasioned additions and omissions.<sup>d</sup>

\* Removal of the Alexand. conjugation-forms *είπαν*, *ἡλθαν*, *ἔπεσαν*, &c. Grammatical emendations: Revel. ii. 20: *τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τὴν λέγουσαν* (com. text) for *τὴν γ. . . ἡ λέγουσα*. Rev. iv. 1: *λέγουσα* (recd. text) for *λέγων*. John i. 14: *πλήρη* (Cod. D) for *πλήρης*. Matt. vii. 25, *αὐτῆς* omitted. Luke viii. 31: *παρεκάλει* for *παρεκάλουν*. 1 Cor. iv. 6: *ἴνα . . . φυσιώσθε* for *ἴνα . . . φυσιούσθε*. Acts xx. 16: *εἰη* for *ἡν*. Luke vi. 38: *φὶ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε* for *τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ φὶ μετρεῖτε*. Matt. xv. 32: *ἡμέρας τρεῖς* for *ἡμέραι τρεῖς*. Mark viii. 31: *ἐπό* for *ἀπό*. Removal of a zeugma: Luke i. 64, instead of *ἀνεῳχθῇ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ*, Codd.: *ἀν τ. στ. αὐτ. παρ. καὶ ἐλύθῃ ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ*. Removal of Hebraisms: Matt. ix. 8: *ἔθαύμασαν* for *ἔφοβήθησαν*. Mark xiv. 25: *οὐκ ἔτι οὐ μὴ πία* for *οὐ μὴ προσθῶ πιεῖν*. Doing away a tautology: Mark xii. 23, instead of *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει, ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν*, several Codd. simply *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει*. Removal of a pleonasm: 2 Cor. xii. 6, omission of *τι* in D<sup>o</sup>EFG 37. all. Exchange of a less usual expression for a more usual: 1 Pet. ii. 20, for *κολαφίζόμενοι*, Codd. *κολαζόμενοι*.

<sup>b</sup> Mark ii. 26: *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* was, on account of 1 Sam. xxi. 1, either wholly or in part omitted, or the name changed to Abimelech. Matt. xxvii. 9: some Codd. leave out *Ιερεμίου*, others read *Ζαχαρίου*. Mark xv. 25: *ἔκτη* for *τρίτη* after John xix. 14, and there *τρίτη* for *ἔκτη*. John i. 28, for *Βηθανίᾳ*, com. text according to Orig. *Βηθαθαρᾶ*. Mark x. 12: *ἔξ- ἐλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς* for *ἀπολύσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς*. John vii. 39: *οὐπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα ἀγίου*; addition, *ἐν' αὐτοῖς*, or *δεδομένον*, or *δοθέν*, and the like. Matt. v. 22, *εἰκῇ* was on moral grounds either added, or omitted by others. Luke ii. 33: *Ἰωσήφ* for *δι πατήρ αὐτοῦ*. Mark xiii. 32: omitted, *οὐδὲ ὁ νιός*. Acts xx. 28: *θεοῦ* (recd. text) for *κυρίου*. 1 John v. 7, the addition of the three heavenly witnesses.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. i. 20, the reading *διό* for *καὶ* rests probably on Theodoret's explanation.

<sup>d</sup> Matt. iv. 12, and often, *δι Ιησοῦς* introduced; vi. 13, addition of the doxology; xiii. 23, addition, *δι ἔχων ὑπα. κ.τ.λ.*; *ἀμήν*, at the end of books. The readings of the received text, Acts iii. 11, *τοῦ ἰαθέντος χωλοῦ*, and xx. 16, *ἔκρινε*, came from Lectionaries.

### Griesbach's System of Recensions.

#### § 37.

Griesbach noticed in the MSS. and versions of the N. T., and in the citations of the Fathers, certain peculiarities of

the text as a whole. Guided by these, he arranged the whole mass of critical authorities in three divisions, and thereby simplified the examination of their testimony. He called the different divisions of the text *Recensions*, and laid down the three following :—

1. The *Occidental* Recension, whose authorities and documents are *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Irenæus* (Lat. trans.), *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, &c.; the *Latin versions* before Jerome, the *Sahidico-Coptic* and *Jerusalem Syriac*; the MSS. of the Gospels D 1. 13. 69. 118. 124. 131. 157., of the Pauline Epistles DEFG. Its character is exegetical, it contains glosses and circumlocutions, and is the most strongly Hebraistic.

2. The *Alexandrine* Recension, whose authorities and documents are *Clement of Alex.*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *Cyril of Alex.*, *Isidore of Pelusium*, &c.; the *Memphitico-Coptic*, *Philoxenian Syriac*, *Ethiopic*, and *Armenian* versions; the manuscripts BCL 33. 102. 106. of the Gospels, of the Epistles, ABC 17. 46. 47. Its peculiarity is greater grammatical purity and correctness of language.

3. The *Constantinopolitan* Recension, which consists of the writings of the *Fathers of Greece*, *Asia Minor*, and the *neighboring provinces*, from the fourth to the sixth centuries; the *Gothic* and *Slavic* versions; the MSS. of the Gospels AEFGHS, and the Moscow MSS. of the Pauline Epistles. Its peculiarity lies in the mixture of the other two recensions. It follows more closely the Greek idiom, but contains also glosses, and approaches the Received Text.

Griesbach assigns the *Syriac Peshito* to neither of these recensions, and thinks it has been repeatedly altered after different Greek MSS. Chrysostom's text of the Gospels, also, he regards as a mixture of various recensions. The text in manuscripts PQT is likewise mixed, and indeed several documents of the Occidental and Alexandr. recensions have suffered adulteration. MSS. also, which, on the whole, belong to the Constantinop. recension, e. g. Codd. KM 10. 11. 17. 22. 28. 36. 40. 57. 61. 63. 64. 72. 91. 108. 127. 142. 209. 229. 235., contain mixtures from other recensions.\*

\* *Griesbach*, Prolegg. in ed. 3. N. T. p. lxx. sqq. *Curae in hist. text.* Gr. Epp. Paulin. spec. I. sect. II. § 14, 15. *Hahnlein*, Einl. ins N. T. II. 120, ff.—Earlier hints by *Bengel* and *Semler* (§ 46).

### § 38.

*Griesbach* considered only the Alexandrine form of the text the result of a genuine recension, which was undertaken on placing together the *Εὐαγγέλιον* and the *Απόστολος* (Pt. I. § 21); the Occidental, on the other hand, and the Constantinopolitan, as not, in strictness, entitled to the name.\* These two he regarded as accidental results of the negligence and arbitrariness of copyists and pseudocritics. The Occidental he derives from the ancient MSS. current before the *Απόστολος* was collected; the Constantinopolitan he regards as a mixture of the two old recensions. The birthplace of the recensions he deduced partly from their origin and circulation, and partly from their versions and from the Fathers who adopted them.

But in this system all is uncertain; for we know nothing of the rise of the oldest collections of N. T. books, and no critical document contains a recension in its pure state, or maintains throughout the character ascribed to it.<sup>b</sup>

\* *Curae in hist. text.* § 13. *Meletema* II. de vetustis textus N. T. recons., prefixed to his *Comment. crit. Part. II.* p. xxxiv.

<sup>b</sup> *Schulz*, Praef. ad ed. 3. N. T. *Griesb.* p. xxxiii. *J. G. Reiche*, Codicum MSS. N. T. Graec. aliquot insign. in *Bibliotheca reg. Paris. asservatorum* nova descriptio et cum textu vulgo recepto collatio (Gött. 1847. a.) p. 2, sqq.

### *Hug's System.*

### § 39.

*Hug* agrees with *Griesbach* in finding in MSS. D 1. 13. 69. 124. of the Gospels, and DEFG of the Epp., and in the *old Latin* and *Sahidico-Coptic* versions, a text in general similar to the Occidental, but unrevised and debased, which he designates by the name (borrowed from the critical history of the LXX.) of *κουνὴ ἔκδοσις*; but differs from him in numbering the *Peshito*, and the Alexandrians *Clement*

and *Origen*, among its authorities.<sup>a</sup> — As regards this version, Griesbach yielded in a measure, and acknowledged in it a peculiar form of the text akin to the *κοινή*; but in regard to Clement and Origen he greatly limits Hug's assertion.<sup>b</sup>

Later, according to *Hug*, an end was put to this debased condition of the text by *three different recensions* in the East.

1. *Hesychius*, the critical reviser of the LXX. (Pt. I. § 46), he supposes brought the text into the form in which it exists in some authorities of Griesbach's Alexand. recension, in *Codd. BCL* of the Gospels, *Codd. ABC* 17. 46. of the Epp., in the *Memphitic* version, *Athanasius*, *Cyril* of Alexandria, and others. — But the historic evidence in support of this recension is very unsatisfactory, for the MSS. ascribed to *Hesychius* seem to have had little circulation.<sup>c</sup> The form of the text which Hug ascribes to *Hesychius* belongs, moreover, to the time of *Origen*, and even of *Clement* of Alexandria.

2. The so-called Constantinopolitan recension (in MSS. EFGH of the Gospels, SVbh Matth., and in most cursive MSS., in Cod. G of the Pauline Epp., and in the Moscow MSS.) *Hug* ascribes to *Lucian*, who is said to have revised the *κοινή*, on which the Peshito was based. Against this Griesbach has adduced nothing, although the historical proof seems also unsatisfactory.<sup>d</sup>

3. *Hug* finds a distinct recension, not laid down by *Griesbach*, in the MSS. AKM 42. 106. 114. 116. of the Gospels, in the *Philoxenian Syriac* version, and in the writings of *Chrysostom* and *Theodore*, and ascribes it to *Origen*. But this form of the text is not sufficiently independent, and the fact that *Origen* undertook a recension of the N. T. cannot be proved, and is intrinsically unlikely.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Einl. ins N. T. I. § 22, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Melet. II. p. xlvii. sqq. and Melet. I. In the latter he shows that *Origen* used an Occidental MS. only in the Commentary on Matt. *Hug* himself confesses that *Clement* often follows ABC. § 32. p. 183.

<sup>c</sup> After subtracting the passages which *Hug*, § 36, cites (cf. Pt. I. § 46), and which refer to the LXX., only the following proofs remain. *Hieron. Praef. in 4 Evang. ad Damasum: Praetermitto eos codices, quos a Lu-*

ciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio, etc. (§ 26, note b). *Decret.* Pars I. distinct. XV. § 27: Evangelia quae falsavit Lucianus et Hesychius apocrypha. Already Semler (ad Wetstenii libell. ad crisin N. T. pertinentes, pp. 83, 177) considered both of these men authors of widely circulated recensions. Comp., on the other side, Scholz (Prolegg. § 29); Rink, *Lucubr. crit.* pp. 7, 59.

<sup>a</sup> Besides the passages adduced in note c, the following rather opposes than supports it. *Hieron.* De vir. illustr. c. 77: Lucianus . . . tantum in scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc *quaedam exemplaria scripturarum* Luciane nuncupentur.

• Griesbach, l. c. p. lviii. sqq. Scholz, Prolegg. § 28. The traces in *Hieronym.* (ad Matt. xxiv. 36) prove little: In quibusdam Latinis Codicibus additum est: neque filius: quum in Graecis, et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum. Ad Gal. iii. 1: . . . hoc quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, omisimus. Opposed to it is Origen's own testimony (Torn. xv. in Matt. III. 671), where the Latin translator adds: In exemplaribus autem N. T. hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi. Against Hug's view in general, see Rink, l. c.

Similar view of Eichhorn, IV. § 34, ff., save that he does not adopt a recension by Origen. He discriminates an unrevised text in Asia and Africa, a recension of the former by Lucian, of the latter by Hesychius, and a mixture of both texts.

### Dissenting Views.

#### § 40 a.

*Chr. Fr. Matthäi*, who regarded the old Occidental and Alexandrian MSS., the quotations of the Fathers, and the old versions, as unreliable, rejects the whole recension system, and finds the genuine text in his Moscow MSS. alone.<sup>a</sup>

Also *J. Mart. Augustin Scholz* declares the Constantinopolitan to be the genuine, uncorrupted text. The text of what Griesbach called the Occidental and Alexandrian authorities he puts together, and regards it as the result of the prevailing carelessness of the Egyptian grammarians in the first three centuries. The Constantinopolitan, on the other hand, he deduces from the original text current in Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria, and which, through the conscientious regard that prevailed in the fourth century towards the sacred writings, had been carefully preserved.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ueber die sogen. Recensionen, welche der Abt Bengel, der D. Semler und der geh. K. R. Griesbach in d. griech. Texte des N. T. wollen entdeckt haben. Leipz. 1804.

<sup>b</sup> Grundlinien e. Gesch. d. Textes d. N. T., in his Bibl. krit. Reise. Leipzig, 1823. p. 163, ff. Prolegg. ad edit. N. T. § 20, sqq. 51, sqq. Other views in his Curae crit. in hist. text. Evangg. Heidelb. 1820. 4to. *Rink* agrees with him (Lucubr. crit. p. 2, sqq.). He accepts only two classes of MSS., the *Occidental* (in the Epp. ABCDEFG), and the *Oriental* (the cursive MSS.). The former he divides into two families,— the African (ABC) and the Latin (DEFG) MSS. He also regards the first class as in part the result of grammatical arbitrariness, in part of ignorance and carelessness. *Tischendorf* (Prolegg. ad edit. N. T. p. xlv.) closely follows *Rink*. He arranges the uncial MSS. thus: the *African*, BCLXN PQTWZYG of the Gospels, ABC of Acts, ABC of the Pauline Epistles, ABC of the Cath. Epistles, AC of the Apocalypse; the *Latin*, D. I. 13. 69. 124. of the Gospels, DE of the Acts, DEFG of the Pauline Epistles; the *Constantinopolitan*, FGHSUV of the Gospels, H of the Acts, I of the Pauline Epp., H of the Cath. Epp. He places the Cod. B between the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan.

### § 40 b.

Although it may be objected to this view that it gives too little prominence to the distinctive character of the Occidental and of the Alexandrian text, and assumes without proof that the Constantinopolitan is the true transmission of the text originally current in Asia Minor and Syria;<sup>a</sup> the other views are also liable to the objection, that it is a manifest assumption, that the text of the older manuscripts is of course older and more authentic. The later manuscripts also may have preserved the original text, and in not a few passages really give it.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> J. S. Vater, in Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1824. I. 14, ff. Gabler, Praef. ad *Griesbachii Opuse*. Vol. II. p. xvii. Schott, Isag. § 142. Tischendorf, l. c. p. xxx. sqq. — That the Constantinopolitan text has been affected by the Alexandrian, Scholz himself (Prolegg. § 52) cannot wholly deny. The MSS., which Eusebius procured (§ 28 a, note a) at Constantine's command, were probably prepared from such as Origen had used and approved of.

<sup>b</sup> Decidedly wrong are the readings: Matt. xxvii. 49, +ἄλλος δὲ λαβών, κ. τ. λ., BCL 5. all.; 1 Cor. iv. 2, ζητέτε for ζητεῖται, ADEFG 23. all.; 1 Cor. xv. 49, φορέσωμεν, ABCDEFGI, against φορέσομεν, B text rec. The following are very doubtful: Matt. xxvi. 60, καὶ οὐχ εὑρὼν πολλ. ψευδομάρτ. προσελθ.; 1 Cor. viii. 7, τῇ συνηδήσει ἑως ἀρτι τοῦ

*εἰδώλου*, BDEFG ; xv. 44, *εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχ.* κ. τ. λ., ABCD\*FG ; 2 Cor. i. 20, *διὸ καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ*, κ. τ. λ., ABC\*FG ; xii. 1, the received reading has much in its favor ; ver. 7, likewise the received *ἴνα μὴ ὑπεράρωμαι*, against ADEFG ; Gal. iv. 31, the readings of the uncials is not satisfactory : 1 Thess. ii. 18, *δύοτι* with ABD\*FG is hardly correct. Cf. my *Exeget. Handb.* on the passage. *Rink*, in St. u. Kr. 1846. p. 402, ff.

### *Conclusion.*

#### § 41.

If, in these attempts after a so-called history of the New Testament text, we separate theory from actual observation, the fact remains, that certain manuscripts and other critical authorities agree among themselves and differ from others, according to a certain analogy. This is chiefly the case with the Eastern (Alexandrian) and the Western, although even in these many transitions and admixtures occur. This fact, however, we must not seek to explain historically, because of the almost entire absence of information ; but to complete it critically by first of all collating the critical documents more accurately, and more extensively, than has hitherto been done. In connection with this diplomatic or external criticism, the internal must be pursued, which estimates readings according to internal grounds, i. e. grounds drawn from the peculiar style of individual authors.\* We shall then find that the oldest MSS. by no means deserve unqualified preference.

\* Cf. *Schulz, Praef. ad N. T. p. li. sq.*

## II. HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

### *First and Standard Editions.*

#### § 42.

Long after the invention of printing, and the consequent circulation of the Latin Bible and the Hebrew Old Testa-

ment, the whole Greek New Testament was, in 1514, first printed at Complutum (Alcalá), in Spain, in Cardinal Ximenes's Polyglot, and a few years later published. It is uncertain from what MSS. this text of the New Testament was taken. The passage 1 John v. 7 seems to have been taken from the Vulgate.<sup>a</sup>

The edition of *Erasmus*, with a Latin version and annotations (Basel, 1516, fol.), appeared earlier; a second A. D. 1519, a third A. D. 1522, a fourth in 1527, and a fifth in 1535. In the Gospels he used Cod. 2 (Basil. B. VI. 25) as the basis of his text, in the Acts and the Epp. Cod. 2 (Bas. B. IX. ult.), and in the Apoc. Cod. Reuchlin.; and he sometimes collated Cod. 1 (Bas. B. VI. 27) and Cod. 4 (Bas. B. X. 20). Not until the third edition did he adopt 1 John v. 7, from the Cod. Montfort., and in the fourth he used the Complutensian edition. The critics are not wholly satisfied with his carefulness and accuracy.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Weisstein*, Prolegg. in N. T. ed. *Semler*, p. 311, sqq. *Semler*, Hist. u. krit. Samml. üb. den sogen. Beweisst. d. Dogmatik. 1 Th. 1764. For his controversial writings against *J. M. Götz*, on the critical worth of the Complut. text, see *Rosemüller*, Handbuch f. d. Litt. III. 291, ff. *Chr. W. Fr. Walch*, Neuste Rel. Gesch. IV. 425, ff. That the Greek text has been altered from the Vulgate (*Wist.*), is true only under great limitations. *Eichhorn* (V. § 112) judges very favorably of the text of this ed. Cod. Havn. 1. Laud. 2. Vindob. Lambeo. 35. agree with him closely.

<sup>b</sup> *Weisstein*, l. c. p. 318, sqq. *Michaelis*, Einl. I. 778, ff. *Herb. Marsh*, Anmerk. I. 422, ff.

### *Origin of the Received Text.*

#### § 43.

Several subsequent editions give little else than the text of the two mentioned above, with, at the most, a few alterations from MSS. The Complutensian edition is followed by ed. 1. *Rob. Steph.* 1546. 16mo. (called the *O mirificam* edition); ed. 2. 1549. 16mo; edd. *Plantin.* et *Rapheleng.* (Antw. 1564–1612. 8vo, and miniature form); edd. *Genev.* 1609, 19, 20, 28, 32; the Paris Polyglot, T. IX. X. 1645; ed. *Goldhagen* (Mog. 1753), with var. readings. The ed. of

Erasmus is followed by ed. *Andr. Asulani*, "multis vetustiss. exempl. collatis" (Ven. 1518. fol.) ; *Thom. Anshelm* (Bad. Hagen. 1521. 4to) ; *Jo. Bebelii* (Bas. 1523, 31, 35. 8vo) ; *Wolf. Cephalaei* (Arg. 1524, 34. 8vo) ; *Thom. Plateri* (Bas. 1538, 40, 43, 44. 8vo) ; *Nic. Brylingeri* (1533, 43, 48, 49, 53, 56, 58, 86. 8vo) ; *Froben. et Episcop.* (Bas. 1545. 4to) ; *Heerwagen* (Bas. 1545. fol.) ; *Vögelin* (Lips. 1570) ; *Leonh. Osten* (Bas. 1588. 8vo) ; ed. Viteb. 1622. 4to. Remarkable editions : ed. *Sim. Colinaei* (Par. 1534. 8vo) ; ed. *Jac. Bogard* (Par. 1543) ; ed. 3. *Rob. Stephan.* (1550. fol., called ed. *Regia*) "c. vetust. XVI. scriptis exempl." ; ed. 4. 1551. 8vo, with Erasmus's version and the Vulgate, with the division into verses (cf. § 30 a) ; ed. *Rob. Steph. fil.* (1569. 16mo). These last edd. are followed by ed. *Oporin.* (Bas. 1552. 16mo) ; ed. *Wechel* (Fr. a. M. 1597. f. 1600, 16, 61. fol.) ; *Bryling.* (Bas. 1563. 8vo) ; *Crispin* (Gen. 1553. large 16mo. 1563. 12mo. 1604. 16mo) ; *Froschower* (Turic. 1559, 66. 8vo). The Erasmian and Complut. together are followed by Bibl. Antwerp. 1571, 72 ; ed. *Plant.* 1572, 84. fol. c. vers. interlin. Ar. Montani ; ed. *Rapheleng.* 1591. 16mo ; *Commelin.* 1599. fol.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Hug*, Einl. I. § 57. *Eichhorn*, § 112, p. 260, ff. § 113, p. 265, ff. *Rosenmüller*, I. 278, ff.

#### § 44.

*Theod. Beza* advanced the N. T. criticism a step, by improving the text of the third edition of Stephens, with the help of H. Stephens's collation and some other aids.<sup>b</sup> This text being frequently reprinted, especially in Holland, gained currency as the *Textus Receptus*.<sup>b</sup> It owes its reputation, however, only to Beza's renown, and to the fortunate activity of the Dutch printers, not to its internal excellence ; for it is by no means the result of thorough and comprehensive examination.<sup>c</sup> It has, however, with reason, been made the basis in almost all critical labors (§ 55 a).

<sup>b</sup> *First edition*, 1565 (Geneva), printed by H. Steph. the son, with the Vulgate, Beza's own translation, and critical remarks. In the dedication he says : "Ad haec omnia accessit exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliotheca cum

*viginti quinque plusminus* manuscriptis codd. et omnibus paene impressis ab Henr. Stephano ejus filio quam diligentissime collatum." *Second edition.* 1582. fol. In the preface it is said: "Hos novi foederis libros non modo cum variis *septemdecim* Graecorum codd. a Rob. Stephano citatorum lectionibus rursum contulimus, sed etiam cum Syra interpretatione." On this contradiction compare *Herb. Marsh*, I. 428, and *Hug*, Einleit. I. § 58. *Third edition*, 1589. *Fourth edition*, 1598. Six smaller editions, with his own Latin translation, 1565–67, 80, 90, 1604, 11. 8vo.

<sup>a</sup> Ed. Elzevir. L. B. 1624. 16mo. 1633. 12mo. Preface to second: "Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum." Unaltered copies of the second: 1641, 56, 62, 70, 78. Ed. *Curcellaei* ap. Dan. Elzevir. 1658, 75, with var. readings. Ed. *Morini*. Par. 1628. Ed. *Westen*. Amst. 1698. 8vo, with the transl. of Arias Mont. The edd. of *Henr. Stephens*, 1576. 12mo. 1581. 16mo; ed. *Böckler*. Arg. 1645, 60. 4to, differ somewhat.

<sup>b</sup> *Griesbach*, Prolegg. p. xxxii. *Bertholdt*, I. 356.

### Critical Collections and Editions.

#### § 45 a.

To English industry we owe the first important efforts for the development of N. T. criticism. *Brian Walton* added to the text of the London Polyglot (1657, Pt. V.) the readings of the Cod. Alex., and gave, in Part VI., a rich collection of variations from MSS. in part not before collated.<sup>a</sup> *John Fell* enlarged this collection in his edition,<sup>b</sup> but has the higher merit of occasioning and stimulating *John Mill* to issue a new and better edition.

<sup>a</sup> Among them also the Velesian readings, a work of fraud. *Herb. Marsh*, I. 477.

<sup>b</sup> N. T. libri omnes. Accesserunt parallell. script. loca nec non var. lectt. ex plus 100 MSS. codd. et antiqu. verss. coll. Oxon. 1675. *Fell* collated 12 MSS. of the Bodleian Library, and obtained collations from elsewhere, to which he added, besides those which he found in *Curcellaeus* and the London Polyglot, the genuine readings of *Caryophilus* from *Possini* Catena in Evang. Marci. 1673. fol. Copies of this ed. op. et stud. *Jo. Gregorii*. Oxon. 1703. fol., Lips. sumt. Koenig. 1697. 8vo, c. praef. Frank. Lips. 1702. 8vo.

#### § 45 b.

*John Mill's* edition surpassed all its predecessors, not only in richness of critical material, but also in critical exact-

ness, for he first described and investigated the claims of the documents. He thus gave criticism a fixed course.\*

\* Nov. Test. cum lectionibus var. MSS. exemplarium, verss., editt., SS. Patrum et scriptorum eccles. et in easdem notis. Accedunt loca script. parall. aliaque exegetica, et appendix ad var. lectiones. Praemittitur diss., in qua de libris N. T. et canonis constitutione agitur: et historia s. textus N. Foederis ad nostra usque tempora deducitur, et quid in hac editione praestitum sit, explicatur. Stud. et lab. Joa. Millii S. T. P. Oxon. 1707. fol. *Mill* used, not only the then existing collections of variations and *Fell's* apparatus, but made more accurate extracts from the best older printed editions, and from some important codd. existing in England. He got extracts from others not previously used, and more exact ones from some which had been used. To these he added the various readings of the old versions and the Fathers. But his extracts from MSS., from the Eastern verss., and the Fathers, are in part defective, and in part incorrect. Comp. *Rosenm. Handbuch*, I. 325. Enlarged and corrected edition: — Collectionem Mill. rec., meliori ordine disp. novisque accessionibus locupl. *Lud. Kusterus. Amst. 1710. Lips. 1723. fol.* The Prolegomena published by *Dan. Salthenius. Königsb. 1734. 4to.* *Gerhard* of Maastricht used Mill's collection of various readings in his ed. Amst. ex. off. Wetsat. 1711, 35. 8vo, with 43 can. crit.

#### § 46 a.

*Joh. Alb. Bengel* issued a new recension of the text, with new collations. He laid down in his *Introductio ad Crisin N. T.* principles which simplified the work of criticism, and gave the first start to the classification of MSS. in families.\*

\* N. T. Graecum, ita adornatum, ut textus probatarum editt. medullam, margo var. lectionum in suas classes distributarum locorumque parall. delectum, apparatus subjunctus criseos sacrae, Milliana praesertim, compendium, limam ac fructum exhibeat, inserviente *Joa. Alb. Bengelio. Tub. 1734. 4to. Introd. in cris. N. T. § 26: . . . ipsi varietatibus, ut sunt, excussis, videndum, quinam codices potissimum inter se bini, terni, quaterni et amplius, per minores majoresque *syzygias* in utramque partem congruant.* Nam sic via patefiet ad decidendum, id est, ad varietates quae supercreverant, resecandas, quo facto genuina lectio non poterit non superare. § 31. . . . Nam si quis omnem codicum varietatem probe secum reputaverit, perspicet librarios Graecos in quasdam quasi nationes sive familias discessionem ante etiam fecisse, quam versiones extitissent. As a basis for his assumption of two families, viz. an Alexand. and a Latin, he used Cod. Alex. and the old Latin version. Cf. § 22 and the subsequent observations. — The Apparatus criticus was published separately, cur. *Phil. Dav. Burkio. Tub. 1763. 4to. Manual edition, Stuttg. 1734. 8vo; reprinted 1739, 53, 62, 76, with additions by E. Bengel, the son, 1790. 8vo.*

## § 46 b.

*Joh. Jac. Wetstein's* edition, accompanied by learned Prolegomena, and elaborated with marvellous industry, added a multitude of new collations to the stock of critical material, and brought more light and order into it. He did not, however, adopt Bengel's views of criticism. He was obliged to refrain from editing the text according to his own judgment, and designated the changes which seemed to him necessary by signs and marginal notes.\* The text, as it would have been amended by *Wetstein*, was printed by *Wm. Bowyer*.<sup>b</sup>

\* N. T. Graecum edit. receptae, cum lectionibus var. codd. MSS., editt. aliarum, verss. et Patrum nec non commentario pleniore ex scriptoribus vet. Hebr., Graec., et Lat. historiam et vim verborum illustrante, op. et stud. *Joa. Jac. Wetstenii*. T. I. cont. quatuor Evangelia. Amst. 1751. T. II. cont. Epp. Pauli, Acta Apost., Epp. Cath., et Apoc. 1752. fol. Ed. 2. auct. et em. cur. *J. A. Lotze*. Rotterd. 1832. large 4to. The Prolegomena ad N. T. Graeci editionem, etc. appeared earlier. Amst. 1730. 4to.—Notas adjecit atque appendicem de vetustioribus Latinis recens., quae in variis codd. supersunt, *J. S. Semler*. Hal. 1674. 8vo. W. collated, on his critical journeys, several codd. anew, or for the first time, as Cod. C. He also first brought the readings of the Philox. vers. into the critical apparatus. His accuracy has been defended against *Michaelis's* attacks (Einl. I. 813, ff.) by *Marsh*, Anmerk. I. 435, ff.

<sup>b</sup> N. T. Graec. ad fidem Graec. solum Codd. MSS. nunc primum expressum, adstipulante Jo. Jac. Wetstenio. Accessere in altero vol. emendationes conject. virorum doct. undique collectae. Lond. 1763. 2 vol. 12mo; the 2d Pt. also, under an English title: Conjectural emendations on the N. T. Lond. 1763. 2d ed. 1772. 3d ed. 1782. small 8vo; transl. with additions by *J. Chr. F. Schulz*. Lpz. 1774, 75. 8vo.

## § 47 a.

*Joh. Jac. Griesbach's* name marks a new chapter in the history of N. T. criticism. He enlarged the critical material by collations and excerpts of his own, and, following Bengel's and Semler's example, laid down a system of principles of criticism (comp. § 37), by which he tested the authorities, and improved the Received Text, which he took for the basis of his, both on external and internal grounds.\*

Almost at the same time an edition appeared in England, containing the text improved from Codd. Cantabr. and Claramont.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Libri hist. N. T. Graece. Pars prior, sistens synopsin Evangg. Matth., Marc., et Luc. Textum ad fidem codd., versas. et Patrum emendavit et lect. var. adjecit J. Jac. Griesbach. Hal. 1774. Pars post., sistens Evang. Joh. et Acta App. Ib. 1775. 8vo. Subsequently without the synoptical arrangement: N. T. Graece, etc. Vol. I. Evangg. et Acta Apost. compl. Hal. 1777. Vol. II. Epist. et Apoc. complectens. 1775. large 8vo. *Griesbach* collated several codd. (DGL 10. 12. 13. &c.) on his journeys, and gave the most important readings in this edition. The complete extracts, however, and the collation of Clem. Alex. and Origen in his *Symbolae criticae* (Hal. 1785, 93). His critical apparatus contains, besides, the readings from both the Wolsenbüttel MSS. and the Giessen codd. Finally, the readings from the old versions are in part corrected, and in part increased.

<sup>b</sup> The New Testament, collated with the most approved manuscripts, etc. by E. Harwood. Lond. 1776, 84. 2 vols. small 8vo. Cf. Marsh, Anmerk. I. 451.

### § 47 b.

The stock of critical materials increased still further after this time. *Chr. Fr. Matthäi*, in his edition, collated more than one hundred Moscow and other MSS., and gave a recension<sup>a</sup> nearly approximating to the Received Text, based on these, and on principles of his own (§ 40). — N. T. criticism owes still further enrichment to the edition of *Franz Carl Alter*, in which he gives (greatly to the critic's inconvenience) the text according to the Vienna Cod. Lambeccii I., with various readings from many other Vienna MSS. and some versions.<sup>b</sup> — *Andr. Birch* contributed his own and *Moldenhauer's* collation of many unexamined MSS. (Cod. Vat. C and others), and *Adler's* extracts from the Jerusalem Syriac version.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nov. Test. XII Tomis distinctum Graece et Latine. Textum denuo recensuit, var. lectiones nunquam antea vulgatas ex centum Codd. MSS. variarum Biblioth., Mosqu., olim Patriarch. nunc SS. Synodi, Typographei synod. et Tabularii Imperialis, Pultav., Nicephori Archiep., Dresd. Elector, Lips. Paulinae, Gotting. Univ. et suae, summa dilig. et fide collegit et vulgavit, lectionaria Eccles. Graec. primo accurate evolvit singulasque lectt. sedulo indagavit, plerorumque Codd. specimina aere expressa exhibuit, priorum editorum, clariss. virorum, nominatim *Millii*, *Bengelii*, *Wetstenii*,

etiam *Knittelii*, diligentiss. critici, apparatus retractavit, eorumque sententias examinavit, editt. etiam alias ut *Complut.*, *Erasmi*, *Bezae*, *Steph.*, *Mastr.* atque adeo *Griesb.* *Hal.*, recensionis, ut vocat, *Alexandrino-Occidental*is, inspexit, scholia Gr. max. part. inedit. addidit, commentarios Gr. cum ed. tum ined. consuluit et notavit, *Patrum Gr. et Lat.* lectiones notabiliores memoravit, animadverss. crit. adj. et ed. *Chr. Friedr. Matthaei*, etc. cum tabulis aeneis XXIX. Rigae 1788. 8vo. The volumes had before been published singly, from 1782–1788. Cf. *Eichhorn*, *Allg. Bibl.* II. 305, f. Manual edition. Wittenb. 1803–6. 3 vols. 8vo. The edition of the Cod. *Boern.* (§ 51 b) was also a valuable addition to the store of critical materials.

<sup>a</sup> N. T. ad Cod. *Vindob.* Graece expressum. Variet. lectionis addidit *Franc. Car. Alter.* Vien. Vol. I. 1787. Vol. II. 1788. 8vo. Cf. *Marsh*, *Anm.* I. 447. To it belongs *Treschow*, Tentamen descriptionis Codd. veterum aliquot Graec. N. T. MSS., qui in Biblioth. Caes. *Vindob.* asservantur. Hafn. 1773. 8vo.

<sup>c</sup> Quatuor Evangg. Graece cum variantibus a textu lectionibus Cod. MSS. Biblioth. *Vatic.*, *Barber.*, *Laurent.*, *Vindob.*, *Escurial.*, *Hav. reg.*, quibus accedunt lectiones verss. *Syr.*, *Vet.*, *Philox.*, et *Hierosol.* jussu et sumt. reg. ed. *Andr. Birch.* *Havn.* 1788, fol. and 4to. Cheap ed. 1801. large 8vo. Cf. *Marsh*, *Anm.* I. 448, f. *Eichhorn*, *Allg. Bibl.* II. 116, ff. To this belong, Var. lectt. ad text. *Act. Apost.* *Epp. Cath.* et *Pauli*. *Havn.* 1798. 8vo, and Var. lectiones ad text. *Apoc.* 1800. 8vo.

### § 48 a.

This whole accession of critical materials, increased by new extracts from several versions and Church Fathers, was brought together and worked up by Griesbach in his second edition,<sup>a</sup> which, enriched with learned prolegomena, has become an indispensable hand-book to the critic. It is, however, no longer quite sufficient, for soon after the stock of critical materials was enlarged. *Joh. Mart. Augustin Scholz* described and collated several MSS.,<sup>b</sup> and issued a new ed. of the N. T., with a critical apparatus and a recension of the text, principally after *Griesbach*.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> N. T. Graece. Textum ad fidem codd., verss. et Patr. recens. et lect. variet. adjecit D. *Jo. Jac. Griesbach*. Vol I. Quatuor Evang. compl. Edit. sec. emend. multoque locupletior. *Hal.* et *Lond.* 1796. large 8vo. ed. 3. emend. et auct. cur. D. *Schulz*. Berol. 1827. (The editor enlarged the critical apparatus a little.) Vol. II. *Acta et Epp. Apostol.* cum *Apoc.* compl. 1806. 8vo. Cf. *Comment. crit. in text. N. T.* Partic. I. 1802. Part. II. 1811. 8vo. Elegant edition, *Leipz.* 1803–7. 4 parts, small fol. Manual edition, c. sel. lect. var. *Leipz.* 1805. 2 parts. 8vo. It is a great defect in

Griesbach's edition, that it generally gives only the authorities for the variations from the common text, and not for the text itself.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. krit. Reise, cf. § 40, not. b. Prolegg. §§ 41, 43, 64, 67, 70, 72, for the list of the MSS. first collated and used by him. Against his critical accuracy see *Tischendorf*, Prolegg. ad ed. N. T. p. liv.

<sup>b</sup> N. T. Graece. Textum ad fidem testium criticorum recensuit, lectio-  
num familias subjicit, e Graecis codd. MSS., qui in Europae et Asiae  
bibliothecis reperiuntur, fere omnibus, e verss. antiquis, conciliis, ss. Patri-  
bus et scriptoribus eccles. quibuscumque vel primo vel iterum collatis copias  
criticas addidit atque conditionem horum testium criticorum historiamque  
textus N. T. in prolegg. fusius exposuit, etc. Vol. I. IV. Evangg. compl.  
Lips. 1830. Vol. II. Act. App., Epp., Apoc. compl. 1836. 4to.

### § 48 b.

*W. Fr. Rink* published a collation of seven new Venetian,<sup>a</sup> and *J. G. Reiche* of several Paris MSS.<sup>b</sup> *Lobegott Fried. Const. Tischendorf*, by his edition of the Cod. Ephraemi (§ 50 b), and *H. Chr. Mich. Rettig*, by publishing the Cod. Sangall. (§ 51 b), contributed to the correction and enlargement of the stock of critical material.

<sup>a</sup> Lucubratio crit. in Acta Apost., epp. cath. et Paulin., in qua de classi-  
bus librorum MSS. quaestio instituitur, descriptio et varia lectio septem  
codd. Marcianorum exhibetur atque observv. ad plurima loca cum Apostoli  
tum Evangeliorum dijudic. et emend. proponuntur. Bas. 1830. 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> See the works cited in § 38, note b. The MSS. collated are : Cod.  
reg. 47 (in *Scholz*, Evv. 18, Act. 113, Epp. 132, Apoc. 51); Cod. reg. 61  
(Evv. 263, Act. 117, Epp. 137, Ap. 54); Cod. reg. 103 (Epp. 140);  
Cod. reg. 57 (Epp. 134); Cod. reg. 216 (Epp. 153).

### § 48 c.

*Carl Lachmann* undertook the peculiar task of presenting "the text most generally received in the third and fourth centuries," from the ancient Eastern MSS., with the help of the Western authorities where the Eastern do not agree.<sup>a</sup> This method rendered a certain degree of arbitrariness unavoidable; moreover, as he did not give his authorities, the reader was left in the dark as to the ground of his decisions. That this text is unserviceable without authorities, the editor himself seems to have perceived; for he has issued a new edition, with the critical authorities appended, and the Latin

Vulgate (§ 26, note f).<sup>b</sup> *Tischendorf's* edition is more useful. He here gives the text, likewise according to the ancient MSS. alone, in, it must be confessed, a somewhat hasty manner, and indicates its sources, although not in a quite clear and satisfactory way.<sup>c</sup> *Sam. Prideaux Tregelles* has published a new text of the Apocalypse, not merely according to the external authorities, but with the exercise of critical judgment after the manner of the older critics.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> N. T. Graece. *Ex recensione Car. Lachmanni.* Edit. stereotypa. Berol. 1831. small 8vo. Comp. the account of the editor in *Stud. und Krit.* 1830. IV. 817, ff., and of *Rettig*, Ib. 1832. IV. 861, ff. *Hall. Lit. Zeit.* 1833. Nos. 52–54. *C. F. A. Fritzsche*, *De confirmatione N. T. crit. quam C. Lachmann. ed. Comm.* I. 1841.

<sup>b</sup> N. T. Graece et Latine. *Car. Lachmannus* recensuit, *Phil. Buttmannus* Graecae lectionis auctoritates apposuit. T. I. Berol. 1842. large 8vo.

<sup>c</sup> N. T. Graece. *Textum ad fidem antiquorum testium recensuit, brevem apparatus criticum una cum var lectt. Elzevir. Knapp. Scholz. Lachm. subjunxit, etc.* Lips. 1841. 12mo. Cf. the reviews by *Dav. Schulz*, in the *Jen. L. Z.* 1842. No. 145, ff., and *Rink*, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1842, p. 537, ff. The Paris ed. 1842, small 8vo, approximates more closely to the Vulgate.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰ. Χρ. ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἀντιγράφων ἐκδοθεῖσα. The book of Revel. in Greek, edited from ancient authorities, with a new English version and var. readings. Lond. 1844. large 8vo.

Manual editions : N. T. Graece, recognovit atque insign. lect. varietat. et argument. notatt. subiecit *C. Ch. Knapp.* Hal. 1797; ed. 2, 1813. 8vo. N. T. Graece e rec. Griesbach., nova vers. Lat. illustratum, indice brevi praincipuae lectt. et interpretatt. diversitatis instructum, auct. *Henr. Aug. Schott.* ed. 1, Lips. 1805; ed. 2, 1811; ed. 3, 1825. large 8vo. N. T. Gr. ad fidem optimor. librorum rec. *J. A. H. Tittmann.* Ed. ster. Lips. 1820. 12mo. Recogn. *A. Hahn.* 1840. N. T. Textum Gr. Griesb. et Knapp. denuo recogn. delectu variet. lect. testimon. confirmat., adnot. cum crit. tum exegetica et indicibus histor. et geogr. vocum Graec. infrequ. et subsidior. crit. exeget. instruxit *J. S. Vater.* Hal. 1824. large 8vo. N. T. Gr. nova versione Lat. donatum ad optim. recenss. expressum, selectis variis lectionibus instructum ed. *F. A. A. Näbe.* Lips. 1831. 8vo. N. T. Gr. et Lat. Ex rec. Knapp. adjectis variis Griesbachii et Lachmanni lectionibus ed. *Ad. Goeschen.* Praef. est Dr. Fr. *Lücke.* Lips. 1832. 8vo. N. T. Gr. ex recogn. Knapp. emendatius ed. argumentorum notatt. locc. parall. annott. critt. et indices adj. *C. G. Gu. Theile.* Ed. stereot. Lips. 1844. 12mo. The Complutensian text in the ed. of *Gratz.* 2 vols. Tüb. 1821. The Complut. and Erasmian in the ed. of *L. van Ess.* Tüb. 1827. The Text. Rec. with Griesbach's readings in the ed. of *Hess.* Bas. 1825.

## SUBDIVISION II.

## THEORY OF THE CRITICISM OF THE N. T. TEXT.

## CHAPTER I.

## DOCUMENTARY AUTHORITY IN N. T. CRITICISM.

## I. MANUSCRIPTS.

*General Observations.*

## § 49 a.

*I. Contents.* While a few manuscripts contain, like the Alexandrian, the whole N. T., the majority give only detached portions, usually the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, and many only extracts for reading (Lectionaria, Evangelia, Praxapostoli). Many contain the Greek text with a translation (Codd. mixti, Graeco-Latini,<sup>a</sup> Graeco-Coptic), several with Scholia. In these, and the subscriptions, the lists of sections, lines, and lessons, and the menologies,<sup>b</sup> we find indications of their age and origin.

*II. Form and Material.* They are not scrolls, as in the case of the O. T., but consist of a number of leaves (Quaterniones, Quinterniones, Sexterniones), in small folio, quarto, and even smaller, of parchment, and of silk, cotton, and linen paper, according to the age of the MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Against the charge of Latinizing (*R. Simon*, Hist. du texte du N. T. chap. 30 – 32. diss. sur les MS. d. N. T. *Chr. B. Michaëlis*, De var. lectt. N. T. caute colligendis. § 80, sqq. *Bengel*, Introd. p. 399, 415) they are defended by *Wetstein*, Prolegg., *Mill*, Prolegg. § 1220, *Semler*, Anmerk. zu *Wetsten*. Prolegg. u. libell. ad crisin N. T., *Griesbach*, Symb. crit. I. 110, sqq., *J. D. Michaelis*, Einl. I. 524, f., *Marsh*, Anmerk. I. 231, ff., *Eichhorn*, V. § 110. But *Rink* (Lucubr. crit. p. 5) explains many readings

which occur in purely Greek Codd. by the influence of the Latin language. For example, Col. ii. 10, ὁ (for ὅς) ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλή; iii. 14, ὁ (for ὥτις) ἐστιν οὐδεσμός.

<sup>b</sup> Scholz, De menologii duorum codd. Graecorum Bibliothecae reg. Par. 1823. Prolegg. § 22.

### § 49 b.

III. *Character.* The oldest manuscripts are written in the uncial character. This, however, is not always a sure sign of the age. The later MSS. (from the tenth century down) are in the cursive character. It is easy to distinguish the ancient upright square character from the later compressed. The practised eye can detect still minuter differences.\* The absence of the division into words is a surer sign of antiquity than the want of accents and punctuation; for while accents are wanting even in later MSS., punctuation is found in earlier. The presence or absence of stichometry and division into chapters is an uncertain sign. The orthography indicates their place of origin. Corrections in later ink are to be noted in estimating the readings.

\* Samples of writing in *Montfaucon*, Palaeogr. Gr., *Blanchini*, Evang. quadrupl., *Matthaei*, Ed. N. T., Scholz, Bibl. krit. R., &c.

Descriptions and valuations of the MSS. are given (not only by these and similar works, but) by the edd. of *Mill*, *Wetstein*, *Griesbach*, *Matthaei*, *Birch*, *Scholz*, in their Prolegg., Excursus, and Notes; also in the introductions to the N. T. by *Michaelis* (cf. *Marsh*, Anmerkk. u. Zus.), *Hug*, and others. *Rich. Simon*, Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. chap. 29, ff. Dissert. sur les principaux actes manusc. du N. T., in his Hist. crit. des princ. Commentateurs du N. T. Descriptions of single MSS. are given by *Hänlein*, Einl. II. 59, ff., *Rosenmüller*, Handb. II. 194, ff., to which have been added those of the Cod. Vat. by *Hug* (1810), of Cod. Uffenbach. by *Henke* (1800), of Cod. Diez. by *Poppelbaum* (1815), of Cod. Berol. reg. IV. evangg. by the same (1824), of Cod. Ephr. by *Tischendorf*, of Cod. San-gall. by *Rettig*. See the following sections.

### Some important MSS. in particular.

#### 1. In the Uncial Character.

##### § 50 a.

1. *Cod. Alexandr.* (A in Wetst., Griesb., and others), so called from its supposed birthplace, and, as appears from

certain grammatical and orthographic peculiarities, undoubtedly written in Egypt (if not by *St. Thecla*), is in the British Museum. It contains the whole O. and N. T., (excepting Matt. i. 1 — xxv. 6; John vi. 50 — viii. 52; 2 Cor. iv. 13 — xii. 7,) written in beautiful, square uncial character, on parchment, in two columns, without separation of words (except that it gives sometimes the sign of a section), with initial letters to the sentences, and with punctuation, but without accents or breathings. It contains the Ammonian sections and the *τίτλοι* in the Gospels, but no division in the Epistles, with simple superscriptions and subscriptions to the books. On this account *Hug* considers this MS. older than *Euthalius*, and places it in the fifth century. According to *Montfaucon* and *Eichhorn*, on the other hand, it belongs to the sixth century.<sup>a</sup>

2. *Cod. Vatic.* 1209 (B), containing the O. and N. T. (excepting Hebrews ix. 15 to the end, the Epp. to Tim., Titus, and Philemon, and the Apocalypse), is written in a most beautiful, regular, square, but throughout retouched character, in three columns, without division of words or punctuation (sometimes, though seldom, the latter, as well as accents, has been added by a later hand), without the Ammonian sections in the Gospels, and yet with sections peculiar to it, both there and in the Epistles. Its peculiarities of language indicate Egypt as its birthplace. *Montfaucon* assigns it to the fifth or sixth century, *Blanchini* to the fifth, *Hug* and *Tischendorf* to the fourth.<sup>b</sup> It has been collated by *Birch* (§ 47 b, note c), and before him by *Barbolocci* and another Italian for *Bentley*.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fac-simile: N. T. Graece e Cod. Alex. qui Londini in Bibl. Mus. Brit. asservatur, deser. a G. C. Woide. Lond. 1786, fol. Cf. *Woide*, Notit. Cod. Alex. c. var. ej. lectt. cur. G. L. Spohn. Lips. 1788. *Semler*, Diss. de aetate Cod. Alex. 1760. 4to.

<sup>b</sup> *Hug*, De antiquitate Cod. Vat. 1810. 4to, with a sample of the writing. *Tischendorf*, Bibl. krit. Sendschreiben an D. Schulz, in the A. L. Z. 1843. No. 116. Nachricht vom vatic. Bibelcod., in St. u. Kr. 1847. p. 129, ff., where is also a fac-simile.

<sup>c</sup> The latter is found in Append. ad ed. N. T. e cod. Alex. Oxon. 1799, fol. The second, first used by *Scholz*, is in the Paris library. *Tischendorf* (in the place last referred to) compares the three collations.

## § 50 b.

3. *Cod. Ephræmi*, Cod. Reg. 1905, now 9 (C), a Codex rescriptus or palimpsestus (it contained writings of *Ephræm*, which were subsequently obliterated), containing portions of the O. T. and the whole N. T., although incomplete. Its exterior is similar to that of the two foregoing manuscripts, the text in one column, the letters somewhat larger than in the Cod. Al., like it with initial letters to mark the sentences, and a simple punctuation (a point commonly at the middle of the letter, but sometimes lower; a third hand has added more frequent points and a cross). Originally it had no accents or breathings (these have been frequently added by a third hand). It contains the Ammonian sections and the τίτλοι at the end, but not in the text; and very simple superscriptions and subscriptions. It also was written in Egypt, about the same time with the Cod. Alex. *Hug* and *Tischendorf* place it earlier, *Wetstein* before A. D. 542.<sup>a</sup>

4. *Cod. S. Matth. Dublin. descr.* (Z in *Schulz*, *Scholz*, and others) contains the greater part of the Gospel of Matthew, in its exterior resembles the Cod. Ephr., and is likewise very old.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Hug*, Einl. I. 282, ff. *Wetst.* Prolegg. p. 75, ed. Seml. Samples of the writing in *Montf.* Palaeogr. p. 213. *Scholz*, Bibl. kr. R. Taf. No. IV. *Fleck*, Anecd. (Lips. 1837) I. Taf. (Cf. the same writer in *Theol. St. u. Kr.* 1841. p. 126, ff. The most accurate description is given by *Tischendorf* in the Prolegg. to his edit.: *Cod. Ephraemi Syr. rescriptus s. fragmenta N. T. e cod. Gr. Paris. celeberr. quinti ut videtur p. Chr. sec. eruit atque edidit.* Lips. 1843. large 4to.

<sup>b</sup> Fac-simile: *Evang. sec. Matth. ex cod. descr. in Bibl. Colleg. SS. Trin. juxta Dublin. descr. op. et stud. Jo. Barrett*, cui adj. append. collat. *Cod. Montfort. compl. Dubl. 1801.* Cf. *Eichh. Allg. Bibl. II.* 584, ff. *Paul. N. Rep. I.* 192, ff.

## § 51 a.

5. *Cod. Cantabrig.* or *Bezae* (who owned it, and gave it to Cambridge), D in the critical editions, contains the Gospels in the Latin order (Matt., John, Luke, Mark), the Acts (with gaps), and a translation earlier than that of

Jerome, in a beautiful round character. It has neither separation of the words nor accents, but is written stichometrically, with many corrections by various hands, and is one of the oldest manuscripts; written, according to *Hug*, in the time immediately after *Euthalius*.<sup>a</sup>

6. *Cod. Laudian.* or *Bodleian*. 1. (E), containing Acts (excepting xxvi. 29 — xxviii. 6), in Latin and Greek (the Latin column standing first), is written in short lines, containing one or two words, but without accents, and in a coarse, heavy character. It has the Euthalian sections. On account of its Alexandrianisms, *Woide* and *Hug* regard it as having been written at Alexandria. *Marsh* and *Eichhorn* assign it to Western Europe, perhaps Sardinia. *Hearne* dates it in the eighth, *Hug* in the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century.<sup>b</sup>

7. *Cod. Claromont.*, Bibl. reg. Paris, formerly 2245, now 107 (D in the Pauline Epp.), containing the 13 Pauline Epp. (excepting Rom. i. 1-7; 1 Cor. xiv. 13-22 by another hand), is written in Greek and Latin, without separation of words, but stichometrically, and with accents and breathings. The elegant Latin and less elegant Greek characters indicate a Latin copyist; according to *Montfaucon* of the seventh, according to *Hug* of the eighth century. *Cod. Sangerman.* (E) is a copy of this (according to Griesb. of the tenth century).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fac-simile: *Codex Theod. Bezae Cantabrig.*, *Evangg. et Apost. Acta compl.*, quadratis literis Graeco-Lat. . . . . edidit, cod. histor. praeфикс, notasque adj. *Thom. Kipling*. Cantabr. 1793. 2 vol. fol. Cf. *Dav. Schulz*, *Disp. de Cod. D Cantabrig.* Vratisl. 1827. *Kipling*, *Hug*, and *Schulz* think, chiefly on account of the Alexandrian idioms, that it originated in Egypt; *Schulz*, Prolegg. p. xxxix. (cf. *Wetstein*, Prolegg. p. 31), on account of Latinisms in the word-forms and the orthography, and of Gallicisms in the translation, and *Eichhorn* (V. 189) because it was first found at Lyons, suppose that it was written in Southern Gaul. *Credner* (Beitr. I.) concedes the latter in regard to the MS.; but he regards Palestine as the birthplace of the original from which it was copied, and its text as of Jewish-Christian origin. It is disputed whether this Cod. is the same as Cod. Steph. β. See *Marsh*, p. 588, f.

<sup>b</sup> *Acta App. Graeco-Latina litteris majusculis, e cod. Laud. charact. unc. exarato et in Biblioth. Bodlej. asservato, descr. ediditque Thom. Hear-*

*nus.* Oxon. 1715. 8vo. *Woide* (Prolegg. ad Cod. Alex. p. 77, sqq.) defends this MS. against the charge that the Greek is altered from the Latin.

\* Specimens of the writing in *Montfaucon*, Palaeogr. p. 217, sq.

### § 51 b.

8. *Cod. Boerner.* (G), now in Dresden, contains the Pauline Epp., with the following gaps: Rom. i. 1–5, ii. 16–25; 1 Cor. iii. 8–16, vi. 7–14, Col. ii. 2–8, Philem. 21–25; and a Latin interlinear translation. It separates the words, partly by points, and uses stichometry, which is indicated by initial letters and points. It is in a degenerate uncial character, without accents, the translation in Anglo-Saxon cursive character. *Hug* regards it, on account of its Alexandrianisms, as a copy of an Alexand. MS.; *Matthaei*, of a good ancient MS., and, from the marginal remarks, “contra γοδδισκαλκον, contra Graecos,” as made in the tenth century.\*

9. *Cod. Augiensis*, formerly on the island of Reichenau, now in Cambridge (F), containing the Pauline Epp. (that to the Hebrews in Latin only) in Greek and Latin, in columns, with separation of words by points, is related to the foregoing, but, on account of its different arrangement, is not, as *Wetstein* supposed, a copy of it, or of its original.

10. *Cod. Sangallensis* (Δ in Scholz, Tischend.) contains the four Gospels, with a Latin interlinear translation. It separates the words more frequently than the Cod. Boern. by points, and uses stichometry, which is indicated by initial letters and points. It has no accents. The editor<sup>b</sup> places it in the ninth century, and thinks that it was written at St. Gall, under the Abbot Hartmot († 834), and by several hands.

\* XIII Epp. Pauli Cod. c. vers. Lat. vet. vulgo Antehieronym., olim Boernerianus, nunc Bibl. Elect. Dresd. ed. a *Chr. Fr. Matthaei*. Misen. 1791. 4to, with a fac-simile of the writing. The transl. in many places follows the Greek more literally than elsewhere, and the Greek is sometimes Latinized.

<sup>b</sup> Antiquissimus IV Evang. Cod. Sangall. Graeco-Lat. interlin. nunquam adhuc collatus. Ad similitudinem ipsius libri Mspti accurat. delineand. . . . curavit *H. Chr. Mich. Rettig*. Tur. 1836. 4to. According

to *Scholz*, this Cod. belongs to the Alex. recension; but it oftener (e. g. Matt. i. 19, 25, ii. 3, 8, f. 7–19) differs from BCD 1. &c., than agrees with them (e. g. i. 18, 22, ii. 11, 15).

### § 51 c.

11. *Cod. Cypr.*, formerly *Colbert.* 5149, now Reg. 63. (K), contains the Gospels without gaps, has no separation of words, but a point is inserted after each *stichos*. On account of its compressed characters *R. Simon* and *D. Schulz* date it in the tenth century, *Montfaucon* and *Hug* in the eighth.<sup>a</sup>

12. *Cod. Basil.* B. VI. 21. (E), contains the Gospels with gaps, in a sometimes round and again compressed uncial character, with no separation of words, but with accents and regular systematic punctuation. The notices of the lessons and festivals are by the same hand. This MS., which was for a long time at Constantinople, is of the eighth century.<sup>b</sup>

13. *Cod. Stephani n.*, Reg. 62. (L), contains the Gospels in a longish uncial character, without division of words, with imperfect accentuation, and punctuation by two signs. An Egyptian MS. of the ninth century.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Specimen of the writing in *Montfaucon*, Palaeogr. III. 6. p. 232. *Scholz*, Comment. de Cod. Cyprio, appended to his *Curae Crit.* p. 37, sq., hesitates between the eighth and the ninth century; in his *Prolegg.* he decides in favor of the ninth century. *Schulz* and *Griesb.*, *Prolegg.* p. xcix., appeal to the similarity of the characters to those of Cod. S, which was written A. D. 949.

<sup>b</sup> A description and fac-simile in *Hug*, § 52. *Tischendorf* corrects him in Stud. u. Krit. 1844. p. 479, ff., and opposes *Rink*, who gives the same date to this as to Cod. Vat. Comp. *Chr. Beck*, Dissert. de cod. MSS. Gr. N. T. Basil. 1774. 4to.

<sup>c</sup> A fac-simile in *Hug*. Comp. *Griesbach*, Symb. crit. I. lxvi.–lxxix.

### § 51 d.

14. *Cod. Synod.*, V in *Matthaei*, contains the Gospels (what follows John vii. 39 being continued by a later hand) in a small and elegant uncial character, with accents and

continuous punctuation, in sections similar to verses, of the ninth century.\*

15. *Cod. Synod.* 98 (g Matth.) contains the Pauline and Cath. Epp. with accentuation and punctuation. Date, tenth century, according to the scholia, written in current hand.<sup>b</sup>

16. *Cod. Reg.*, formerly 2243<sup>a</sup>, now 48 (M), contains the Gospels with accents and punctuation, with various readings in current character in the margin, of the tenth century.<sup>c</sup>

\* Described by *Matthaei*, Append. ad epp. ad Thessalon. p. 265. A facsimile in the Apocal. p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Described by *Matthaei* after Ep. ad Rom. p. 265, sqq. A specimen of the writing in the Cath. Epp.

<sup>c</sup> A specimen of the writing in *Montfaucon*, Palaeogr. III. 8. p. 260.

## II. *Manuscripts in the Cursive Character.*

### § 52 a.

The following MSS. of this class are remarkable for their agreement with the oldest critical authorities:—

1. *Cod. Basil.* B. VI. 27, also Reuchlin., in *Bengel Bas.* γ, in *Wetstein* and *Griesb.* 1, on parchment, in 8vo, contains the whole N. T. except the Apocalypse, adorned with pictures, and of the tenth century. The text of the Gospels is the ancient, but that of the remaining books the common text.

2. *Cod. Reg.* 50, Kusteri Paris. 6, in *Wetstein* and *Griesb.* 13, on parchment, in 4to, contains the four Gospels, with gaps. It is closely allied to Codd. 1 and 69, but has many peculiarities. Date, thirteenth century.

3. *Cod. Colbert.* 2844, now Reg. 14, in the Gospels 33 in *Wetstein* and *Griesb.*, in Acts and Cath. Epp. 13, in the Pauline Epp. 17, contains extracts from the Prophets, and the whole N. T. excepting the Apoc., singularly arranged, on parchment, in folio. According to *Griesbach*, it is of the eleventh or twelfth century. *Eichhorn* calls it “the queen of the cursive MSS.”

4. *Cod. Leicestr.*, in *Wetstein* and *Griesbach* 69 in the Gospels, 31 in Acts, 37 in the Pauline Epp., 14 in the Apoc., written partly on parchment, partly on paper; according to *Wetstein*, of the fourteenth century.

5. *Cod. Winchelsean.*, in *Wetst.* and *Griesb.* 106 in the Gospels. Date, according to Jackson, who collated it for *Wetstein*, tenth century.

### § 52 b.

The remaining MSS. in the cursive character present chiefly the so-called Byzantine text. Remarkable both in its origin and its exterior is

6. *Cod. 10* in *Matth.* and *Griesb.*, containing the Gospels, on parchment, in folio, with golden initial letters, and red-colored superscriptions and other additions to the text, was copied in Jerusalem, probably before the Crusades, from a MS. (according to *Hug*) of the Palestinian recension.<sup>a</sup>

7. *Cod. Mosqu. Bibl. S. Synod. CCCXXVIII.*, in *Matth.* and *Griesb.* m, contains the Acts and Cath. and Pauline Epp., on parchment, in 4to. *Matth.* dates it in the eleventh century.<sup>b</sup>

8. *Cod. Mosqu. S. Synod. IV.*, in *Matth.* and *Griesb.* b, contains the Acts and Epp., on parchment, in folio; according to *Matth.* of the ninth or tenth century. Both MSS. are very carefully written, and were formerly found at Mount Athos.<sup>c</sup>

9. *Cod. Mosqu.*, in *Matth.* and *Griesb.* in the Epp. a, in Acts a 1, very accurately written and collated, with scholia. *Matth.*, who values it highly, dates it in the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>d</sup>

10. *Cod. Mosqu. S. Synod. CCCXXXIII.*, in *Matth.* and *Griesb.* f, contains the Acts and Epp. on cotton paper; the Acts and Cath. Epp. carefully copied from a good original, the Pauline Epp. carelessly written by another hand. Date, thirteenth century.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Described by *Matth.* after Epp. ad Thessal. p. 234, sqq. A specimen of the writing in Luke.

\* Cf. *Matth.* Epp. ad *Thess.* p. 181; Epp. cath. p. xxiv.

\* Cf. *Matth.* Act. App. p. xiii.; Ep. ad. *Rom.* p. 277.

\* Cf. *Matth.* Praef. ad epp. cath. p. xxviii. (preceded by a fac-simile); Ep. ad *Rom.* p. 264, sq.

\* Cf. *Matth.* Epp. ad *Thess.* p. 185.

Cod. Ravianus at Berlin is celebrated as a spurious work. *Pappelbaum*, Untersuch. der Rauischen griech. Handschrift des N. T. Berlin, 1785. 8vo. *Id.* Codicis MSS. N. T. Gr. Raviani in Biblioth. Reg. Berol. publ. asservati examen, quo ostenditur, alteram ejus partem majorem ex editione Complut., alteram minorem ex ed. Rob. Steph. tertia esse descrip-tam. Berol. 1796. 8vo.

## II. Versions.

### § 53.

The immediate ancient versions of the N. T. are more reliable records of the text than those of the O. T., where misapprehensions of the language often occur. They are older than almost all the MSS., and are of special value in determining the local peculiarities of the text. Their statements must, however, be confirmed by the readings of Greek MSS. to command full acceptance.

## III. Citations of the Fathers.

### § 54.

The citations from the N. T. in the old Church writers may be regarded as fragments of ancient MSS., provided they are made, not carelessly from memory, but from MSS. The latter is the case when the citators comment on, or otherwise direct their attention to, the text, and repeat their citations in the same form.\*

\* Rules for knowing accurate citations are given by *Griesbach*, Diss. de codd. quatuor Evang. Origenianis. Hal. 1771. § 12, sqq. Opusc. I. 278, sqq. Cf. *Melet.* I. in Comment. crit. P. II. p. xxvi. *Scholz*, Prolegg. § 48. Against *Matthaei*, Ed. N. T. I. 680, and on the recensions, &c., see *Vater*, Spicil. observatt. ad usum patrum Graec. in Critica N. T. pertinentium. Regiom. 1810.

## CHAPTER II.

## PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM.

(Comp. Pt. I. § 117, ff.)

*Method and Object of Critical Inquiry.*

## § 55 a.

THE natural course in criticism is to start from the existing common text, and proceed backwards *towards* the original, whose restoration is the problem of criticism. By taking the common text as a basis the work gains a unity, without which hopeless confusion must ensue. To assert that we must abandon the common text, and seek a new basis, viz. the text which can be historically proved the most ancient; that we must abandon the idea of restoring the original text, and hence refrain from using internal grounds, and confine ourselves to historic or diplomatic criticism,<sup>a</sup> is, to say the least, very hasty, and demands a thorough testing. We might obtain a useful view by giving the text according to certain authorities alone (though great difficulties beset this undertaking); but such a text, which would always contain much questionable matter, cannot be made the basis of all critical labor, without depriving the latter of all unity and certainty. With as little reason can we set aside the common text and the whole testimony of later authorities; for oftentimes the later and common reading is preferable to the older.<sup>b</sup> Finally, although our estimate of readings from internal grounds may be, and often has been, arbitrary; yet to set this altogether aside in favor of diplomatic criticism is wholly inadmissible. For the problem of diplomatic criticism will be solved only at a distant period, if ever; and, consequently, the application of critical acuteness, though so natural, and constantly forcing itself upon us, would have to be long, or even for

ever, suspended. We maintain, therefore, the common stand-point which we have indicated, and from it lay down a theory of the function of criticism.

<sup>a</sup> So *Lachmann* and his enthusiastic reviewer, *Rettig*. See § 48 c, note a.

<sup>b</sup> What shall the interpreter do with Lachmann's text alone in places where it is meaningless, as Matt. xxi. 28–31?

### *Exegetico-critical Grounds of Originality.*

#### § 55 b.

On grounds which lie in the connection of the passage, many readings must be rejected, for they convey either no sense, or a bad one.<sup>a</sup>

Extreme caution is needful in applying the standard of verbal correctness to N. T. readings, because the N. T. writers sometimes violate the laws of Greek grammar, and oftener those of a pure style; so that, frequently, a verbally incorrect reading is to be preferred (comp. § 36. II. 1). The same applies to the rhetorical grounds. While in cultivated writers we are justified in preferring those readings which lend just sequence, proportion, completeness, and roundness to the style, we must in the N. T. often reject the more elegant readings as additions.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> E. g. 1 John v. 7: ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, δὲ πατήρ, δὲ λόγος καὶ τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα, κ. τ. λ. Rom. v. 14: ἐπὶ τοὺς διμαρτήσαντας for ἐ. τ. μὴ δμ. Rom. vii. 6: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντες. 1 Cor. iii. 2: οὕτε. xv. 51: πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δέ for π. μ. οὐ κοιμ., πάντες δέ. Gal. ii. 5: the omission of οἰς οὐδέ. Acts xi. 20: Ἐλληνοτάς for Ἐλληνας. But the apparently meaningless reading is often the correct one. *Fritzsche* and *Tschdf.*, Mark x. 12, are wrong in preferring another to the common reading, because the latter does not accord with the Jewish custom. Cf. above, 36 b. II. 2.

<sup>b</sup> E. g. Matth. v. 27: τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. vi. 18: ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. xx. 6: ἀργούς. Rom. vi. 12: αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ. xi. 6: εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἥργων, κ. τ. λ. Perhaps also Mark ix. 43, 47, cf. *Fritzsche*; Acts xv. 35. Fr. is too hasty in reading Matt. xi. 24 with 5 cursive MSS. Syr. utr. λέγω σοί, *Tischend.* with D It. ἡ ύμῖν. The common text, to be sure, wants concinnity.

*Grounds in Peculiarities of the Writer.*

## § 56.

The style of the N. T. writers has, like that of the writers of the O. T., much variableness and uncertainty; and yet it can be distinctly apprehended ( §§ 91, 96, 105, 161, 189), and used as a standard of the correctness of readings.\*

\* Matt. xii. 14: the reading ἐξελθόντες δὲ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον καὶ ἀντοῦ is preferable to the common reading, according to Matt. i. 24, ii. 3; iv. 12; viii. 10, 14, 18; ix. 4, 8, 9, 11, 19, 22; xii. 25; xv. 21, 29; xvi. 5, 8, 13; xvii. 6; xviii. 27, 28, 31, 34 (against this *Fritzsche*, ad Matt. p. 849, sqq.). — Matt. v. 22: εἰκῇ is suspicious on account of its position, comp. Matt. iv. 24; viii. 16: πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας; iii. 11: ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος; iv. 22: οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἀφέντες. It would be hasty to blot out (with *Gersdorf*, *Credner*) the οὐτῷ that follows in v. 19. As Matt. regularly uses the part. λέγων without the dat. of the person addressed, the omission of αὐτῷ, xix. 3, xxvi. 17, in some Codd. is sustained; notwithstanding, in xxi. 2, αὐτοῖς must remain. — Luke vi. 3: καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς is not in accordance with i. 13; ix. 62; xix. 9; Acts ix. 10, 15; xxii. 25. — In favor of the common text in Acts iv. 14; v. 32; vi. 15; xvi. 7; xxvii. 3; and, on the other hand, of *Lachmann's* reading, xxvi. 23, grounds are found in Luke's style of writing; cf. *Exeget. Hdb.* — As John does not use the optative, the reading of Codd. BCL, and others, xiii. 24, gains weight. In 1 Cor. ii. 7, θεοῦ σοφίαν is analogous to Rom. iii. 5; xiii. 4; 1 Cor. iii. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 4, &c. — In 1 Cor. vi. 2, the γ adopted by *Griesb.* is entirely in harmony with the Apostle's style.

*Historico-critical Grounds of Originality.*

## § 57.

From the general principle, that *that reading to which the origin of the others may be traced is the original*, we may deduce the following special rules, having reference to the modes in which false readings arise:—1. The more obscure and difficult reading is to be preferred to the clearer and easier; 2. The harder, elliptical, Hebraizing, and ungrammatical, to the more pleasing and grammatical; 3. The rarer to the more common; 4. That which is less favorable to piety (especially of the monkish sort) and to Orthodoxy

is to be preferred to that which is more favorable to them ; 5. That which conveys an apparently false meaning to one which seems to give a fitter meaning ; 6. The shorter to that which betrays itself as an explanatory interpolation, or is in general more wordy ; 7. The less expressive to the emphatic ; 8. Finally, that reading which stands midway between others, and contains their germ, is to be considered the more original.\*

\* Cf. *Bengel*, Introd. § xxi. sq. *Griesbach*, Prolegg. p. xl ix. sq.

*Consideration of the Critical Authorities as a Whole.*

§ 58.

It is generally conceded that authorities are not to be counted, but weighed ; their families or related classes discriminated ; and the evidence of whole classes, rather than of individual manuscripts, consulted and estimated. In accordance with his system, Griesbach has laid down the rules :\* — 1. All the authorities which belong to one recension, and agree with it, are to be regarded as but one testimony. 2. That reading in which all the ancient recensions agree is to be considered genuine. 3. When the Alexandrian agrees with the Occidental, in opposition to the Constantinopolitan, the oldest reading is authenticated.<sup>b</sup> 4. When the Alexandrian agrees with the Constantinopolitan, in opposition to the Occidental, we must inquire whether the reading of the Occidental belongs to errors which are peculiar to it. The same holds when the Occidental agrees with the Constantinopolitan, in opposition to the Alexandrian. 5. If all three recensions give different readings, the preponderance of internal evidence, and not the number of authorities, must decide.

\* Prolegg. p. lxxvii. Cf. *Bengel*, Introd. § xii.

<sup>b</sup> The system of Griesbach thus includes the fundamental idea of Lachmann's system of criticism, but only as one element in the whole. In most cases Griesbach went back only to the oldest text. It must be admitted, however, that the oldest text is not necessarily the correct one.

\* *Hug* (Einl. I. § 146, ff.) gives somewhat different rules, as he makes

the old unrevised text (*κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*) the basis of examination, see § 39. *Tregelles* (§ 48 c, note d), p. xxx., lays down the following rules:—1. The reading that rests upon unanimous testimony is genuine. 2. When authorities differ, that reading is preferable, *ceteris paribus*, which has the preponderance of testimony. 3. The testimony of the old uncial cod. has precedence of the whole mass of later cod. 4. But there are cases where the former cod. agree in a certainly false reading (see § 40 b, note b), as is proved by its wrong sense, by its want of support from the versions, and by its probable origin in error (or perhaps in design). 5. In doubtful cases the testimony of the versions is of weight. 6. A reading which rests on a few later cod. alone is to be rejected (?), and so on.

### *Critical Conjecture.*

#### § 59.

As the N. T. text has suffered much less corruption than that of the O. T., and the materials for its restoration are very numerous, a resort to conjecture is very seldom necessary (as e. g. Hebr. xi. 37);<sup>a</sup> and as the N. T. stands in more intimate connection than the O. T. with the faith of Christians, critical conjecture can never lay claim to general acceptance.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In Heb. xii. 15 the original error may be discovered, but the author copied it from the LXX.

<sup>b</sup> A somewhat different view is given by *Eichhorn*, V. § 128. A theory of N. T. conjectural criticism is given by *Vogel*, *De conjecturae usu in crisi N. T.* Alt. 1795. 4to. Cf. *Eichh. Allg. Bibl.* VIII. 260. Contributions have been made by *W. Bowyer*, cf. § 46, to which belongs *Spicileg. conject. crit. in N. T. ad Bowyerii et Schulzii collectionem*, in *Stoschii Mus. crit.* Vol. II. fasc. 1, 2. *L. C. Valkenarii*, *Spec. adnotatt. crit. in loca quaedam libr. sacr. N. T.*, in his *Oratt. L. B.* 1784. 8vo; cf. *Emedationum a Valkenario propos. examen instit.* *E. G. Klose*. Hal. 1790. 8vo. *E. Wasenberg*, *De transpositione crit., saluberr. in sanandis veter. scriptis remedio.* Franequ. 1786. 4to. *G. Wakefield*, *Silva critica s. in' auct. sacros profanosque comment. philol.* Cantabr. 1789–95. 5 Pts. Cf. *Hänlein*, *Examinis curarum crit. atq. exegetic.* *G. Wakefield in Libros N. T.* Part. I – V. Erl. 1798 – 1803. 4to.

## DIVISION II.

### INTRODUCTION TO THE SEPARATE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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#### GENERAL PREFATORY REMARKS.

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#### RISE OF A NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

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##### 1. *Epistles.*

###### § 60.

WITH the formation of a Christian life, occasions arose for a Christian literature. The first who seized the pen in the service of the Christian Church was probably the Apostle Paul, who has certainly also had the greatest influence on the development of a special Christian language. His writings were *letters*, addressed to the communities which he founded, and therefore called forth by circumstances, and devoted to specific objects. In this kind of writing he is the master and prototype. Following in his wake, other Apostles also wrote letters, which, however, all (2 and 3 John excepted) lack a distinctly epistolary character, and approach that of *treatises*. Even the author of the Apocalypse seems to have imitated Paul. In respect of their contents, the Apostolic Epistles may be termed doctrinal and hortatory writings.

##### 2. *Gospels.*

###### § 61.

The knowledge of the revealed salvation, the “glad tidings” (*εὐαγγέλιον*), was at first propagated orally by the

Apostles and their assistants ; and their addresses recounted also the history of the life, doctrine, works, death, and resurrection of Jesus (comp. Acts xiii. 16, ff.). Subsequently the need of more exact instruction in the Gospel-history arose ;<sup>a</sup> and this seems to have been the province of the *Evangelists*, while *Prophets* and *Teachers* attended to the other branches of Christian instruction (Eph. iv. 11). To aid the memory, the Gospel narratives were written down. Luke (i. 1)<sup>b</sup> was acquainted with several such literary essays. The various needs of different classes of Christians demanded also a varied treatment of the Gospel. Especially was it necessary that the difference between the Jewish-Christian and the Pauline tendency should therein manifest itself. In view of their contents, the Gospels may certainly be called *historic* writings ; but the history always has more or less the object of establishing *the faith*, and to this the selection and treatment of the historic matter correspond. The Acts of the Apostles contains a continuation of the Gospel history.

<sup>a</sup> According to Luke i. 4, we may certainly suppose a κατήχησις which included the Evangelic history ; that it was neither accurate nor comprehensive appears from the preface of Luke. *Thiersch* (Herstell. d. histor. Standpunkts für die Kritik, etc., 1845, p. 91, ff.) asserts more in respect to this matter than can be proved.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Schott*, Progr. de prooemio evangelii Lucae ejusque usu in quaestione de fontibus evangeliorum tractanda. Jen. 1828. 4to. *Crome*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1824. p. 754, ff. *Thiersch*, ut supra, p. 163, ff.

### 3. *The Revelation.*

#### § 62.

In the Gospels, a certain affinity with the books of Moses and the historic books of the Old Testament may be traced ; in the Epistles, the doctrinal and hortatory element of prophecy,<sup>a</sup> in connection with a renovated moral aphoristic wisdom ; and thus, as the primitive Christian Church had her prophets (Eph. iv. 11), there sprang up on Christian soil a shoot of Old Testament prophecy, in the Revelation of John.

<sup>a</sup> Jerem. xxix. 1–23, the prototype of the N. T. Epistles. Compare Baruch i. 10, ff.

*List of the Best and most Remarkable General Exegetical Works on the Books of the New Testament.*

Fathers, Greek, see § 9. Latin : *Hieronymi* Comment. in Matth., ep. ad Gal. Ephes. Tit. Philem. *Augustini* Quaest. evang. libb. II. ; Quaest. in Matth. lib. I.; in Joann. Evang. tractatus 124; *Expositio* quarundam propositionum ex ep. ad Rom.; Ep. ad Rom. inchoata expositio; *Expositio* ep. ad Gal. *Hilarii Pictaviensis* Comment. in Matthaeum, in Opp. ed. *Coutant*. Paris. 1693; ed. *Oberthür*. Wirceb. 1785. 3 vols. 8vo. *Ambrosiastri* (*Hilarii Diaconi*) Comment. in epp. Paul., in *Ambrosii* Opp. ed. Bened. 1686–90. 2 vol. fol. *Pelagii* Comment. in epp. Pauli, in *Hieronym.* Opp. ed. Erasm. Tom. IX., ed. Mart. Tom. V., ed. Vallars. Tom. XI.

Later Commentators : *Laurentii Valla* Annotatt. in N. T. Paris. 1505. Opp. 1543. fol.; also c. notis *Jac. Revii*, in the *Critt. sacr.* — *Erasmi Rotterod.* Annotatt. in N. T. Basil. 1516. fol. and often. *Id.* Paraphr. in N. T. Basil. 1517, and often; latest, Berl. 1777–80. 3 vols. 8vo. — *Luther's, Melanthon's, Zwingli's, Calvin's* Exegetical Writings in their Works. Comm. of the last mentioned on the Epp. first Strassb. 1589. Halle 1831–32. 3 vols. 2d ed. 1834. All his Comm. 6 vols. Berl. 1833–34. — *Joach. Camerarii* Comment. in N. T. illustrat. et locupletat. Cantab. 1642. — *Victorin. Strigelii* Hypomnemata in o. librr. N. T. Lips. 1565. — *Theod. Bezae* N. T. ex off. H. Steph. 1594. 1598. fol. — *Aug. Marlorati* N. T. Catholica expositio eccles. Genev. 1561. fol. and often. — *Bened. Aretii* Commentt. in D. N. J. Chr. nov. testamentum. Par. 1617; earlier separately, in quatuor evangg. 1596, in act. app. 1596, in epp. etc. 1583. — *Joa. Piscator.* Comm. in omnes libros V. et N. T., that on the N. T. Herb. 1613–21. 2 vols. 4to. — *Joa. Coccej.* Explan. of the N. T. in his Works. Amst. 1675. Frcf. 1689. — *Joa. Drusii* Annotatt. in tot. J. C. Test. s. Praeteritorum libb. X. 1612. Annotatt. in N. T. pars altera. 1616. — *Lud. de Dieu* Animadvers. in libb. N. T. L. B. 1634–46. also in Critica s. Amst. 1693. fol. — *Jo. Crellii* Comm. in plerosq. N. T. librr. Amst. 1656. 3 tom. fol. — *Jo. Schlichting* Comment. posth. in pl. N. T. librr. ib. 2 tom. fol. — *Hug. Grotii* Annotatt. in N. T. (Amst. et Paris. 1641–50. 3 vols.). Opp. theolog. Tom. II. Vol. I. II. Amstel. 1679. fol. ed. *Windheim*. Erl. 1755–57. 4to. — *Jo. Pricai* Comment. in varios N. T. libros. Lond. 1660. fol. Also with *Drus. Grot.* and others in the *Critt. sacr.* — N. T. ex vers. vulg. c. paraphr. et annotatt. *Henr. Hammondi*, ex Angl. ling. in Lat. transl. suisq. animadv. illustr. *Jo. Clericus*. Ed. 2. Frcf. 1714. 2 vol. fol. — *Wetstein's* N. T. see § 46. — *J. Cp. Wolf*, Curae philol. et crit. in IV evangg. et act. Apost. ed. 3. Hamb. 1739. — in IV priores Pauli epp. ed. 2. Ib. 1737. — in X post. Pauli epp. ed. 2. Ib. 1738. — in Jac. Petr. Jud. et Joa. epp. hujusque apoc. ed. 2. Ib. 1741. 4to. *J. Ch. Köcher*, Analecta philol. et exeget. in IV evangg., quibus Wolffii Curiae suppl. et augentur. Altenb. 1766. 4to. — *Bengelii* Gnomon N. T. ed. 3. per fil. *Ern. B.* Tub. 1773. 4to. — *Heumann*, Erkl. d. N. T. Hannov. 1750–63. 12 vols. 8vo. — *G. Benson*, Paraphrast. Erkl. u. Anmerkk. ü. ein. Bb. d. N. T. 1761. 4 vols. 4to. — *J. G. Rosenmüller*,

Schol. in N. T. ed. 5. 1805 – 7. 5 tom. large 8vo.; ed. 6. 1815 – 32. — *J. Bj. Koppe*, N. T. Graece perpetua annotat. illustratum. Vol. III. P. 1, 2. Act. Apost. cur. *Heinrichs*. 1809. and 1812. Vol. IV. ep. Paul. ad Rom. 1783. ed. 3. cur. *Ammon*. 1824. Vol. V. Part. 1. ep. 1. ad Cor. cap. i. – x. cont. *D. J. Pott*. 1826. Vol. VI. ep. ad Gal. Thess. Ephes. 1778. ed. 3. cur. *Tychsen*. 1823. Vol. VII. P. 1. epp. P. ad Tim. Tit. et Philem. contin. *Heinrichs*. 1798. ed. 2. 1828. P. 2. epp. P. ad Phil. et Coloss. cont. idem 1803. ed. 2. 1826. Vol. VIII. ep. ad Hebr. contin. id. 1792. ed. 2. 1823. Vol. IX. epp. cathol. fasc. 1. ep. Jac. cur. *Pott*. 1786. ed. 2. 1799. ed. 3. 1816. fasc. 2. 1. et 2. ep. Petri 1790. 1810. Vol. X. Apoc. cur. *Heinrichs*. P. 1. 1818. P. 2. 1821. — *Herm. Olshausen*, Bibl. Comment. üb. sämmtl. Schr. d. N. T. 1. B. 3. Aufl. 1837. 2. B. 1838. (the Gospels and Acts) 3. 4. B. 1835 – 40. (Paul's Epp. from Rom. to Thess. inclusive). — *H. A. W. Meyer*, Krit. exeg. Komm. üb. d. N. T., to this time 9 sections, to the Ep. to the Philipp. 1832 – 47; new editions of sections 1, 2. — *W. M. L. de Wette*, Kurzgef. exeg. Hdb. z. N. T. I. II. III. Bd. 1. Thl. 1835 – 1847, several parts often reprinted, to the cath. Epp. inclusive. — *Baumgarten-Crusius*, Exeget. Schriften z. N. T. I. Bd. 1. 2. Th. Comm. über die Evang. Matth. Marc. Luc. II. Bd. 1. 2. Th. d. Brr. an d. Röm. Gal. Eph. Col. Jen. 1844 – 45. Theol. Ausleg. d. Joh. Schr. 1. 2. Bd. Jen. 1843 – 45. — *J. S. Semler*'s Paraphrases: Ev. Joann. 1771. 2 pts. ep. ad Rom. 1769. 1 Cor. 1770. 2 Cor. 1776. Gal. 1779. Jac. 1781. 1 Petr. 1783. 2 Petr. et Jud. 1784. 1 Joa. 1792, with remarks and extracts from the ancient versions. — *J. D. Michaelis*, Uebers. d. N. T. 1790. 2 Bde. 4to. His Anmm. f. Ungelehrte, to his Uebers. d. N. T. 1790 – 92. 4 Thle. 4to. Cf. *J. C. F. Schulz*, Erinnerungen u. Zweifel üb. Michael. Anmm. 1790 – 94. 6 St. 4to. — *Stoltz*, Uebers. d. N. T. 1. Aufl. 1781. 4. Aufl. 1804. New work, 1821. *Id.* Erläut. z. N. T. 1 – 6. Hannov. 1796 – 1802, in part a new edition. — *J. C. W. Augusti* and *W. M. L. de Wette*, Die Schriften d. N. T. neu übersetzt. 1814. 8vo. New work by the latter, 1832, 3d ed. 1839. — Latin Translations by *G. S. Jaspin* (1793 – 97), *H. G. Reichardt* (1799), *Schott*, *Näge*, *Göschen* (§ 48 c, at the end).

## SECTION I.

## GOSPELS.

## CHAPTER I.

## OF THE GOSPELS GENERALLY.

*Ancient Uncanonical Gospels.*

## § 63.

In addition to our canonical Gospels, Christian antiquity was acquainted with several others;\* and it is in the last degree needful to obtain as accurate a knowledge of these as possible, for the opinion is pretty wide-spread that some of them are older and more original than our canonical Gospels.

\* *Origen.* Hom. I. in Luc.: . . . multi conati sunt scribere Evangelia, sed non omnes recepti . . . ut sciatis non solum quatuor Evangelia, sed plurima esse conscripta, e quibus haec quae habemus electa sunt et tradita ecclesiis. . . . Ecclesia quatuor habet Evangelia, haereses plurima, e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Aegyptios, aliud *juxta duodecim apostolos*. Ausus fuit et *Basilides* scribere Evangelium et suo illud nomine titulare. . . . Scio quod-dam evangelium, quod appellatur secundum Thomam, et *juxta Matthiam*: et alia plura legimus. — *Hieron.* Praef. in Matth.: Plures fuisse, qui Evangelia scripserunt, . . . perseverantia usque ad praesens tempus monumenta declarant, quae a diversis auctoribus edita diversarum haeresewon fuere principia, ut est illud *juxta Aegyptios* et *Thomam* et *Matthiam* et *Bartholomacum*, *duodecim quoque apostolorum* et *Basilidis* atque *Apellis* ac reliquorum, quos enumerare longissimum est. Cf. *Iren.* I. 17. — *Ambros.* Prooem. comment. in Luc. only repeats Jerome.

1. *Gospel of the Hebrews.*

## § 64 a.

Of this Gospel, we find in antiquity the most numerous and certain traces. Several of the old Church teachers and

heretics, and especially the Ebionites, used it. But the oldest accounts contradict the idea of its being an original and independent work, by representing it as apocryphal, and as wavering between Matthew and Luke.<sup>a</sup>

\* Hieron. De vir. illustr. c. 16 : *Ignatius* — in qua (ep. ad Smyrn. c. 3) et de Evangelio, quod nuper a me translatum est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium, dicens : *Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi (noti), et credo quia sit. Et quando venit ad Petrum, et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis : Ecce palpate me et rideite, quia non sum daemonium incorporale* (cf. Luke xxiv. 39). *Et statim tetigérunt eum et credidérunt.* Cf. Prooem. ad lib. XVIII. Jes. (see Pt. I. § 18, note e). On the other hand, *Euseb.* III. 36 : οὐκ οἶδα, ὅποθεν ῥῆτοις συγκέχρηται. — *Euseb.* H. E. IV. 22 of *Hegesippus* : 'Εκ δὲ τοῦ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τοῦ συριακοῦ καὶ ιδίως ἐκ τῆς ἑβραϊδὸς διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν. The same in the same work, H. E. III. 20 : .... ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ (ό Δομετιανὸς) τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. Cf. Matt. ii. 3. *Photii Bibl. cod.* 232, p. 894. ed. Höschel : 'Ηγήσιππος μέντοι, ἀρχαῖος τε ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποστολικός, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων .... λέγει .... μακάριοι οἱ ὄφθαλμοι ὑμῶν οἱ βλέποντες καὶ τὰ ὤτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκούοντα καὶ ἔξησι. Cf. Matt. xiii. 16 : 'Υμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὄφθ., ὅτι βλέποντες, κ. τὸ ὤτα ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἀκούει. Luke x. 23, f. : Μακάριοι οἱ ὄφθαλμοι οἱ βλέποντες ἢ βλέπετε. Λέγω γ. ὑμῖν, κ. τ. λ. — *Euseb.* H. E. III. 39, of *Papias* : 'Ἐκτεθεῖται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν (John viii. 1, ff. !) περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἦν τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίου περιέχει. But it seems that *E.* was not acquainted with this Gospel, cf. III. 36. — *Clemens Alex.* lib. II. Strom. p. 380 : Κἀν τῷ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ, ὁ θαυμάστας βασιλεὺς εύσει, γέγραπται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαυθήσεται. Cf. lib. V. p. 578 : ἐν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ. — *Iren.* Adv. haeres. I. 25, 4 : Dicunt (viz. the Carpocratians, cf. however § 68, note a) Jesum hanc dixisse parabolam : "Cum es cum adversario tuo in via, da operam, ut libereris ab eo, ne forte te det judici, et judex ministro, et mittat te minister in carcere. Amen dico tibi, non exies inde, donec reddas novissimum quadrantem." Cf. Matt. v. 25, f. Luke xii. 58, f. From the former is ἔως ὅτου εἰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ... μήποτέ σε παραδῷ κ. τ. λ. ἀμήν, from the latter δὸς ἐργασίαν, κ. τ. λ. .... σε βάλῃ εἰς φυλακήν. — *Origen.* in Joan. Vol. IV. p. 63. ed. De la Rue : 'Εὰν δὲ προσίεται τις τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίου, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ φησιν· ἀρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπήνεγκε με εἰς τὸ ὅρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ. Cf. Homil. XV. in Jerem. Vol. III. p. 224. In Matth. Tom. XV. ad xix. 19. Vol. III. p. 671 : Scriptum est in Evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum *Hebreos*, si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad autoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositae quaestionis. *Dixit*, inquit, *ad eum alter dixitum* : *magister, quid bonum faciens vivam?* *dixit ei* : *homo, leges et prophetas fac.* *Respondit ad eum* : *feci.* *Dixit ei* : *vade, vende omnia, quae possides, et divide pauperibus, et veni, sequere me.* *Coepit autem dives scalpere caput suum,*

*et non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: Quomodo dicis, legem feci et prophetas, quoniam scriptum est in lege: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahac amicti sunt stercore, morientes prae fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon, fili Joannaee, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam divitem in regnum coelorum* (cf. Matt. xix. 16, ff.) — *Euseb. H. E. III. 25: Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις . . . τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, φαλιστα Ἐβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χάρονται. C. 27, of the Ebionites: εὐαγγελίων δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἐβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι.*

## § 64 b.

The statements of *Epiphanius*,<sup>a</sup> which are very confused, being drawn, probably, not from his own observation, but from some Ebionite work, show that the Ebionites read this Gospel — which they supposed to be by Matthew — without the first two chapters, and beginning we are still uncertain where; and that it was known to him only through Greek fragments,<sup>b</sup> and contained a mixture of Matthew and Luke with in part apocryphal matter.

<sup>a</sup> *Haeres. XXIX. § 9, of the Nazarenes: Ἐχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον (integrum, cf. Iren. Adv. haeres. III. 11) Ἐβραϊστί. Παρ’ αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔγραφη Ἐβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔτι σώζεται· οὐκ οἶδα δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὅχρι Χριστοῦ περιείλον.* — *Haeres. XXX. § 3, of the Ebionites: \** Καὶ δέχονται μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὡς καὶ οἱ κατὰ Κήρυκον, χρῶνται. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ Ἐβραίον, ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἐβραϊστὶ καὶ Ἐβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ κανῇ διαθῆκε ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἔκθεσίν τε καὶ κήρυγμα. § 13: Ἐν τῷ γοῦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίω, κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὄνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νεοθεμένῳ καὶ ἡκροτητασμένῳ, Ἐβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσι, ἐμφέρεται, ὅτι τὸ ἔγενετό τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα (cf. Luke iii. 23), δε ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναούμ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰπε· παρερχόμενος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος ἐξελεξάμην Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον, οὐλὸς Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ Σίμωνα, καὶ Ἀνδρέ-

\* Others, as *Gieseler*, erroneously refer this passage to the Elcesaites.

† Eichhorn, I. 28, considers what follows a subsequently added beginning, to justify the title, *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*; but, according to Epiphanius, it is not the beginning. See what follows, esp. in § 14.

αν, καὶ Θαδδαῖον, καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν ζηλωτήν, καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην, καὶ σὲ τὸν Ματθαῖον καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσα, καὶ ἡκολούθησάς μοι. Ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἰναῖς δεκαδύο ἀπόστολους, εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν, καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα (cf. Matt. iii. 1, 5; Mark i. 4, 5). Καὶ εἶχεν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμῆλου, καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὁσφὺν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τὸ βράχιον αὐτοῦ, φῆσι, μέλι ἄγριον, οὐν ἡ γεῦσις ἡν τοῦ μάγνα, ὡς ἐγκρίς ἐν ἑλαίῳ· (cf. Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6.) ἵνα δῆθεν μεταστρέψωσι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου εἰς ψεῦδος, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀκρίδων ποιήσωσιν ἐγκρίδας ἐν μέλιτι. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὑναγγελίου ἔχει· ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας (cf. Luke iii. 1, f.), ἥλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ ποταμῷ, διὸ ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ λερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ, καὶ ἐξῆρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλά, ἐπιφέρει, ὅτι τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἥλθε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου. Καὶ (cf. Hier. ad Isa. xi.) ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἡνοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἄγιον ἐν εἰδεῖς περιστερᾶς κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· σύ μου εἶ ὁ νίδος ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα. Καὶ πάλιν, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. Ὁν ἰδών, φῆσι, δὲ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ τίς εἶ, Κύριε; Καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ νίδος μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν εὐδόκησα. Καὶ τότε, φῆσιν, δὲ Ἰωάννης παραπεσὼν αὐτῷ ἔλεγε· δέομαι σου, Κύριε, σύ με βάπτισον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτῷ, λέγων· ἄφες, ὅτι οὔτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα (cf. Matt. iii. 13–17; Mark i. 9–11). § 14: .... παρακόψαντες τὰς παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ γενεαλογίας ἀρχοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς προείπον (§ 13), λέγοντες, ὅτι ἐγένετό, φῆσι, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα, ἥλθε τις Ἰωάννης ὄνοματι βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Ἰορδάνῃ καὶ τὰ ἔχης. § 16: Τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον περιέχει, ὅτι ἥλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσῃ σθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὄργη. § 22: Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἀληθείας ἀκολουθίαν, ἥλλαξαν τὸ ρόγτον .... καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μαθητὰς μὲν λέγοντας· ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν· (cf. Matt. xxvi. 17.) καὶ αὐτὸν δῆθεν λέγοντα· μὴ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα κρέας τούτο πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν; (cf. Luke xxii. 15.) § 26: Φασὶ .... ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. Cf. Matt. x. 25.

<sup>b</sup> This is manifest from the use of ἐγκρίδες for ἀκρίδες, which, moreover, rested on ascetic grounds. Credner, Beitr. I. 34.

## § 65 a.

*Jerome* is the first authority who had himself seen the Gospel of the Hebrews, and in the Hebrew (Chaldee) language. At first he held the opinion, then current also in the Church, that it was one and the same with the Gospel of Matthew. He seems, however, to have subsequently retracted this opinion;<sup>a</sup> and, indeed, some of his quotations have little or no affinity with the latter Gospel.<sup>b</sup>

\* De vir. ill. (about A. D. 392), c. 3 : Matthaeus . . . primus in Iudea propter eos, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis litteris verbisque compositum: quod quis postea in Graecum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum\* habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazareis, qui in Beroea urbe Syriae hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. In quo † animadvertisendum, quod ubique Evangelista, sive ex persona sua, sive ex persona Domini Salvatoris, veteris scripturae testimoniis abutitur, non sequatur LXX translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam; e quibus illa duo sunt: Ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum; et: Quoniam Nazaraeus vocabitur. — Ib. c. 2: Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur. . . . — Comm. ad Mich. viii. 6 (about A. D. 392): Qui crediderit Evangelio, quod secundum Hebraeos editum nuper transtulimus. . . . — About A. D. 398, in his Comm. ad Matt. vi. 11: In Evangelio, quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos. xii. 13: Evangelium, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitae, quod nuper in Graecum de Hebraeo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthaei authenticum. xxiii. 31: In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni. xxvii. 16: In Evangelio, quod scribitur juxta Hebraeos. — After A. D. 406, in his Comm. ad Isa. xi. 1: Juxta Evangelium, quod Hebraeo sermone conscriptum legunt Nazarei. xl. 9: In Evangelio, quod juxta Hebraeos scriptum Nazarei lectitant. Praef. ad libr. comm. in Isa. xviii.: Evangelium, quod Hebrae-

\* This does not mean, as Eichhorn, I. 22, note y, thinks, that there is also a Gospel in the Syro-Chaldaic; but that this Hebrew Gospel of M. is (according to the assumption) extant in the Gospel of the Hebrews preserved at Caesarea.

† This refers certainly to the Greek Gospel of Matthew, whose identity with the Gospel of the Hebrews is, however, presupposed. Credner (Beitr. z. Einl. ins N. T. I. 394) considers the passage, *Porro . . . facultas fuit*, a marginal note written by Jerome himself; and that he had not, at that time, examined the Hebrew Gospel, and therefore followed the prevailing opinion. Were that the case, the passage above must have been written earlier than that which follows.

orum lectitant Nazarei. Comm. in Ezech. xviii. : In Evangelio, quod juxta Hebraeos Nazarei legere consueverunt. — A. D. 415 c. Pelagianos III. 2 : In Evangelio juxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive, *ut plerique autumant*, juxta Matthaeum, quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca . . . .

<sup>b</sup> Contra Pelagian. III. 2 : In Evangelio juxta Hebraeos . . . . narrat historia : *Ecce, mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei : Joannes baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum : eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis : Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo ? Nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod dixi, ignorantia est.* — Isa. xi. 1 : . . . . juxta Evangelium, quod . . . . legunt Nazarei : *Descendet super eum omnis fons spiritus sancti. Porro . . . . haec scripta reperimus : Factum est autem, quum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis spiritus s., et requievit super eum, et dixit illi : Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis exspectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum.* — Comm. in Mich. vii. 6 : . . . . in quo (Evang. sec. Hebr.) ex persona Salvatoris dicitur : *Modo tulit me mater mea, s. spiritus, in uno capillorum meorum* (cf. as previously quoted, *Origen*, IV. 63). — Comm. in ep. ad Ephes. v. 3 : In Hebraico quoque Evangelio legimus Dominum ad discipulos loquentem : *Et nunquam, inquit, laeti sitis, nisi quum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate.* — Comm. in Ezech. xviii. : In Evangelio . . . . inter maxima ponitur crimen, qui fratri sui spiritum contristaverit. — De viris ill. c. 2 : Evangelium . . . . sec. Hebr. . . . post resurrectionem Salvatoris resert : *Dominus autem, quum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus, se non comedetur panem ab illa hora, qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus.* Rursusque post paululum : *Aferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem.* Statimque additur : *Tulit panem et benedixit, ac fregit, et dedit Jacobo justo, et dixit ei : Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis a dormientibus* (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 7).

### § 65 b.

Other passages have their parallels in Matthew, but are changed by additions and alterations.<sup>a</sup> One of these alterations indicates a Greek original.<sup>b</sup> Hence, the opinion that the Gospel of the Hebrews is the most ancient Gospel writing falls to the ground.<sup>c</sup> Jerome makes no distinction between the Gospel of the Nazarenes and that of the Ebionites, and seems to have known only the latter. That the first two chapters were in his copy cannot be satisfactorily proved;<sup>d</sup> but it is probable, as *Hegesippus* (§ 64 a, note a)

found them there. The *Gospel of Peter* must have been closely related to the Gospel of the Hebrews.\*

\* Contr. Pelagian. l. c. : .... Et in eodem volumine : *Si peccaverit, inquit, frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon, discipulus ejus : Septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei : Etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuages septies. Etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt spiritu s., inventus est sermo peccati* (cf. Matt. xviii. 21, f.). — Comm. in Matt. vi. 11 : In Evangelio, quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, pro supersubstantiali pane reperi : *Mahar, quod dicitur crastinum, ut sit sensus : Panem nostrum crastinum, i. e. futurum, da nobis.* — In Matt. xii. 13 : In Evangelio . . . homo iste, qui aridam habet manum, coementarius scribitur, istius modi auxilium precans : *Coementarius eram, manibus victim quaeritans : precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos.* — In Matt. xxiii. 35 : In Evangelio . . . pro filio Barachiae filium Iojadae reperimus scriptum. — Ep. 120 ad Hedibiam : In Evangelio . . . legimus non velum templi sessuum, sed superliminare templi mirae magnitudinis corruiisse. Cf. in Matt. xxvii. 51.

♦ Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. 16 : Iste (Barabbas) in Evangelio . . . juxta Hebr. . . . filius magistri eorum interpretatur. Exchange of בָּר אַכְמָן for בָּר רַכְבָּן. Credner, as above, p. 345, f. 405. On the other hand, Sieffert, Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten kan. Ev. p. 33, and Schneckenb. Ueb. d. Urspr. d. erst. kan. Ev. p. 139, think it is only a witty interpretation of the name. This, however, presupposes the writing בָּר כְּבָן, which came from the Greek.

\* Against Schwegler, Nachap. Zeitalt. I. 199. Baur, Krit. Unters. p. 573. Credner, p. 410, rightly remarks that the Hebrew Christians did not, till a later period, feel the need of a Gospel in their own tongue, and therefore translated the Gospel of Matthew, which was most widely circulated among the Greek-Jewish Christians.

\* From Comm. ad Matt. ii. 6 : Bethlehem Iudeae: librariorum hic error est. Putamus enim ab evangelista primum editum, sicut in *Hebraico* legitimus Iudae, non Iudeae, — we may not conclude that he had compared the Gospel of the Hebrews here. Cf. ad Matt. vi. 11 : Quod nos supersubstantialem expressimus, in Graeco habetur ἐπιούσιον: quod verbum LXX interpres περιουσίον frequentissime transferunt. Consideravimus ergo in *Hebraeo*, et ubique illi περιουσίον expesserunt, nos invenimus *Sgolla* (which is followed by the already quoted note a). Very little more is proved by the passage, Ad Isa. xi. 1 : Illud quod in Evang. Math. omnes querunt ecclesiastici et non inveniunt, ubi scriptum sit, quoniam *Nazaraeus* vocabitur, eruditii Hebrei (probably Nazarenes, whom J. was interrogating), de hoc loco assumptum putant. — Ad Abac. iii. 3 : Audivi ego Hebraeum istum locum ita disserere: quod Bethlehem sita sit ad austrum, in qua natus est Dominus, etc. Cf. Matt. ii. 1.

\* Euseb. VI. 12, states that Serapion found it in the community at Rhosus, in Cilicia, and in the hands especially of the adherents to the Doce-

tic heresy. He speaks of it as follows : τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ὄρθου λόγου τοῦ σωτῆρος· τινὰ δὲ προσδιεσταλμένα. — *Theodoret. Haeret. sabb. II. 2:* Οἱ δὲ Ναζωραῖοι . . . τῷ καλούμενῷ κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίῳ κεχρημένοι. Cf. *Origen. ad Matt. xiii. 54–56*: Existimabant igitur illum esse Joseph et Mariae filium. Fratres autem Jesu putsabant nonnulli esse, *ex traditione Hebraeorum* sumta occasione, ex *Evangelio quod titulum habet iuxta Petrum*, aut ex libro Jacobi. De principiis I. prooem. § 8: Si quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello, qui *Petri doctrina* appellatur . . . *non sum daemonium incorporeum* (cf. *Hieron. De vir. ill. Ignat.*). *Euseb. III. 25*, numbers this Gospel among the heretical writings.— According to *Credner*, as above, p. 412, it formed the basis of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Cf., besides, on the Gospel of the Hebrews, *Grabe*, *Spicil. patr. I. p. 25, sqq.* *Fabric. Cod. apocr. N. T. p. 346, sqq.*, where the fragments have been collected. *Rich. Simon, Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. ch. 7, 8.* *Mai Examen hist. crit. c. 7, 8.* *Mill, Prolegg. n. 45, ff.* *Michælis, Einl. in d. N. T. II. 1004, ff.* *Paulus, Exeget. krit. Abh. 1784.* *Ch. Fr. Weber, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons. 1791. 8vo.* *Id. Ueber das Ev. d. Hebr. 1806. 8vo.*

## 2. Justin's Gospel.

### § 66 a.

*Justin Martyr* (born A. D. 89, died 163), in his writings, often adduces from the Gospel history both deeds and sayings of Jesus and others. The latter bear distinct resemblance to corresponding passages in our Gospels, especially in Matthew and Luke, seldom in John, and are related to them as follows:—1. Several, but not many, agree word for word;<sup>a</sup> 2. Others agree in the matter, but differ in using similar words and combinations, in misplacing and omitting;<sup>b</sup> 3. Others give the thought only in general, or approximately;<sup>c</sup> 4. Others, in fine, give the contents of several passages and various sayings brought together.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> a. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 301, ed. Col. Cf. Matt. viii. 11, 12: Λέγω δὲ "Ηξουσι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν, ὑμῖν, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν . . . καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ ηξουσι, κ. τ. λ.

καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐν τῇ βασι-  
λείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· οἱ δὲ νιοὶ τῆς  
βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ  
σκότος τὸ ἔξωτερον. Cf. pp. 349,  
370.

<sup>b</sup>. Ib. p. 333: 'Εὰν μὴ περισσεύῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων

καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Cf. Matt. v. 20.

γ. Apol. II. p. 64 : Πᾶν δὲ δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. Cf. Matt. vii. 19.

Cf. also Dial. c. Tr. p. 327, and Luke i. 38. Other verbal agreements occur in the midst of variations, as Apol. II. p. 75, cf. Matt. i. 21, with which Luke i. 35 is combined; Dial. c. Tryph. p. 271, cf. Matt. xi. 12, 14, where the expression is partly changed. It is noteworthy, that Justin, in quoting Old Testament passages that occur in the Gospels, agrees with Matthew, in opposition to the LXX, p. 74, cf. Matt. i. 23; p. 75, cf. Matt. ii. 6; p. 76, cf. Matt. xxi. 5; p. 235, cf. Matt. xxi. 23; and so on.

b The following quotations vary in only one word :—

α. Apol. II. p. 64 : Οὐχὶ πᾶς ὁ λέ- Matt. vii. 21 : Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι,  
γων μοι, κύριε, κ. τ. λ.

κύριε, κ. τ. λ.

β. Dial. c. Tr. p. 384 : Γενεὰ πονη- Matt. xvi. 4 : Γενεὰ πονηρά . . .  
ρὰ . . . καὶ σημεῖον οὐδοθήσεται καὶ σημ. οὐδοθήσεται αὐτῇ, κ. τ. λ.  
αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

γ. Ib. p. 269 : Ἡλίας μὲν ἐλεύσε- Matt. xvii. 12 : Ἡλ. μ. ἔρχεται  
ται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα. Λέ- πρῶτον κ. ἀπ. π. Λέγω δὲ . . .  
γω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι Ἡλίας ἥδη ἤλθε,  
καὶ οὐκ ἐτέγνωσαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐποί-  
ησαν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἡθέλησαν.

The following quotations vary more :—

δ. Dial. c. Tr. p. 268 : Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς Matt. iii. 11, f. : Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτίζω  
βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν, ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν· δὲ δὲ  
ἥξει δὲ δὲ ἰσχυρότερός μου, δοπίσω μον ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρό-  
ον οὐκ εἰμὶ ἴκανός τὰ ὑποδήματα τερός μον ἐστίν, οὐδὲ εἰμὶ ἴκα-  
βαστάσαι· αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν οὐρανῷ τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι· αὐτὸς  
πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ πυρί. Οὐ τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ  
πτύον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διακαθαρεῖ τὴν ἀλώνα αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ τὸν σίτον συνάξει τοῦ δὲ πτύον αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνάξει τὸν σίτον αὐτοῦ  
τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην· τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

ε. Apol. II. p. 61, sq., where several expressions of Jesus are quoted successively :—

Οε δ' ἀν ἐμβλέψῃ γυναικὶ Matt. v. 28 : . . . πᾶς δὲ βλέπων  
πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἐμοὶ- γυναικα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη  
χευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

ζ. Ib. Καὶ εἰ δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου δε- Matt. v. 29 : Εἰ δὲ δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου  
ξιὼς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐ- δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔξελε αὐτὸν  
τὸν συμφέρει γάρ σοι μονό- καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· συμφέρει γάρ  
φθαλμὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῷ μελῶν  
βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἢ σου, καὶ μὴ δλον τὸ σῶμά σου

μετὰ τῶν δύο πεμφθῆναι εἰς βληθῆ εἰς γέενναν. Cf., however, Matt. xviii. 9: .... καλόν σοι μονόφθαλμον εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν, ἡ δύο υφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.

η. Ib. Ὁσ γαμεῖ ἀπολελυμένην ἄφ' ἑτέρου ἀνδρός, μοιχάται.

θ. Ib. Εἰσί τινες, οἵτινες εὐνούχισθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐγενήθησαν εὐνοῦχοι· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Πλὴν οὐ πάντες τοῦτο χωροῦσιν.

ι. Ib. p. 62: Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καὶ νὸν ποιεῖτε; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν.

κ. Ib. Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδοτε, καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε· εἰ γὰρ δανείζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καὶ νὸν ποιεῖτε; τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν.

λ. Ib. Υμεῖς δὲ μὴ θησαυρίζετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει καὶ λησταὶ διορύσσουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὐτε σῆς οὐτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει.

μ. Ib. Τί γὰρ ὁφελεῖται ἀνθρώπος, ἢν τὸν κόσμον δῶν κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπολέσῃ; ή τί δώσει αὐτῇς ἀντάλλαγμα;

ν. Ib. Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοί καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων· καὶ

Matt. v. 32: .... ὃς ἀν ἀπολύτη τὴν γυνάκα αὐτοῦ. .... ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχάσθαι· καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένη γαμήσῃ, μοιχάται.

Matt. xix. 12: εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγενήθησαν οὕτω· καὶ εἰσὶ εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες εὐνούχισθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ εἰσὶ εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτούς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρείτω.

Matt. v. 46: Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃς τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι;

Matt. v. 42: Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου· καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ\* δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς. Luke vi. 34: Καὶ ἐὰν δανείζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἔστι;

Matt. iv. 19: Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὐτε σῆς οὐτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν.

Matt. xv. 26: Τί γὰρ ὁφ. ἄνθρ., ἐὰν τ. κόσμον. δλ. κερδ., τὴν δὲ ψυχ. αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ; ή τί δώσ. ἄνθρωπος ἀντ. τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ;

Luke vi. 36: Γίνεσθε οὖν οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστι. Matt. v. 45: .... ὅτι τοῦ

\* ἀπὸ σοῦ is wanting in D. cant. Clem. Cypr.

τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς καὶ δικαίους καὶ καὶ ἀγαθούς, καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ πονηρούς. (Dial. c. Tr. p. 324: δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.

Γίνεσθε χρηστοί καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος. Καὶ παντοκράτορα θεὸν χρηστὸν καὶ οἰκτίρμονα δρῶμεν, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ δικαίους, καὶ βρέχοντα ἐπὶ δσίους καὶ πονηρούς.)

ξ. Apol. II. p. 63: Τῷ τύπτοντί σου Luke vi. 29: Τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἀλλην· τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἀλλην· καὶ τὸν αἴροντά σου τὸν χιτῶνα ἡ τὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.

ο. Ib. Παντὶ δὲ ἀγγαρεύοντί σοι μίλιον, ἀκολούθησον δύο. Matt. v. 41: Καὶ δστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἔν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.

π. Ib. Λαμψάτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα βλέποντες θαυμάζωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

ρ. Ib. p. 95: Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ νίος, οὐδὲ τὸν νιὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οἰς ἀν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ νίος. (So p. 96, only at last: ὁ νιὸς ἀποκαλ. So also Clem. Hom., also Orig.) Dial. c. Tr. p. 326: Ματτ. xi. 27: Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγνώσκει τὸν νιὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγνώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ νίος, καὶ φ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ νιὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.\*

Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ οὐδὲ γινώσκει τ. πατ. εἰ μὴ νίος, οὐδὲ τ. νιὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οἰς ἀν ὁ νιὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.

σ. Dial. c. Tr. p. 235: Γέγραπται· δοιάκονος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς ἐστιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

τ. Ib. Τάφοι κεκονιαμένοι, ἔξωθεν φανόμενοι ὡραῖοι, ἔσθωσεν δὲ γέμοντες δστέων νεκρῶν.

υ. Ib. p. 301: 'Υπάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἔξωτερον, δὲ ἡτοίμασεν δὲ πατήρ τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

Matt. xxii. 13: Γέγρ. . . . κληθήσεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε τὴν σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

Matt. xxiii. 17: Παρομοιάζετε τάφοις κεκονιαμένοις, οἵτινες ἔξει, μὲν φαίνονται ὡραῖοι, ἔστι. δὲ γέμουσιν δοτ. νεκρ. καὶ πάστης ἀκαθαρσίας.

Matt. xxv. 41: Πορεύεσθε ἀπὸ ἐμοῦ οἱ κατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον; τὸ δὲ ἡτοίμασμένον|| τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

\* δοιάκονος Clem. sexies, Orig. quater, Iren. semel, Tertull.

† πεποιήκατε 1. Orig. bis.

‡ τὸ ἔξωτερον Cod. 40, εἰς τ. σκότ. τ. ἔξ. Clem. Hom. XIX. 2.

|| δὲ ἡτοίμασεν δὲ πατήρ D. 1. al. I. Clem. Al. Iren. al. Clem. Hom. XIX. 2.

φ. Ib. p. 326: Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, (p. 331: παρελθέτω, εἰ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· πλὴν οὐχ' δυνατόν, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.) (Καὶ ὡς ἔγὼ θέλω, ἀλλ' ὡς σύ. μετὰ τοῦτο εὐχόμενος λέγει·) μὴ ὡς ἔγὼ βούλομαι, ἀλλ' ὡς σὺ θέλεις.

See also Dial. c. Tryph. p. 253, cf. Matt. vii. 15; p. 213, cf. Matt. xxiv. 11; Apol. II. p. 62, cf. Matt. ix. 13, Luke vi. 34; p. 63, cf. Matt. vi. 1; Dial. c. Tr. p. 302 and 327, cf. Luke ix. 22; ib. p. 301, cf. Luke x. 19; ib. p. 235, cf. Luke xi. 52.

The following quotations differ still more widely:—

χ. Apol. II. p. 63: Μὴ ὄμοσῃς δὲ. Matt. v. 34: Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, Ἐστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ καὶ ναί, καὶ τὸ οὐ μὴ ὅμοσαι δὲ . . . . 35. . . . 36. . . . 37. Ἐστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν· καὶ ναί, † οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περιστὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστιν.

ψ. Ib. Προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινὸς καὶ εἰπόντος· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ μόνος δ θεός, δ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα. (Dial. c. Tr. p. 328: Λέγοντος αὐτῷ τινός· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστιν ἀγαθός, δ πατήρ μου ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.)

ε. a. Apol. II. p. 63: Ὁς δ' ἀνδρὸς ὁργισθῆ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ.

ἐσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ· δις δ' ἀν διπλαῖς μωρέ, ἔνοχος ἐσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.

β. Ib. p. 64: Ὁς γάρ ἀκούεις μου, καὶ ποιεῖ ἀλέγω, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με.

γ. Ib. Ὡς πλέον ἔδωκεν δ θεός, πλέον καὶ ἀπαιτηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ.

δ. Ib. p. 66: Τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, δυνατὰ παρὰ θεῷ.

Matt. xxvii. 39: Πάτερ μου, εἰ παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, (p. 331: παρελθέτω, εἰ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· πλὴν οὐχ' δυνατόν, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.) (Καὶ ὡς ἔγὼ θέλω, ἀλλ' ὡς σύ.

μετὰ τοῦτο εὐχόμενος λέγει·) μὴ ὡς ἔγὼ βούλομαι, ἀλλ' ὡς σὺ θέλεις.

Matt. v. 34: Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, Ἐστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ καὶ ναί, καὶ τὸ οὐ μὴ ὅμοσαι δὲ . . . . 35. . . . 36. . . . 37. Ἐστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν· καὶ ναί, † οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περιστὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστιν.

Matt. xix. 16: Καὶ Ἰδοὺ εἰς προσελθόντων εἰπεν αὐτῷ· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω, ἵνα ἔχω [οὐ] αἰώνιον; Ὁ δὲ εἰπεν αὐτῷ· τί με ἐρώτε περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; (Luke xviii. 19: τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;) εἰς ἐστιν δ ἀγαθός. Εἰ δὲ θέλεις, κ.τ.λ. (Luke οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς, δ θεός.)

Matt. v. 22: Πᾶς δ ὁ δργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκῇ, ἔνοχος ἐσται τῇ κρίσει. Ὁς δ ἀντιπη τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ράκα, ἔνοχος ἐσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.

Luke x. 16: Ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει· καὶ δ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· τοι δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

Luke xii. 48: Παντὶ δὲ φ ἐδόθη πολύ, πολὺ ζητηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ φ παρέθεντο πολύ, περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν.

Matt. xix. 26: Παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τοῦτο ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν, παρὰ δὲ θεῷ πάντα δυνατά.

\* So Clem. Al. Clem. Hom. III. 55, XIX. 2; also James v. 12.

† καὶ L. 225, Mt. d. Syr. all.

‡ δ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με D cant. vind.

- ε.** Dial. c. Tr. p. 235: Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γρ. κ. γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί, ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύσημον καὶ τὸ πῆγανον, τὴν δὲ ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν οὐ κατανοεῖτε.
- ζ.** Ib. p. 308: Οὗτε γαμήσουσιν, οὗτε γαμηθήσονται, ἀλλὰ ἵσταγγελοι ἔσονται, τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὄντες.
- η.** Ib. Καὶ ὅτι ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ ψευδόχριστοι πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄντι ματι τοῦτον παρελεύσονται, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν (p. 253, ἀναστήσονται πολλοὶ ψευδόχρ. κ. ψευδαπόστολοι, κ. π. τῶν πιστῶν πλ.).
- θ.** Apol. II. p. 94: Καὶ γάρ δὲ Χριστὸς εἰπεν· ἀν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· \* ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν ἀπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν ἔστι πᾶσι.
- ι.** Ib. p. 68: 'Ο λόγος δὲ τίνα τρόπου σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ἐν τοῖς ἔξι ἑροῦμεν . . . δὲ νιὸς (θεοῦ) δόμονος λεγόμενος κυρίως νιός, δόλγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ συνῶν κ. γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε κ. ἐκδομῆσε, Χριστὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι κ. κοσμῆσαι τὰ πάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν θεόν, λέγεται.
- δ. α.** Apol. II. p. 63: Μή μεριμνᾶτε δὲ τὶ φάγητε, ή τὶ ἐνδύσησθε. οὐχ ὑμεῖς τῶν πετειῶν καὶ τῶν θηρίων διαφέρετε; καὶ δὲ θεός τρέφει αὐτά. μὴ οὖν μεριμνήστητε τὶ φάγητε, ή τὶ ἐνδύσησθε· οὐδὲ γάρ δὲ πατήρ ὑμῶν δὲ οὐράνιος, ὅτι τούτων χρείαν δέχεται. ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐράνων, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται
- Matt. xxiii. 23: Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γρ. κ. Φ., ὑποκρ., ὅτι ἀποδ. τ. ἥδ. κ. τ. ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον, καὶ ἀφῆκατε τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου, τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὸν ἔλεον καὶ τὴν πίστιν.
- Matt. xxii. 30: 'Ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει οὗτε γαμ. οὗτε ἐγαμίζονται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἱγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰσι. (Luke xx. 36: 'Ισάγγελοι γάρ εἰσι, καὶ υἱοί εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως νιοὶ δύντες.)
- Matt. xxiv. 24: 'Ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, δῶστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.
- John iii. 3: 'Ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἀνθεν, οὐ δύναται ίδειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. v. 4: . . . μὴ δύναται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ γεννηθῆναι;
- John i. 14: 'Ο λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. i. 1, ff.: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν δόλγος . . . πάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, κ. τ. λ.
- Matt. vi. 25: Μή μεριμνᾶτε τὴν ψυχὴν ὑμῶν, τί φάγητε καὶ τί πίνητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, τί ἐνδύσησθε. οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεόν ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; 26: ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετειὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν, οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν, οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας· καὶ δὲ πατήρ ὑμῶν δὲ οὐράνιος τρέφει αὐτά· οὐχ

\* So also Clem. Hom. XI. 26.

νῦν. ὅπου γάρ ὁ θησαυρός ἐστιν, ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν; 31: ἔκει καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσῃς λέγοντες· τί φά-  
γωμεν, ἡ τί πιωμεν, ἡ τί περιβαλώμε-

θα; 32: πάντα γάρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητεῖ. οἰδε γάρ δι πατήρ υμῶν ὁ  
οὐράνιος, ὃς χρήσετε τούτων ἀπάντων. 33: ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν  
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθῆσται ὑμῖν.  
21: ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς υμῶν, ἔκει ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία υμῶν.

**β.** Ib. p. 64: Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐροῦσι μοι, Matt. vii. 22: Π. ἐρ. μ. ἐν ἐκ. τ.  
κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὄντιματι ἐφά-  
γομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν, καὶ δυνάμεις  
ἐποιήσαμεν; καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς·  
ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐργάται τῆς  
ἀνομίας. (Dial. c. Tr. p. 301: π.  
ἐρ. μ. τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔκείνη, οὐ τ. σ. ὀν.  
ἔφ. κ. ἐπ. καὶ προεφτεύσαμεν, καὶ  
δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν; κ. ἐρώ αὐτοῖς·  
ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.) τότε ελαυ-  
θηδὸς ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων,  
ὅταν οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι λάμψωσιν ὡς ὁ  
ἡλιος, οἱ δὲ ἀδίκοι πέμπωνται εἰς τὸ  
αιώνιον πῦρ. πολλοὶ γάρ ηὗσοντις ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῷ ὄντιματι μοι, ἔξωθεν μὲν ἐνδεδυ-  
μένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ  
ὄντες λύκοι δραγαγεῖς. ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν  
αὐτῶν ἐπιγύγσεσθε αὐτούς. (Dial. c.  
Tr. p. 253: πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τ. ὀν. μ. ἔξ. ἐνδ. δέρ. πρ. ἔσ. δέ  
εἰσι λ. ἀρπ.) πᾶν δὲ δένδρον μὴ  
ποιῶν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ  
εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.

**γ.** Ib. p. 68: Μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς  
ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετὰ ταῦ-  
τα μὴ δυναμένους τι ποιῆσαι·  
φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθα-  
νεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα  
εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν.

τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔξουσιαν ἔχοντα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γ.).

See Dial. c. Tryph. p. 354, cf. Matt. xiii. 3, Luke viii. 5.

**δ.** Ib. p. 316: Οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλ-  
λὰ φωνὴ βώντος. ηὗσι γάρ ὁ ἴσχυ-  
ρότερος μον, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἵκανος τὰ  
ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι.

Matt. x. 28: Καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων το σῶμα, τὴν  
δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι.  
(Luke xii. 4: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ  
ἔχοντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι)  
φοβ. δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυν. κ. ψ. κ.  
σ. ἀπολέσαι ἐν γείνῃ\* (Luke φοβ.

John i. 23: Ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος....

Matt. iii. 11: ὁ δὲ ὀπίστω μον ἐρχόμε-  
νος ἰσχυρότερος μον ἐστίν, οὐ, κ. τ. λ.

\* εἰς γέενναν D It. Vulg. Patr. Lat.

## § 66 b.

His historical citations are much freer, and combine, in part, the statements of Matthew and Luke.<sup>a</sup> Some, however, are not to be found in our Gospels.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Dial. c. Tr. p. 303, sq., cf. Matt. i. 18–ii. 23, Luke ii. 2–5, 7; ib. p. 100, cf. Luke i. 35, 38 (of Elizabeth); p. 88, cf. Luke iii. 23; ib. p. 316, cf. Matt. iii. 4; ib. p. 315, cf. Matt. iii. 13, 16, 17; p. 268, cf. Matt. xiv. 3, 6, f.; p. 328, cf. Matt. xxvii. 39, 40, 43; p. 333, cf. Mark iii. 17; p. 327, Apol. II. p. 75, cf. Luke i. 31, 32, 35, 38; Dial. c. Tr. p. 331, cf. Luke xxii. 44; Apol. I. p. 50, cf. Luke xxiv. 25; De resurr. 9, cf. Luke xxiv. 37. See the passages copied in Eichhorn, Einl. I. 89, ff., 515, ff. Credn. Beiträge z. Einl. I. 151, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Dial. c. Tryph. p. 303, sq.: Γεννηθέντος δὲ τότε τοῦ παιδίου ἐν Βηθλεέμ, ἐπειδὴ Ἰωσὴφ οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἑκείνη ποῦ καταλῦσαι, ἐν σπῆλαιῷ τινὶ σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης κατέλυσε· καὶ τότε αὐτῶν ὅντων ἑκέν, ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τον Χριστόν, καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ αὐτὸν ἐτεβείκει· ὃπου ἐλθόντες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας μάγοι εὗρον αὐτὸν. Apol. II. p. 75: . . . τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίον τ. ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου.—p. 315: Τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμον ἔνθα ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτιζε, κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄδωρ, καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ· καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄδατος, ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπήναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ.

p. 316: Καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν Matt. iii. 17: Οὐτός ἐστιν \* ὁ νίος ἀμα ἐληλύθει, νίος μου εἰ σύ· ἐγὼ σή- μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν φεύδοκησα. μερον γεγένηκά σε. Cf. p. 331. Luke iii. 22: Σὺ εἰ ὁ νίος μου † ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εύδοκησα.

p. 316: Τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁν, ἀροτρα καὶ ζυγά· διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων καὶ ἐνεργῆ βιόν.—p. 296: Οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὀρώντες γενόμενα φαντασίαν μαγικὴν γίνεσθαι ἐλεγον· καὶ γάρ μάγον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐτόλμων λέγειν καὶ λαοπλάνον.—p. 267: Χριστὸς εἰπεν· ἐν οἷς ἀν ἴμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. The passages, p. 333, 271, which Eichhorn, I. 93, 94, cites, are perhaps not peculiar accounts, but arbitrary amplifications.

## § 67 a.

Justin mentions, as the source of these sayings and accounts, writings left behind by the Apostles and their assistants, which he calls *Memoirs of the Apostles*, also *Gospels*.<sup>a</sup>

\* σὺ εἰ D cant. verc.

† Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε D cant. all. Clem. all.

It is a question what we are to understand by *thèse*. The old opinion, that they mean our canonical Gospels, is by no means contradicted by the inexactness of the citations (§ 66 *a*, notes *b* — *d*) ; for it is probable, nay, is established by the repetitions that occur,<sup>a</sup> that Justin cited the Gospels, as sometimes the Old Testament writers,<sup>b</sup> freely, from memory.<sup>c</sup> The title, *Memoirs of the Apostles*, probably an allusion to Xenophon's "Memorabilia," and the non-mention of the Evangelists' names,<sup>d</sup> cannot be of much importance ; and Gospels which were read in the assemblies of the Christians cannot well be other than our canonical Gospels, all of which (Mark and John more seldom<sup>e</sup>) he made use of.

<sup>a</sup> Apol. II. p. 98 : Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἢ καλέσαι εὐάγγελια, οὕτως παρέθωκαν. Ib. : καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. ἔδιδαξαν. Dial. c. Tr. p. 328 : ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. ἔδιδαξαν. p. 328 : ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τ. ἀ. γέγραπται. Ib. : ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τ. ἀ. γέγραπται. Ib. : ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τ. ἀ. γέγραπται. Ib. : . . . καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνυμακέναι αὐτὸν (I. X.) Πέτρον ἔνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τ. ἀ. γέγραπται. Ib. : . . . καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνυμακέναι αὐτὸν γέγραπται. A single gospel is but seldom spoken of. Dial. p. 328 : ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. p. 227 : τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα. It is, however, usual to comprise under this name the collection of Gospels.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 66 *a*, note *b*, *v*, Apol. II. p. 62, Dial. p. 324 ; — note *b*, *p*, Apol. II. 95, Dial. p. 326 ; — note *b*, *φ*, Dial. p. 326, 331 ; — note *b*, *ψ*, Apol. II. p. 63, Dial. p. 328 ; — note *c*, *η*, Dial. p. 308, 253 ; — note *d*, *β*, Apol. II. p. 64, Dial. p. 301.

<sup>c</sup> Apol. II. p. 73, cf. Gen. xl ix. 11 ; p. 74, cf. Isa. xi. 1, 10, with mixture from Num. xxiv. 17 ; pp. 79, 80, cf. Ps. xcvi. ; p. 86, cf. Ps. xxiv. 7 ; Dial. p. 228, cf. Jerem. xxxi. 31, sq. Cf. Bindemann, in Stud. u. Kr. 1842, p. 415, ff.

<sup>d</sup> Credner, last-mentioned work, pp. 211, 223, 246, f., 252, labors to show, in the passages 2. *b*. *v*. *χ*. *ι*. *κ*. (where he lays stress on the expression *τί κατέρνον*), 4. *d*. *γ*. 3. *c*. *θ*. *ι*. traces of another text found in heretical writings. (See against him Bindemann, as above, p. 441, ff.) Bauer refers the passages

3. c. θ. to a Jewish Christian Gospel (*Zeller's Jbb.* 1844, p. 665). According to *Credner*, p. 251, f., 354, f., *Baur*, and *Zeller* (ib. 1846, p. 607), Justin must have borrowed his doctrine of the Logos, not from the Gospel of John, but from Philo and the then prevailing Church doctrine. "But if the Fathers who came only a little later, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Origen, expressly refer this doctrine to the Prologue of John's Gospel, shall we believe that Justin drew it from another source?" *Lücke*, Comm. üb. d. Joh. 3d ed. I. 49. See also *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 220, f. *Ritschl*, Evang. Marc. p. 139, ff., endeavors to show, from the discrepancies in the history of Jesus's youth, that probably Justin used the incomplete Gospel of *Marcion*. But this theory is opposed by the references to passages like Luke iii. 23, xxiv. 25, 37, which unmistakably belong to the author of our third Gospel.

<sup>a</sup> Justin cites other sacred authors, also, without giving their names: Apol. II. p. 86, Ps. xxiv. 7; Dial. p. 295, Ps. xix. 5, Isa. xxxv. 2; p. 315, Joel iii. 28, and elsewhere frequently.

<sup>b</sup> Dial. p. 333, cf. Mark iii. 17, above, note a; p. 316, cf. John i. 23, § 66 a, note d, δ. Apol. II. p. 94, cf. John iii. 3, § 66 a, note c, θ; p. 68, cf. John i. 1, ff., § 66 a, note c, ε. Other allusions to Johannic passages are more or less uncertain.

### § 67 b.

The historical citations not found in our Gospels (§ 66 b, note b) require only this supposition, — that Justin, in addition to our Gospels, used an uncanonical gospel, as the Gospel of the Hebrews, or of Peter,<sup>a</sup> or read additions taken from them in his manuscript from Matthew. The theories, that he used only the Gospel of the Hebrews;<sup>b</sup> or a harmony of the same with Luke;<sup>c</sup> or a harmony of the Gospels;<sup>d</sup> or an edition of his own of Matthew;<sup>e</sup> or an original gospel akin to Matthew's, and enriched from Luke's,<sup>f</sup> — are by no means sustained by these quotations.

<sup>a</sup> *Credner* maintains the latter, but generally on weak grounds. Thus he finds (p. 132) it in the passage, Dial. c. Tr. p. 333 (§ 67 a, note a), by referring the pronoun in the expression *τὸν τοῖς ἀπομημονεύμασι αὐτοῦ* to Peter. This reference is certainly supported by analogy, for elsewhere the genitive dependent on *ἀπομνήμη* is always the genitive of the subject; and yet it would be strange, had he known the *ἀπομνήμη* *Πέτρου*, that he should have named them here only, and in this incidental way. Cf. *Bindem.* p. 407, f.

<sup>b</sup> *Sroth*, *Fragm. des Evang.* nach d. Hebr., in *Eichhorn's Rep.* 1. Bd. C. F. *Weber*, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. neutest. Canons.* 1791, p. 105, ff. *Mayerhoff*, *Einl. in d. petrin. Schr.* p. 242, ff.

<sup>c</sup> *Storr*, Ueb. d. Zweck d. evang. Gesch. u. d. Br. Joh. p. 363, ff.

<sup>d</sup> *H. E. G. Paulus*, Ob das Ev. Justins das Evang. nach den Hebräern sey? In his Exeg. krit. Abhandl. Tüb. 1784, and in the Theol. exeg. Conservator. I. 70, ff. *Gratz*, Krit. Unters. üb. Justins apost. Denkw. Stuttg. 1814.

<sup>e</sup> *Schmidt*, Einl. ins N. T. I. 117.

<sup>f</sup> *Eichhorn*, Einl. ins N. T. I. 78, ff., who puts together a text of the Gospels from Justin's citations, passing over those from Mark and John. — In this inquiry, we have followed *Winer*, Justin. M. evangg. can. usum fuisse ostenditur. Lips. 1819. 4to. *Olshausen*, p. 331, ff. In favor of the old view, the following writers have also recently declared themselves: *Hug*, Einleit. II. § 23, p. 99. 2. Aufl. cf. 3. Aufl. § 24, p. 105. *Dan. Fr. Schütz*, De evangeliiis, quae ante evang. canon. in usu eccles. christ. fuisse dicuntur. Regiom. 1812, P. II. p. 1. *J. P. Mynster*, Kl. theolog. Schriften. Kopenh. 1825, No. I. *Bindemann* (§ 67 a, notes b, c). *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 220.

### § 67 c.

The citations from evangelic works and histories in the pseudo-Clementine writings, being in their nature free and inexact, indicate very uncertainly the writing from which they were made. Some distinctly rest upon Matthew;<sup>a</sup> others on Luke;<sup>b</sup> others come from passages of both, woven together,<sup>c</sup> or differ from both;<sup>cc</sup> a few others presuppose Mark<sup>d</sup> and John;<sup>e</sup> while others proceed from a different source.<sup>f</sup> Some remarkably agree with quotations of Justin Martyr;<sup>ff</sup> and yet it seems hasty to conclude that such have come from a properly Jewish-Christian source.<sup>gg</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Homil. III. 18: 'Ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας Μωνσέως, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. xxiii. 2. — III. 51: 'Οὐκ ἡλθον καταλῦσαι, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. v. 17. — III. 56: Μὴ δύστητε τὸν οὐρανὸν, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. v. 35. — XVIII. 15: Καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῖαν εἰπεῖν· Ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. xiii. 35, where the reading 'Ἡσαῖου likewise occurs, and elsewhere.

<sup>b</sup> Homil. VIII. 7: Τί με λέγεις κύριε κύριε, κ. τ. λ., cf. Luke vi. 46. — XIX. 2: "Οτι ἔωρακεν τὸν πονηρὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴν, κ. τ. λ., cf. Luke x. 18. — IX. 22: .... καὶ πάντες δαίμones . . . . ὑμᾶς φεύγωσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ χαίρειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δι' εὐαρεστίαν τὰ ὄντα ὑμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς ἀεὶ ζώντων ἀναγραφήναι, cf. Luke x. 20, etc.

<sup>c</sup> Homil. XV. 5: Δίκαιον, ζῆσκεν, εἶναι καὶ τῷ τύπτοντι αὐτοῦ τὴν σιαγόνα παρατίθεναι καὶ τὴν ἔτέραν . . . . ἀγγαρεύοντι δὲ μίλιον συναπέρχεσθαι δύο, cf. Matt. v. 39—41, Luke vi. 29. — III. 53: πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπεθύμησαν ίδεῖν, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. xiii. 17: πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἐπεθύμησαν ίδεῖν, κ. τ. λ. Luke x. 24: πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἡθελησαν ίδεῖν, κ. τ. λ., etc.

<sup>a</sup> Homil. VIII. 6 : Ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις θηλάζουσιν. Cf. Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Homil. II. 19 : Ιούστα τις ἐν ἡμῖν ἔστιν Συροφοινίκισσα, κ. τ. λ., cf. Mark vii. 26. — III. 57 : Ἀκούε, Ἰσραήλ, κ. τ. λ., cf. Mark xii. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Homil. III. 52 : Τὰ ἑμὰ πρόβατα ἀκούει τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς, cf. John x. 27. — XI. 26 : Ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ὑδατι ζῶντι εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς νιοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθητε εἰς τ. βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, cf. John iii. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Homil. III. 50 : Διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖτε τὸ εὐλογον τῶν γραφῶν. § 55 : Ὁ πονηρός ἔστιν δὲ πειράσων. — II. 51, III. 50, XVIII. 20 : Γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι. This expression is found also in Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 354. Orig. in Joa. Tom. XIX. Vol. IV. 289. Hieron. Ep. 119 (al. 152), *sub fin.*, and in other writers; cf. § 73 c, note a.

<sup>e</sup> The Johannic passage Homil. XI. 26, note e, cf. § 66 a, note c, θ. — Homil. III. 55, XIX. 2, the passage Matt. v. 37, cf. § 66 a, note b, χ. — Homil. XVIII. 4, the passage Matt. xi. 27, cf. § 66 a, note b, ρ. — Homil. XIX. 2, the passage Matt. xxv. 41, cf. § 66 a, note b, υ.

<sup>f</sup> Against Credn. Beitr. I. 330. Schwegler, Nachapost. Zeitalt. I. 207. Baur, and others. The first passage here is manifestly combined with Matt. xxviii. 19. Those which follow are found also in the Fathers, with their variations from our common text. Moreover, the Pseudo-Clement may have read Justin. See Bleek, Beitr. I. 221.

### 3. Cerinthus's Gospel: Tatian's Diatessaron.

#### § 68.

Cerinthus and Carpocrates made use of a Gospel similar to that of Matthew, which contained the genealogy, though in other respects incomplete, and was akin to the Ebionite Gospel.<sup>a</sup> But the Harmony of the four Gospels which Tatian prepared,<sup>b</sup> and which was called by some the Gospel of the Hebrews,<sup>c</sup> has been, by moderns, with the too hasty rejection of ancient testimony, regarded as a compilation from this and other uncanonical Gospels, or as an independent Gospel.<sup>d</sup> For the omission of the history of Jesus's birth and of the genealogies is explained from his system. However, it is probable that he, like his teacher, Justin, used also the Gospel of the Hebrews.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Epiphani. Haeres. XXVIII. § 5 : Χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ μέρους, καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἑνσαρκούν, καὶ ταῦτη μαρτυρίαν φέρουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, πάλιν λέγοντες· ὅτι ἀρκετὸν

*τῷ μαθητῇ, ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος.* Cf. Haer. XXX. 26, of the Ebionites. XXX. § 14: 'Ο μὲν γὰρ Κῆρυκος καὶ Καρποκρᾶς τῷ αὐτῷ χρόμενοι δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς (the Ebionites) εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγελίου διὰ τῆς γενεalogίας βούλονται παριστᾶν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν. As regards Iren. III. 41, cf. Schmidt, Bibl. f. Krit. I. 224. Eichhorn, I. 109, note.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. H. E. IV. 29: .... ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἰδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθείσι, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τούτο προσωνόμασεν, ὁ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται. Theodoret. Haeret. sabb. I. 20: Οὗτος ὁ Τατιανὸς καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν εὐαγγελίου, τὰς τε γενεalogίας περικόψας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐξ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγενημένον τὸν κύριον δείκνυσιν. Ἐχρήσαντο δὲ τούτῳ οὐ μόνοι οἱ τῆς ἑκείνης συμμορίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἀπόστολικοις ἐπόμενοι δόγμαστι, τὴν τῆς συνθήκης κακοργίαν οὐκ ἔγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπλούστερον ὡς συντόμῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ χρηστούντες. Εὔρον δὲ κάτιον πλείους ἡ διακοσίας βίβλους τοιαύτας ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίαις τετιμημένας, καὶ πάσας συναγαγὼν ἀπεθέμην, καὶ τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγελία.

<sup>c</sup> Eriphan. Haeres. XLVI. 1: Λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίου ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ Ἐβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.

<sup>d</sup> Eichhorn, I. 112. Schmidt, I. 125. Gratz, Krit. Unters. über Justins Denkwürdigkeiten, 1814. Credner, Beitr. I. 437, ff.

\* The proof from Barsalibi, Praef. in Marc. c. 9, in Assemanni Bibl. or. II. 159, that Tatian's Diatessaron began with John i. 1, falls to the ground, in Credner's opinion, because that late author means the spurious Harmony of Tatian. Notwithstanding, Tatian cites John i. 5 (c. Graec. p. 152), John i. 3 (p. 158), and Severus, head of one branch of the Encratites, accepted the Gospels. Eusebius, l. c.

#### 4. *Gospel of the Egyptians.*

##### § 69 a.

Of the Gospel of the Egyptians (*κατ' Αἴγυπτίους*, cf. § 63), only a few traces remain.\*

\* Clemens Rom. Ep. II. § 12: Ἐπερωτηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τῶν, πότε ηξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὗτε ἄρσεν, οὗτε θῆλυ." Cf. Clemens Alex. Strom. III. p. 465: Διὰ τοῦτο τοι ὁ Κασσιανὸς φησι, πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ δων ἥρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος. "Οταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσετε, καὶ διαν γένηται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὗτε ἄρρεν, οὗτε θῆλυ." Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρων εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ὅρτον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτίους. — Perhaps the following passage, found in the same letter, is also quoted from the same Gospel, § 5:

Δέγει δέ κύριος· ἔστε σθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ δό Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; εἰπεν δὲ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετα τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἔχουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός. Cf. Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 3; Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 4, 5. On the other hand, the passages, § 2, ὅτι οὐκ ἥλθον, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. ix. 13; § 3, τὸν ὄμολογόσαντα, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. x. 32; § 4, οὐ πᾶς δὲ λέγων, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. vii. 21; ib. ἴπάγετε, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. vii. 23; § 6, οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. vi. 24, xvi. 26, Luke xvi. 13, ix. 25; § 8, εἰ τὸ μικρὸν, κ. τ. λ., cf. Luke xvi. 10, 11 (see Part I. § 18, note d); § 9, ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσιν, κ. τ. λ., cf. Matt. xii. 50, Luke viii. 34,— may be free citations. It is, however, worth noting, that these citations stand midway between Matthew and Luke, and that in § 9 agrees pretty closely with a citation from the Gospel of the Hebrews in *Epiphanius*. XXX. 14. See, on the other side, *Eichhorn*, I. 126, f. *Schmidt*, I. 105.— *Clemens Alex.* III. p. 445: Τῇ Σαλώμῃ δέ κύριος πυνθανομένη, μέχρι πότε θάνατος ισχύσει . . . Μέχρις δὲν, εἴπεν, ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε. p. 452: . . . τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένα . . . φέρεται δὲ οἷμα ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀλγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ, φασὶ γάρ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν Σωτήρ, Ἡλθον καταλύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. p. 453: Φαμένης γάρ αὐτῆς, καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκούσα· ἀμείβεται λέγων δέ κύριος· πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην· τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν μὴ φάγης. — *Epiphanius*. Haeres. LXII. 2, of the Sabellians: Τὴν δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν πλάνην καὶ τὴν τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀποκρύφων τινῶν, μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἀλγυπτίου εὐαγγελίου, φῶς τινες τὸ δόνομα ἐπέβεντο τούτο· ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριωδῶς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναφέρεται, ὡς αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα, τον αὐτὸν εἶναι νιόν, τον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἄγιον πνεῦμα.

## § 69 b.

The first quotation given above from this Gospel, and the use made of it by *Sabellius*, show that it had a theosophic character. The same in connection with the second, in *Clement of Alexandria*, proves that it supported Encratism. Indeed, the Encratite *Cassian* used it. As, now, *Cerinthus* and *Carpocrates* used a Gospel related to the Ebionite Gospel, and the Harmony of *Tatian* had, likewise, affinity with the Gospel of the Hebrews (§ 68); as, further, theosophic and Encratistic elements are found in Ebionitism, especially if the Pseudo-Clementines belong to it; as, finally, the

second epistle of Clement makes reference to Ebionite opinions (§ 69 a, note a);—it is very probable that the Gospel of the Egyptians sprang from the same stock as the Gospel of the Hebrews.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Schneckenburger*, Ueb. d. Evang. d. Aegypt. 1834.

### 5. *Marcion's Gospel.*

#### § 70 a.

*Marcion*, an anti-Judaizing Gnostic, and his school, made use of a Gospel which the catholic church teachers regarded as the Gospel of Luke mutilated and corrupted by him from dogmatical views.<sup>a</sup> Yet it did not bear this name in his writings.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Tertull.* c. *Marc.* IV. 2: *Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet.* *Iren.* *Adv. haeres.* lib. I. c. xxvii. 2: *Et super haec id, quod est secundum Lucam, evangelium circumcidens et omnia quae sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est. .... Tertull.* IV. 6: *Contraria quaeque sententiae suaee erasit, conspirantia cum creatore, quasi ab assertoribus ejus intexta; competentia autem sententiae suaee reservavit.* — *Epiphan.* *Haeres.* XLII. § 11: *'Ο μὲν γὰρ χαρακτὴρ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν σημαίνει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς δὲ ἡκρωτηρίασται μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον, μήτε μέσα, μήτε τέλος, ἰματίον βεβρωμένον ὑπὸ πολλῶν σητῶν ἐπέχει τὸν τρόπον. Εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντα τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῷ Λουκᾷ πεπραγματευμένα, τουτέστιν ὡς λέγει. 'Επειδήπερ πολλοὶ, κ. τ. λ. καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἐλισάβετ, .... καὶ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὑποθέσεως· ταῦτα πάντα περικόψας ἀπέπηδοσε, καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγ. ἔταξε ταύτην. 'Ἐν τῷ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κ. τ. ἔξῆς .... καὶ οὐ καθ' εἰρμον πάλιν ἐπιμένει, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς προείπον παρακόπτει, τὰ δὲ προστίθησιν ἀνω κάτω, οὐκ ὄρθως βαδίζων, ἀλλὰ ἐρράδιουργημένως πάντα περινοστεύων. Cf. *Origen.* c. *Cels.* II. 27. *Theodoret.* *Haeret.* *fabb.* I. 24.*

<sup>b</sup> *Tertull.* IV. 2: *Marcion Evangelio suo nullum adscribit autorem, quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adsingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere.* — *Dial. de recta in Deum fide, sect. I.* *Opp. Origen.* Vol. I. 808, ed. *De la Rue*: *Τίς ἔστιν ὁ γράφας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο, δὲ ἔφης εἶναι ἐν; Μ. ὁ Χριστός. Α. Αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἔσταυρώθην καὶ ἀνέστην τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ; οὗτος γράφει; Μ. ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος προσέθηκεν.*

## § 70 b.

Several modern scholars have followed this view of the Fathers.<sup>a</sup> Others, on the other hand, acquit Marcion of the charge of corruption, some of them regarding his Gospel as an extract from,<sup>b</sup> and some as a source or basis of, the same.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *R. Simon*, Hist. crit. du N. T. ch. 12. *Mill*, Prolegg. in N. T. § 306. *Storr*, Ueber d. evang. Gesch. u. Br. Joh. p. 259, f. *Kleuker*, Ausf. Unters. d. Aechtheit der neutest. Schriften. *Hug*, Einl. I. 65, ff. *Arneth*, Ueb. d. Bekanntschaft. Marcions mit unserm Kanon. 1809. 4to. *Schütz*, Diss. de evangg. I. 26, sqq. *Gratz*, Krit. Unters. über Marc. Evang. 1818. *Olshausen*, Aechtheit der Evangg. p. 107, ff. *Hahn*, Das Evang. Marcions in s. urspr. Gestalt. 1823. *Guerike*, Einl. p. 204, f.

<sup>b</sup> *Griesbach*, Hist. text. Gr. epp. Paul. sect. III. § 8. Opusc. II. 125. *Paulus*, Theol. exeg. Conservator. I. 116, goes yet further.

<sup>c</sup> *Semler*, Prolegg. in ep. ad Gal. p. 168: "Sermones Christi non uno commentariorum genere collecti fuerunt: Marcion nondum viderat alios hujus generis libros *praeter unum corpusculum* quod inde a Christi publico munere narrabat, atque non completebatur tales parabolæ sententias et historias, quae praecipue Judaeis alliciendis utilis essent." p. 170. Remarks on *Rich. Simon*, Krit. Gesch. des Textes d. N. T. übers. v. *Cramer*, Preface to *Townson*, Abhandl. üb. d. vier Evangg., N. Versuch d. gemeinnützige Ausleg. d. N. T. zu befördern, p. 162, f. *Corrodi*, Beleucht. der Gesch. d. Bibelkan. II. 172. *Löffler*, Marcionem Paul. ep. et Lucae evang. adulterasse dubitatur (Frcf. a. V. 1788); in comment. theol. a *Velthusen*, *Kuinoel* et *Ruperti* collect. I. *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 126; cf. his treatise in *Henke's Magaz.* V. 3, and in his Biblioth. f. Krit. II. 3. *Eichhorn*, Einl. I. 40. (Opposed to him, especially, *Hahn*.) *Bertholdt*, Einl. III. 1294. *Gieseler*, Ueb. d. Entsteh. d. Evangg. p. 24. *Schwegler*, Nachapostol. Zeitalter, I. 260, ff. *Ritschl*, D. Ev. Marc. u. d. kan. Ev. d. Luc. Tüb. 1846. *Baur*, in *Zeller's Theol.* Jbb. 1846, p. 459, ff. Krit. Unters. über d. kanon. Evangg. Tüb. 1847, p. 397, ff., who follows *Ritschl* chiefly.

## § 71 a.

The general assertions of *Tertullian*, and especially of *Epiphanius*, against Marcion, are passionate, and in part exaggerated. The special proofs adduced by them are not wholly satisfactory, because in quoting from Marcion's Gospel they have a dogmatic object, or at least but a secondary regard to critical considerations. Hence they quote rather what he had retained, than what he had expunged or altered.<sup>a</sup>

\* *Tertull.* IV. 6: .... Competentia suae sententiae reservavit. Haec conveniemus, haec amplectemur, si nobiscum magis fuerint, si Marcionis prae-sumptionem percurserint. Eichhorn is mistaken in saying that this Father did not have Marcion's text before him. IV. 1: .... ad ipsum jam evangelium provocamus, quod interpolando suum fecit. Sed et istas (antitheses) proprio congressu cominus .... cecidisse, si non multo opportunius in ipso et cum ipso evangelio, cui procurant, retunderentur. c. 2: Transeo nunc ad Evangelii sane non Judaici, sed Pontici, interim adulterati demonstrationem. c. 6: Sed alium jam hinc inimus gradum, ipsum, ut professi sumus, evangelium Marcionis provocantes, sic quoque probatur adulteratum. c. 43, fin. Cf. Hahn, p. 91, ff. Olshausen, p. 188. Ritschl, p. 38. *Epiph.* l. c. § 10: .... ἀναλεξάμενος καθ' είρμὸν .... τὰ ἐλέγχαι αὐτὸν δυνάμενα .... καὶ οὕτως ἡστὸς διεξῆλθον, ἐν οἷς φάνεται ἡλιθίως καθ' οὗτοῦ ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς παραμεινάσας τοῦ τε σωτῆρος καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέξεις φυλάττων. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν παρηλλαγμένως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐρρᾳδιουργήθησαν .... ἀλλὰ δὲ μὴ ἀλλαγέσθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, δυνάμενα δὲ αὐτὸν διελέγχειν. § 11: 'Εκ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὰ πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν τῆς πανούργου αὐτῶν ρᾳδιουργίας σπουδάσαντες παρεθέμεθα · ἵν' οἱ τῷ πονήματι ἐντυχεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἔχωσι τοῦτο γυμνάσιον ὅξύτητος, πρὸς ἐλεγχον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπικενομένων ξενολεξιῶν. Cf. p. 374, at the end of the comparison there made.

### § 71 b.

They therefore are quite in error who suppose, with *Eichhorn*, that all which *Epiphanius* quotes from Marcion's Gospel is quoted as varying from the genuine text of Luke, and on account of its variation. Where he does not expressly mark the variation, none existed, and the quotations are then made solely for the sake of refutation. They are often only extracts from the uncorrupted text,<sup>a</sup> and hence obscure from their brevity.<sup>b</sup> On the other hand, they also err who assume, with *Arneth*, that Epiphanius gave all the variations; for he seems to have adduced only such as seemed to him weighty in a dogmatic point of view.<sup>c</sup>

\* *Epiph.* l. c. schol. LI.: 'Εγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν τῇ Ἱεριχῷ, τυφλὸς ἐβό· Ἰησοῦν νιὲ Δαβίδ, ἐλέσσον με. Καὶ ὅτε λάθη, φησίν · ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε. Cf. Luke xviii. 35–42. Refut. LI.: 'Ἐν πίστει οὐκ ἔνι ψεύδος· εἰ γὰρ ψεύδεται, οὐ πίστις. Λέγει γοῦν, νιὲ Δαβίδ, καὶ ἐπανεῖται, καὶ κομίζεται τὸ αἴτημα δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ὀμολογήσας, καὶ οὐκ ἐπειψῆθη ὡς ψεύστης, ἀλλ' ὡς πιστὸς ἐμακαρίσθη· οὐκ ἄρα ἀσαρκος δὲ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ὄνόματος χαρισμένος τῷ τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν· ἀληθινῶς γὰρ ἦν, καὶ οὐ δοκήσει, ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαβίδ κατὰ σάρκα, ἀπὸ Μαρίας τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου, καὶ διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου γεγενημένος. This remark quite overthrows Eichhorn's hypothesis, that

Marcion's text is often shorter than that of our Luke. See *Olshausen*, p. 144, and often.

<sup>b</sup> *Epiph. l. c. Schol. XLIII.* : 'Ο νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἔως Ἰωάννου (ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται is wanting) · καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. Refut. Εἴ νόμον τάσσει, καὶ προφήτας ἀποκαλεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνομίαν δηλοῦ τὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ ψευδοπροφήτας φάσκει τοὺς προφήτας, σαφῶς ὁμολογεῖται μεμαρτυρηκέναι τὸ σωτῆρα τοῖς προφήταις, καὶ δέδεικται, ὃ περὶ αὐτοῦ προεφήτεσσαν. Cf. *Schol. XIII.* with *Luke viii. 22–25*; *Schol. XLIV.* with *Luke xvi. 19–31* (this last *Eichhorn* says nothing about); *Schol. XLVI.* with *Luke xvi. 29–31*.

\* The variations given and noteworthy are as follow:—

*Marcion.*

*Luke.*

Chh. i. ii. omitted. <i>Tertull. de Carne Chr. c. 1, 2. Epiph. Haeres. XLII. 11. Iren. I. 27. 1.</i>	Chh. i. ii. Introduction. Annunciation and birth of John. Annunciation and birth of Jesus. His circumcision. Presentation in the Temple. Journey with his parents to the feast at Jerusalem.
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† iii. 1, immediately connected with iv. 31. Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberiani proponit eum (al. Deum) descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum. <i>Tertull. c. Marc. IV. 7</i> , comp. <i>Epiph. § 11. Dialog. de recta fide</i> , p. 869: ὡς φασίν, ἐπὶ Τίβεριον κατελθὼν ἐφάνη ἐν Καφαρναούμ. According to <i>Isidor. Pelus.</i> (Ep. 371. ad Philastr.) Marcion had not the genealogy.	iii. 1: Ἐν ᾧτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τίβεριον καίσαρος .... Appearance of John the Baptist. Baptism of Jesus. Genealogy. Temptation. iv. 31: καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναούμ πολιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ....
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† iv. 34. <i>ναζαρηνός</i> was omitted. <i>Tertull. c. 7, 8. cf. v. 6.</i>	iv. 38, f. <i>Tertullian</i> passes over, c. 8; according to <i>Hahn</i> it was not omitted, according to <i>Ritschl</i> , p. 76, f., it was.	iv. 38: Healing of Peter's mother-in-law.
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iv. 39, or 37, was followed by iv. 16 – 30, with omission of vv. 24–27.	iv. 16 – 30: Jesus teaches in Nazareth.
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*Tert. c. 8. Hahn, Ritschl.*

* v. 14: ἵνα γὰρ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν. <i>Tert. c. 9. Epiph. Schol. I.</i>	v. 14: εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.
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vi. 3, 4: <i>Epiphanius</i> , <i>Schol. XXI.</i> , quotes after ix. 44, but only by mistake; <i>Tertull. c. 12</i> , quotes it in its proper order.	
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vi. 12 was, according to <i>Tertull. c. 13</i> , somewhat enlarged. <i>Hahn</i> , p. 185. On the other side, <i>Ritschl</i> , p. 64.	
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* vi. 17: κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς. <i>Epiph. Schol. IV.</i>	vi. 17: καταβας μετ' αὐτῶν.
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* vi. 23: patres eorum, <i>Tertull. c. 15; πατέρες ἡμῶν, Epiph. Schol. VI.</i>	vi. 23: πατέρες αὐτῶν.
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*Marcion.*

vii. 23. *Epiph.* Sch. VIII.: παρηλλαγμένον τό· μακάριος, δο οὐ μὴ σκ. ἐν ἐμοί. εἶχε γὰρ ὡς πρὸς Ἰωάννην· But Marcion read the same. Cf. *Hahn* on the passage.

† vii. 29 – 35 are passed over by *Tertullian*, and were probably wanting.

† viii. 19: παρεγένοντο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν (τινές?). *Epiph.* Sch. XII.: οὐκ εἶχεν· ἡ μῆτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ. Cf. *Tertull.* c. Marc. iv. 19, *De carne Chr.* c. 7, who also points out this omission.

† viii. 21 was interpolated from Matt. xiii. 48: τίς μου μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί; *Tertull.* c. Marc. iv. 19.

ix. 31 was missing, according to *Hahn* and *Ritschl*, but *Tertull.* c. 22, *Epiph.* Sch. XVII., are not clear on this point.

ix. 40: *Epiph.* Sch. XIX. obscurely refers to some omission, probably of the words καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν.

x. 12 – 15: Passed over by *Tertull.* c. 24, omitted according to *H.* and *R.*

† x. 21: εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. *Epiph.* Sch. XXII. *Tertull.* I. c. 25: gratias ago et confiteor, domine coeli.

x. 22: οὐδεὶς γινώσκει, τίς ἔστιν δοπατήρ, εἰ μὴ δικαῖος, κ. τ. λ. *Tertull.* ib. But *M.* read probably ἔγνω, according to *Dial. de recta fid.* I.

817. d. *Iren.* IV. 6, 1: qui peritiores Apostolis volunt esse, sic desribunt: Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius, etc. So too *Just.* *M. Clem.* *Homil.* Cf. *Credn.* *Beitr.* I. 249.

† x. 25: τί ποιήσας ζωὴν κληρονομήσω; *Tertull.* ib. But in Cap. XVIII. 8, Marcion had αἰώνιον, according to *Tertull.* and *Epiph.*

\* xi. 1: προσευχόμενον τῷ πατρὶ. *Tertull.* ib. c. 26.

*Luke.*

vii. 23: δις ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐμοί.

vii. 29: καὶ πᾶς δὲ λαὸς ἀκούσας, κ. τ. λ. Note particularly v. 34: ἐλήλυθεν δι νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρ. ἐσθίων καὶ πινῶν, κ. τ. λ.

viii. 19: παρεγ. δ. πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ κ. οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ.

viii. 21: δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσι, κ. τ. λ.

ix. 31: οἱ ὄφθεντες ἐν δόξῃ ἐλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον, κ. τ. λ.

ix. 40: καὶ ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου, ἵνα ἐκβάλωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν.

x. 12 – 15: Cry of woe over the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida.

x. 21: ἔξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς.

x. 22: οὐδεὶς γινώσκει. τίς ἔστιν δικαῖος, εἰ μὴ δοπατήρ· καὶ τίς ἔστιν δοπατήρ, εἰ μὴ δικαῖος, κ. τ. λ.

x. 25: τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κ. τ. λ. Also *Germ.* 2. omits αἰώνιον.

xi. 1: προσευχόμενον.

*Marcion.*

x. 2, perhaps: ἐλθέτω τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. *Tertull.* ib.

† xi. 29: ἡ γενεὰ αὐτῆ σημεῖον αἰτεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐδὲ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ. *Epiph.* Sch. XXV. cf. with the Refut., where the text is filled out.

*Tertull.* ib. does not quote the missing words.

† xi. 30–32 wanting, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XXV. *Tertull.* ib. takes no notice of it, and passes over from xi. 29 to xi. 33.

† xi. 42: καὶ παρέρχεσθε τὴν κλῆσιν. *Epiph.* Sch. XXVI. *Tertull.* c. 27; in this writer without complaint of corruption. The words ταῦτα ἔδει ποιῆσαι, κ. τ. λ. were wanting.

† xi. 49–51 omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XXVIII.; *Tertull.* ib. passes it over.

† xii. 6 omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XXIX., and is also not mentioned by *Tertull.* c. 28. So also verse 7, connected with it.

xii. 8: τὰς δε ἀν δυολογήσει ἐν ἑμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δυολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ. *Epiph.* Sch. XXX. *Tertull.* ib.

xii. 28 was omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XXX.; according to *Tertull.* c. 29, however, not.

xii. 32: μὴ φοβοῦ, το μακρὸν ποίμνοι, ὅτι εὐδόκησεν δι πατὴρ δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν. *Epiph.* Sch. XXXIV.

*Luke.*

xi. 2: ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου. Cf. the various readings in *Griesb.*

xi. 29: ἡ γενεὰ αὐτῆ πονηρά ἐστι. † σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημ. οὐδὲ δοθ. αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ το σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.

xi. 30: καθὼς γαρ ἐγένετο Ἰωνᾶς σημεῖον τοῖς Νινεύιταις, κ. τ. λ.

— 31: βασιλισσα νάτου ἐγερθήσεται, κ. τ. λ.

— 32: ἄνδρες Νινεύι, κ. τ. λ.

xi. 42: κ. παρ. τὴν κρίσιν. The words ταῦτα ἔδει ποιῆσαι are wanting in D cant. veron.

xi. 49: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπεν, κ. τ. λ.

— 50: ἵνα ἐκβιτηθῇ τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, κ. τ. λ.

— 51: ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ, κ. τ. λ.

xii. 6: οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλεῖται, κ. τ. λ.

xiii. 8: π. δε ἀν δμ. ἐν ἑμοὶ ἔμπ. τ. ἀνθρ., κ. δ. ν. τ. ἀ. δμ. ἐν αὐτ. ἔμπρ. τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ. Also Mt. a. omits τ. ἀγγ. Cf. Matt. x. 32, 33.

xii. 28: εἰ δὲ τὸν χόρτον . . . δ θεός οὐτως ἀμφιέννυσι, κ. τ. λ.

xii. 32: μὴ φοβ. . . . δ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ.

† It is not certain that these words were omitted; Epiphanius, perhaps, quotes more freely. But they are wanting in Cod. 235.

*Marcion.*

xii. 33, f., not alluded to by *Tertull.*, omitted according to *Hahn*, 92.  
 \* xii. 38: καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τῇ ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ. *Epiph.* Sch. XXXV.

\* xii. 51. Here *Tertull.* ib. charges on *Marcion* the genuine reading δαμεισμόν as a corruption.

† xiii. 1–9 wanting, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XXVIII. *Tertull.* c. 30, also passes it over.

† xiii. 28: ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ὅψησθε πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους καὶ κρατουμένους ἔξω. *Epiph.* Sch. XL. *Tertull.* ib.

† xiii. 29–35 wanting, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XLI. *Tertull.* passes it over.

\* xiv. 26: καταλείπει τὸν πατέρα, κ. τ. λ. *Epiph.* Ref. LXX.

† xv. 11–32 wanting, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XLII. *Tertull.* c. 32, passes it over.

\* xvi. 12: ἐμόν. *Tertull.* c. 33.

† xvi. 17: εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἔστιν τὸν οὐρανὸν κ. τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν [ώς καὶ ὁ νόμος κ. οἱ προφῆται]

ἡ τῶν λόγων μονοῦ — *Hahn* erroneously, after *Tertull.*, τὸν κυρίου — μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν. *Tertull.* l. c. The words in brackets are, according to *Ritschl*, p. 43, an addition by this Father.

\* xvii. 2: λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἔγεινυθη, η̄ λίθος μυλονικὸς, κ. τ. λ.

† xvii. 10 wanting, according to *Epiph.* Sch. XLVII. *Tertull.* c.

*Luke.*

xii. 33, f.: πωλήσατε τα ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ.

xiii. 38: . . . . ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φυλ. καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλ. ἔλθῃ. With *Marc.* Veron. Other MSS. unite his reading with the common one.

xviii. 1–9. Of the Galileans who were killed, and of the fig-tree.

xiii. 28: ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλ. κ. δ. βρ. τ. δ., δτ. ὅψ. Ἀβραὰμ κ. Ἰσαὰκ κ. Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας ἐν τ. βασ. τ. θ., ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω. With *Marc.* Ambr. has once κ. τ. δικαίους.

xiii. 29, f.: καὶ ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν . . . . καὶ ἀνακλιθήσοται, κ. τ. λ. Ver. 31–35. Jesus foretells the destruction of Jerusalem.

xiv. 26: μισεῖ τ. πατέρα. But the other reading is also in *Orig.*

xv. 11–32. The parable of the prodigal son.

xvi. 12: ὑμέτερον. With *Marc.* Cod. 157. Vind.

xvi. 17: εὐκοπ. . . . παρελθεῖν, ἡ τοῦ νόμου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν.

xvii. 2: λυσιτ. αὐτ., εἰ μύλος ὅπκος περίκειται, κ. τ. λ.

Utilius autem fuerat (s. est) illi, ne nasceretur, aut lapis, etc. Veron. verec. and other MSS. in *Griesb.*

xvii. 10: οὗτοι . . . . λέγετε . . . . δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοι ἔσμεν, κ. τ. λ.

*Marcion.**Luke.*

35, does not mention xvii. 5 – 10, and it seems very likely, according to *Ritschl*, p. 117, that only ver. 7 – 10 were omitted.

xvii. 12 – 19. Here, according to xvii. 12 – 19. Of the ten lepers.

*Epiph.* Sch. XLVIII., *Marcion* cut much away. The following alteration is expressly given.

\* — 14 : καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· δείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς πορευθέντες ἐπιδείξατε ἑαυτούς. — 14 : καὶ ἰδὼν εἰπεν αὐτοῖς· τ. ιερ.

The following was then interpolated from Luke iv. 27 : ὅτι πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν Ἰμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμᾶν ὁ Σύρος. Also *Tertull.* c. 35, read this. But *Ritschl*, p. 119, ff., denies it.

xviii. 19 : μή με λέγετε ἀγαθόν· xviii. 19 : τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν· εἴς ἔστιν ἀγαθός, δ. πατήρ.

\* xviii. 20 : τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα. *Epiph.* xviii. 20 : τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας. Sch. L. objects only to the addition δ. πατήρ and οἶδα. But *Tertull.* c. 36, read οἶδας.

† xviii. 31 – 34 wanting, according to Epiph. Sch. LII. *Tertull.* l. c. sufferings according to prophecies of passes it over.

† xviii. 37 : δ. ναζαραῖος was omitted, for *Epiph.* and *Tertull.* do not mention it.

† xix. 9 had not the words καθέτι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ Ἀβραάμ ἔστιν, for *Tertull.* c. 37, cites them not as opposed to Marcion's system.

† xix. 29 – 46 wanting, according to Epiph. Sch. LIII. *Tertull.* ib. Jerusalem, purification of the Temple. passes it over.

† xx. 9 – 18 missing, according to Epiph. Sch. LV.; in *Tertull.* c. 38, it is not cited. xx. 9 – 18. Parable of the laborers in the vineyard.

xx. 19 : καὶ ἐξῆτησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. *Epiph.* Sch. LIV. without complaint of alteration. In *Marcion* this verse was connected with xx. 8, and the last words, ἔγνωσαν γάρ, κ. τ. λ., must have been omitted, for they refer to ver. 9 – 18.

† xx. 37, 38, missing, according to Epiph. Sch. LVI., who read it twice, for he says : δευτερῶσαι τὸν σωτῆρα τὴν παραβολὴν. In *Tertull.* c. 38, it does not occur.

xx. 19 : κ. ἐξ. οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς κ. οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐπιβ. ἐπ. αὐτ. τ. χεῖρ. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δρᾳ, κ. ἐφ. τὸν λαόν. ἔγνωσαν γάρ, δτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην εἰπεν.

xx. 37, 38 : ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ Μωσῆς ἐμήνυσεν, κ. τ. λ.

*Marcion.*

- † xxi. 1 – 4 *Tertull.* does not mention.  
 † xxi. 18 omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. LVIII.  
 † xxi. 21, f., omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. LIX. on account of the last words. *Tertull.* c. 39, adds neither verse.  
 † xxi. 27, καὶ δόξης omitted, which *Tertull.* c. 39, does not quote, according to *Hahn*, p. 201, but not according to *Ritschl*, p. 43.  
 † xxi. 32 : ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρελθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, ἔως ἂν πάντα γένηται. *Tertull.* I.  
 c. : Adhuc ingerit, non transiturum coelum ac terram, nisi omnia peragantur. But according to *Ritschl*, p. 44, *Tertull.* here made a mistake.  
 † xxi. 36 not mentioned by *Tertull.*  
 † xxii. 3 probably omitted, according to *Tertull.* V. 6. *Epiph.* Ref. LX. *Hahn*, 203. *Ritschl*, 126.  
 † xxii. 16 omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. LXIII. *Tertull.* IV. 40, does not quote it, nor ver. 17, 18, which according to R. p. 50, were really omitted.  
 † xxii. 30 omitted, according to *Epiph.* Ref. LXIII. ; also *Tertull.* c. 41, passes over ver. 23 – 30. According to *Ritschl*, p. 32, ver. 24 – 30 were wanting.  
 † xxii. 35 – 46 *Tertull.* c. 40, does not quote ; according to *Epiph.* Sch. LXIV. ver. 35 was cut away ; but ver. 41, according to LXV. was in existence, and probably also ver. 39 – 42, 45, f. *Ritschl*, p. 111.  
 xxii. 35, sq. : καὶ εἰπεν αὐτοῖς· ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς, κ. τ. λ. . . . κ. ἀγοράστω μάχαιραν.  
 37 : λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἡμοί, τὸ καὶ μετὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐλογισθῆ.  
 42 – 44. Of Christ's agony and bloody sweat in Gethsemane. The passage is wanting also in AB and other authorities. See *Griesb.*  
 xxii. 49 – 51 omitted, according to *Epiph.* Sch. LXVII. *Tertull.* also fails to mention it ; it could hardly remain after the removal of ver. 35 – 38.

*Luke.*

- xxi. 1 – 4. Of the widow's mite.  
 xxi. 18 : καὶ θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται.  
 xxi. 21, f. : τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαΐᾳ φευγέτωσαν . . . τοῦ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα.

- xxi. 27 : καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρ. ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ, μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.

- xxi. 32 : ἀμὴν . . . παρελθῃ ἡ γενναὶ ἀνθρ. . . . κ. τ. λ.

- xxi. 36 : ἀγρυπνεῖτε . . . καὶ σταθῆται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νιοῦ τ. ἀνθρ.  
 xxii. 3 : κ. εἰσῆλθε σατανᾶς εἰς . . .

- xxii. 16 : λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ φάγω ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἔως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

- xxii. 24 – 30. Dispute among the disciples.

- xxii. 35, sq. : καὶ εἰπεν αὐτοῖς· ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς, κ. τ. λ. . . . κ. ἀγοράστω μάχαιραν.

- 37 : λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἡμοί, τὸ καὶ μετὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐλογισθῆ.

- 42 – 44. Of Christ's agony and

- bloody sweat in Gethsemane. The passage is wanting also in AB and other authorities. See *Griesb.*

- xxii. 49 – 51. Peter cuts off the

- ear of the high-priest's servant.

*Marcion.**Luke.*

† xxiii. 2 : τοῦτον εὑρομεν διαστρέ- xxiii. 2 : τοῦτ. εὗρ. διαστρ. τ.  
φοντα τὸ ζθνος καὶ καταλύοντα ζθνος κωλύοντα καίσαρι φόρους  
τον νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφή- διδόναι κ. λέγοντα ἐαυτὸν Χρι-  
τας, καὶ κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ στὸν βασιλέα εἶναι.  
δοῦναι καὶ ἀναστρέφοντα τὰς  
γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα. *Epiph.* Sch. LXIX. LXX. From *Tertull.*  
nothing can be gathered.

xxiii. 34 wanted the words διαμεριζόμενοι, κ. τ. λ., according to *Tertull.* c.  
42 : Vestitum plene ejus a militibus divisum, partim sorte concessum,  
Marcion abstulit, respiciens Psalmi prophetiam. But Luke does not cite  
this passage, and *Epiph.* Sch. LXXI. quotes the objectionable words.

† xxiii. 43 omitted, according to xxiii. 43 : σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ζηγ ἐν  
*Epiph.* Sch. LXXII.; so also prob- τῷ παραδείσῳ.  
ably ver. 39, ff., according to *Ritschl.*

† xxiii. 47 – 49 *Tertull.* does not ad- xxiii. 47 : . . . . ὅντως δ ἀνθρω-  
duce. The passage was omitted, πος οὐτος δίκαιος ἦν. ver. 49 :  
according to *Hahn*, 214, not accord- εἰσήκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ing to *Ritschl.*, 63. αὐτοῦ.

xxiv. 25 – 27 was, according to *Epiph.* Sch. LXXVII., altered; but his com-  
plaint is self-contradictory. He says, first, that *Marcion* cut away ver.  
25, 26 (*παρέκοψε το εἰρημένον πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον . . . τό· ω·*  
ἀνόητοι), and then that, in ver. 25, instead of οἰς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται,  
he read οἰς ἐλάλησα ἡμῖν. So also in *Dial. c. Marc. sect. IV.* p. 857.  
*Tertull.* c. 43, adduces, *quae locutus est ad vos*; and so must also *M.*'s  
reading have been. Accordingly, ver. 27 certainly was omitted.

xxiv. 26 – 35 *Tertull.* does not distinctly adduce; probably ver. 27 was  
omitted, as also the last words of ver. 32 : καὶ ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς  
γραφάς.

† xxiv. 37 *Marc.* read φάντασμα for πνεῦμα, according to *Tertull.*, and in  
ver. 39 perhaps omitted ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἰδετε.

† xxiv. 44 – 46 passed over by *Tertull.* c. 43, and probably the words ὅτι  
δεῖ πληρωθῆναι, κ. τ. λ. were omitted.

xxiv. 47 *Tertull.* c. 43, adduces again. Whether the rest was wanting is not  
clear; but *Epiph.* § 11, p. 311, says that *M.* cut off much from the end.  
According to *Ritschl.*, 129, he read ver. 50, 51. — A view of *Marcion's*  
Gospel has been given by *Hahn* and *Thilo*, Cod. Apocr. N. T. I. 401, sqq.

## § 72 a.

The variations with an asterisk (\*) prefixed are simply different, and in part correct readings. Some of those indicated by an obelisk (†) are manifestly such as support the Anti-Judaistic system of the heretic, others are proved to be such by the refuters,\* and others naturally follow from these.

Consistency, however, does not appear in the work; and, as he did not hesitate to use forced explanations,<sup>b</sup> he might easily have allowed much to remain that now is wanting.

<sup>a</sup> On the reasons not at once manifest for many omissions, see *Olshausen*, p. 208, f., and *Hahn* on many passages; yet *Ritschl* now and then raises well-founded objections.

<sup>b</sup> *Tertull.* c. 43: *Marcion quaedam contraria sibi illa credo industria eradere de Evangelio suo noluit, ut ex his, quae eradere potuit nec erasit, illa, quae erasit, aut negetur erasisse aut merito erasisse dicatur. Nec parcit nisi eis, quae non minus aliter interpretando quam delendo subvertit.* *Tertullian* adduces such explanations, e. g. cap. 9, on Luke v. 12–16; c. 15, on vi. 23; c. 22, on ix. 28–36; c. 43, on xxiv. 39. Cf. *Olsh.* p. 195, ff. *Hahn* on all these passages.

### § 72 b.

On the other hand, it is asserted that a part of the passages which *M.* omitted or read differently must, on exegetical grounds, be considered interpolations; and, indeed, many of them must appear more or less objectionable to the commentator, and in a degree even to the critic (vii. 29–35, x. 12–15, xi. 42, xii. 6, xiii. 29–35, xxi. 18, xxii. 24–38, 43, f.). In regard to most of them, however, this assertion, and the hypothesis that *Marcion* had before him the “original Luke,” are without foundation.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The following larger passages, which *M.* did not read, must, according to *Ritschl*, p. 73, ff., have been wanting in the original Luke:—iv. 24–27. But this passage cannot be omitted without making ver. 28 incomprehensible.—iv. 38, f. The *avtois* referring to the disciples, whom Jesus, according to Luke, had not as yet, betrays the interpolation. But was not Simon—were not probably other guests there?—xi. 29–32. By affixing the words *η γενεὰ . . . αὐτῆς* to ver. 33, a better connection would be formed. But this even *Baur*, p. (462) 399, f., denies.—xi. 49–51. See against it *Baur*, ib.—xii. 33, f. The fitness of the connection between ver. 34 and 35 is erroneously denied.—xviii. 31–34. The allusion to prophecies is found only in interpolated—we may with equal justness say in expunged—passages. Ver. 34 is by the same author as ix. 45.—xix. 29–46. The entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem has been designedly left out by the author of the original Luke, and he has given us to understand in the parable, ver. 11, ff., that Jesus did not wish to appear as king of the Jews. But this is not the object and meaning of that entrance, and without it the reader would

never have learned how Jesus reached Jerusalem. Between ver. 30 and 47 there would be a gap. Besides, ver. 30 is in Luke's style, cf. xxiii. 53, and ver. 43 agrees well with xxi. 20, f. Finally, Mark found this passage in Luke, and, as usual, combined the two texts.—xx. 9–18 must be an addition, as appears from ἔγνωσαν γὰρ, κ. τ. λ., ver. 19, the causal clause not referring to the immediately preceding clause κ. ἐφοβήθησαν, κ. τ. λ. But examples of a like carelessness are found in Acts xviii. 3, xxviii. 20, Mark ix. 34, and Mark, who borrowed the passage and had the whole work before his eyes, found no difficulty in this. Besides, the expression προσέθετο, ver. 11, 12, is from Luke's pen, cf. xix. 11, Acts xii. 3.—xx. 37, f. This second part of Jesus's reply is not wanted, because in ver. 34 Jesus does not, as in Matt. xxii. 29, enter on the resurrection question, but confines himself to the difficulty urged by the Sadducees. But by οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες, κ. τ. λ., ver. 27, the Evangelist makes reference to this question.—xxi. 21, f. is said to be at variance with the context. But the word ἐκδίκησις is from Luke's pen, cf. xviii. 3, 5, Acts vii. 24; the thought in xix. 27 also corresponds.—xxiii. 39–43. The promise does not agree with the New Testament eschatology,—an uncertain ground. Passages like xxii. 16–18, 49–51, xiii. 1–9, xv. 11–32, xvii. 7–10, R. himself regards as uncertain, or as proving little.

In the following passages, Marcion is supposed to have the original readings:—xiii. 28. But the antithesis of the heathen is, according to ver. 26, very appropriate; and as the expression ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς, κ. τ. λ., is peculiar to Matthew, it is most natural to suppose that Luke borrowed the passage from him without change.—xvi. 17. τοῦ νόμου is inappropriate. But μίαν κεραίαν does not correspond to τῶν λόγων μον. —viii. 21. The interpolator has struck out the words τίς ἔστιν ἡ μῆτηρ, κ. τ. λ., because they might be misused in favor of Gnosticism (!). In x. 21, the interpolator has added καὶ τ. γῆς. Improbable, for Matthew has it.—Ver. 22. The transposition of the clauses in Marcion is original. But only to καὶ τίς ἔστιν ὁ πατήρ, κ. τ. λ. does the clause καὶ φέλει ὁ νιός, κ. τ. λ., which follows it in our canonical Luke, correspond.—xx. 35. The interpolator has erased the words ὑπὸ τ. θεοῦ. But the verb καταξιούν is used absolutely also in xxi. 36, Acts v. 41.—xxii. 3. The interpolator must have interpolated Satan (?).—xxiv. 25. Marcion's reading is genuine, ἐνὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν, as in ver. 6, 7. But why the πᾶσιν? Also πιστεύειν is inappropriate.—Ver. 44–46 the interpolator must have added. With as much correctness, it is asserted that M. cut it off (see above at xviii. 31, ff.).—Ver. 48, 49, 52, 53 are inserted by the interpolator for the sake of agreement with Acts. Marcion read ver. 50, 51, which differ from Acts. Why did not the interpolator expunge these?

## § 72 c.

The supposition that the third Evangelist did nothing but fill out and add to the older Gospel used by Marcion, does not correspond to the design which he states in his proœmium, ch. i. 3.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, it cannot be conceded that that original writing existed down to Marcion's time,<sup>b</sup> and that our third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles first arose after the time of this heretic. How late, on this supposition, would Mark become, who used our Luke! Marcion, besides, does not pretend that his Gospel was such an original, but professes to be merely the emendator of the (supposed) corrupt canonical Luke, with which he was acquainted.<sup>c</sup> He was also acquainted with the other Gospels, or some of them. These he at first accepted; but afterwards rejected, as coming from Jewish Apostles and containing Jewish opinions.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> According to *Baur*, the proœmium of Luke first appears in its right light on this supposition, p. (599, ff.) 516, ff.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Ritschl* (§ 67 c), Justin Martyr was acquainted with it. But *Tertull.* had no knowledge of this: *Cont. Marc.* iv. 5: *Marcionis (Evangelium) plerisque nec notum, nullis autem notum, ut non eo damnatum. Habet plane et illud ecclesias, sed suas, tam posteras, quam adulteras.* The testimony of an anonymous writer in *Append. ad Tertull. de Praescr. adv. haeret. c. 51*, — (*Cerdon*) *solum Evangelium Lucae, nec tamen totum recipit*, — rests on an error. According to *Theodoret. Haeret. fab. I. 24*, Cerdon had several Gospels.

<sup>c</sup> *Tertull. IV. 4*: *Ego meum (Evang.) dico verum, Marcion suum. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum, Marcion meum. Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, ei praescribens auctoritatem, quod antiquius reperietur, et ei praejudicans vitiationem, quod posterius revinceatur . . . adeo antiquius Marcione est, quod est secundum nos, ut et ipse ille Marcion aliquando crediderit. . . . Si enim id Evangelium, quod Lucae refertur penes nos . . . ipsum est, quod Marcion per Antitheses suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Judaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum, qua etiam Christum inde configerent, utique non potuisset arguere, nisi quod invenerat.* From what follows, Marcion seems to have claimed to be the emendator of his Gospel. Emendator sane *Evangelii*, a Tiberianis usque ad Antoniana tempora eversi, Marcion solus et primus obvenit, exspectatus tam diu a Christo . . . nisi quod humanae temeritatis, non divinae auctoritatis negotium est haeresis, quae sic semper emendat *Evangelia*, dum vitiat . . . Itaque

dum emendat, utrumque confirmat et nostrum anterius id emendans, quod *invenit*: et id posterius, quod de nostri emendatione constituens suum et novum fecit. On the other hand, *Schwegler*, Nachap. Zeitalt. I. 278, *Ritschl*, p. 25, ff., answer, that *Evangelium* here means the Gospel message. C. 25, referring to Luke x. 25: In haeretico *vita* solummodo posita est sine *aeternae* mentione . . . viderit nunc, *si aeternam* nostri *addiderunt* (as he pretended).

<sup>4</sup> *Iren.* Adv. haeres. I. 27. 2, of Marcion: Semetipsum veraciorem, quam sunt hi, qui *Evangelium* tradiderunt, apostoli, suasit discipulis suis, non *Evangelium* (the whole collection?), sed *particularan Evangelii* (the Gospel of Luke) tradens eis. III. 2, of Marcion and other heretics: . . . Apostolos admiscuisse ea, quae sunt *legalia*, Salvatoris verbis. 12, 12: Et Apostolos quidem adhuc *quae sunt Judaeorum* sentientes annuntiasse *Evangelium*, se autem sinceriiores et prudentiores Apostolis esse. Unde et Marcion et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas scripturas conversi sunt, *quasdam* quidem *in totum non cognoscentes*, secundum Lucam autem *Evangelium* et epistolas Pauli decurtantes, haec sola legitima esse dicunt, quae ipsi minoraverunt. *Tertull.* c. Marc. IV. 3: . . . Marcion nactus Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ippos Apostolos sugillantis, ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem *Evangelii*, simul et accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam, pervertentes *Evangelium Christi*, committit ad destruendum statum *eorum Evangeliorum*, *quae propria et sub Apostolorum nomine eduntur*, vel *etiam Apostolicorum*, ut scilicet fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat. . . . Si Apostolos praevaricationis et simulationis suspectos Marcion haberi queritur, usque ad *Evangelii* depravationem Christum jam accusat. Si vero Apostoli integrum *Evangelium* contulerunt, . . . pseudapostoli autem veritatem eorum interpolaverunt, et inde sunt *nosta digesta*: quod erit germanum illud *Apostolorum instrumentum*, quod adulteros passum est? II. 17: . . . hoc quoque testimonium Christi in creatorum (Matt. v. 45) Marcion de *Evangelio* eradere ausus est. IV. 7: Hoc (Matt. v. 17) Marcion, ut additum, erasit. IV. 9: . . . constat . . . te potius vocem Domini de *Evangelio* erasisse, quam nostros injecisse. This refers to the rejection of the Gospel of Matthew. *Tertull.* De carne Christi, c. 2: Aufer hinc, inquit, moleatos semper Caesaris census et diversoria angusta et sordidos pannos et dura praecepsia. Viderit angelica multitudo Dominum suum noctibus honorans. Servent potius pecora pastores, et magi ne fatigentur de longinquuo, dono illis aurum suum. . . . (Cf. Matt. i. ii., Luke i. ii.) His, opinor, consiliis *tot originalia instrumenta* Christi, Marcion, delere ausus es, ne caro ejus probaretur. Ex qua, oro te, auctoritate? Si propheta es, praenuntia aliquid. . . . Si tantum Christianus es, crede quod traditum est. Si nihil istorum es, merito dixerim, morere . . . qui non es Christianus, non credendo, quod creditum Christianos facit . . . qui cum fuisses, excidisti rescindendo, quod retro credidisti, *sicut et ipse confiteris in quadam epistola*. . . . (Cont. Marc. IV. 4: Quid nunc, *si negaverint* Marcionitae primam apud nos fidem ejus adversus *epistolam* quoque ipsius?) Atque in rescindendo, quod credidisti, probas, antequam

rescinderes, aliter fuisse, quod credidisti aliter. Illud ita erat traditum; porro quod traditum erat, id erat verum, ut ab iis traditum, quorum fuit tradere. Ergo quod erat traditum rescindens, quod erat verum rescidiisti. Cont. Marc. IV. 5: .... dum constet haec quoque (caetera Evangelia) apud Ecclesias fuisse, cur non haec quoque Marcion attigit, aut emendanda, si adulterata, aut agnoscenda, si integra? Nam et competit, ut si qui Evangelium pervertebant, eorum magis curarent perversionem, *quorum sciebant auctoritatem receptionem*. De carne Christi, c. 3: Si scripturas opinioni tuae resistentes non de industria *alias rejecisses*, alias corrupisses, confusisset te .... Evangelium Joannis. He rejected this Gospel because it did not agree with his anti-Jewish system, and because ch. i. 1 opposed him; Olsh. p. 371. Hahn, p. 269, ff.

### 6. Other less important Uncanonical Gospels.

#### § 73 a.

The Gospel of *Bartholomew*, so called by Jerome<sup>a</sup> (§ 63), did not differ, according to other authorities,<sup>b</sup> from that of Matthew, unless we are to regard it as a later pseudonymous production.

<sup>a</sup> It is mentioned by *Gelas.* in *Decreto de libris apocryphis in Jure Canon.* distinct. XV. can. 3, in *Fabric.* Cod. apocr. I. p. 137, *Beda ad Luc.* i. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. V. 10: .... εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἀλθεῖν λέγεται (δ Πάντανος). "Ἐνθα λόγος εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγέλιον, παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν" οἷς Βαρθολομαίον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν κηρύξαι, αὐτοῖς τε Ἐβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλείψαι γραφήν, ὡς καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον. *Hieron.* De vir. illustr. c. 36, Pantaen.: .... ubi (in India) reperit Bartholomaicum de duodecim A postolis adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi juxta Mattheei Evangelium praedicasse, quod Hebraicis litteris scriptum revertens Alexandriam secum detulit. According to *Grafe* (*Spicil. Patr.* I. 128) the Gospel of Matthew was ascribed to Bartholomew because he recommended and interpolated it, or wrote an introduction to it. An expression of Bartholomew in *Pseud. Dionys. Areop.* De myst. theor. c. 1 (*Fabric.* l. c. p. 341, sq.): καὶ πολλὴ τὴν θεολογίαν εἴναι καὶ ἐλαχίστην, καὶ το εὐαγγέλιον πλατύ καὶ μέγα καὶ αὐθις συντετμημένον.

#### § 73 b.

Of the Gospel of *Matthias* (§ 63) we have no other distinct trace.<sup>a</sup> That of *Thomas*, on the contrary (§ 63, and in *Gelasius*), which is counted among the Manichæan writings,<sup>b</sup> is probably extant in the *Evang. Infantiae*, which has been ascribed to Thomas.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb.* III. 25, counts it and that of Thomas among the heretical Gospels. In some codd. *Gelasius* also names it.

<sup>b</sup> *Cyrill. Hieros.* Catech. IV. 38, VI. 61: μηδέτις ἀναγινωσκέτω τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον· οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἀλλ’ ἐνὸς τῶν κακῶν τριῶν τοῦ Μάνη μαθητῶν. The same is expressed by *Leont. Byzant.*, *Petrus Sic.*, *Phot.*, Anathematismi Manichaeor. in *Fabric.* p. 354.

<sup>c</sup> In *Coteler.* Patr. apost. in notis ad Constitutt. apost. VI. 16. *Fabric.* Cod. apocr. N. T. p. 159, sqq. *Thilo*, Cod. apocr. I. 274, sqq.

### § 73 c.

The Gospels of *Apelles*<sup>a</sup> and *Basilides*,<sup>b</sup> mentioned above (§ 63), were, as it seems, arbitrary extracts and elaborations.

<sup>a</sup> *Origen.* Ep. ad Alexandr., in *Rufin.* De adulteratione libr. Orig., ad calc. Opp. Orig. Vol. IV. p. 52, ed. De la Rue: Videte, quali purgatione disputationem nostram purgavit, tali nempe, quali purgatione Marcion Evangelia purgavit vel Apostolum; vel quali successor ejus post ipsum *Apelles* . . . . subverterunt Scripturarum veritatem. *Epiphian.* Haeres. XLIV. § 4, to *Apelles*: Εἰ δὲ καὶ δι βούλει λαμβάνεις ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, καὶ δι βούλει καταλιπάνεις, ἄρα γοῦν κριτής προσκαθίσας, οὐχ ἔρμενευτῆς τῶν νόμων. . . . § 2: Οὗτος γάρ, φησιν, ἔφη (ὁ Χριστὸς) ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· “γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται . . .” χρῶ γάρ, φησιν, ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς ἀναλέγων τὰ χρήσιμα. Cf. § 67 c, note f.

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. IV. 7: Κατῆλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς τότε γνωριμωτάτου συγγραφέως Ἀγρίππα Κάστορος ἰκανώτατος κατὰ Βασιλείδον ἔλεγχος . . . . ἐκφαίνων αὐτὸν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, φησὶν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι συντάξαι βιβλία. *Hieron.* De vir. illustr. c. 31. The passages which *Clem. Alex.* Strom. III. p. 426, *Epiphian.* Haeres. XXIV. § 5, represent B. as quoting, are found somewhat altered in Matt. xix. 11, f., vii. 6. According to *Neand.* Gnost. Syst. p. 84, B.'s Gospel was that of the Hebrews, in the shape in which the Jewish sects in Syria used it.

The following were heretical works: the Gospel of *Perfection*, of *Eve* (*Epiphian.* XXVI. 2), of *Philip* (ib. § 13), of *Truth* (*Iren.* III. 11, cf. *Tertull.* De praeser. c. 49), of *Judas Iscariot* (*Epiphian.* XXXVIII. 1. *Theodore.* Haeret. fabb. I. 15). The Protevangel of James (cf. *Origen.* ad Matt. xiii. 54 – 56. *Epiphian.* XXX. 23) is found in *Fabric.* l. c. p. 66, sqq.

### General Conclusions regarding the Uncanonical Gospels.

#### § 74.

Of all the above-mentioned uncanonical Gospels, the Gospel of the Hebrews is that of which we have the most

complete and certain knowledge. It is the oldest; but its use is traceable no farther back than *Hegesippus* (about A. D. 160), nor beyond the circle of the Jewish Christians; for the orthodox Fathers, far from placing it on a par with the canonical Gospels, reckon it among the uncanonical (*Origen*, § 64 *a*, note *a*; *Euseb.* Pt. I., § 24, note *a*).<sup>a</sup> Its character was fluctuating and uncertain, and it seems to have undergone various elaborations. Its well-known contents show that it was closely allied to, though by no means the original of, Matthew's Gospel. All the other uncanonical Gospels are either varieties of the Gospel of the Hebrews or heretical corruptions. Accordingly, none of the Gospel essays mentioned by Luke (i. 1), unless some of the canonical Gospels are included among them, have been preserved or remained in use.

<sup>a</sup> It is remarkable that Origen does not reckon it among the *πολλοί* of Luke (§ 63, note *a*), from which it would seem that he did not give it any great antiquity.

### *Evangelic Tradition.*

#### § 75.

In addition to what was recorded in the canonical and uncanonical Gospels, various contributions to the evangelic history, and especially expressions of Jesus, were given by oral tradition.<sup>a</sup> When church writers quote such as are not found in our Gospels, they may have drawn them in part from uncanonical Gospels, and in part from tradition.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> To these belonged *Acts xx. 35*: μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν.

<sup>b</sup> *Origen.* Comment. in Matt. xvii. 12. Vol. III. p. 513: Καὶ Ἰησοῦς γοὺς φησι, διὰ τὸν ἀσθενοῦντας ἡσθένουν, καὶ διὰ τὸν πεινῶντας ἐπείνουν. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* I. p. 346: Αἰτεῖσθε γάρ, φησι, τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθῆσεται. *Origen.* De orat. § 2. 43: Καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια, καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθῆσεται. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* VI. p. 636, sq.: Φησὶν δὲ Πέτρος εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄντος μονὸν πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι. Μετὰ δώδεκα ἑτη ἔξελθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἡκούσαμεν. Cf. *Euseb.* H. E. V. 18.—Still more in *Grabe*, Spicil. patr. I. 12 (cf. *Fabric.* p. 333). *Körner*, De sermonibus Christi ἀγράφοις. Lips. 1776. 4to.

*Very Ancient Acceptance of the Canonical Gospels.*

## § 76 a.

*Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian* testify to the general acceptance of our canonical Gospels at the end of the second century, and even farther back.\*

\* *Iren.* Adv. haer. III. 11, 7 : *Tanta est autem circa Evangelia haec firmitas, ut et ipsi haeretici testimonium reddant eis, et ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam firmare doctrinam. . . . Cum ergo hi, qui contradicunt, nobis testimonium perhibeant, et utantur his, firma et vera est nostra de iis persuasio.* § 8 : *'Επειδὴ τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου, ἐν φέρεται, εἰσὶ, καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα, κατέσπαρτα δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ πάσῃς τῆς γῆς, στύλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς· εἰκότως τέσσαρας ἔχειν αὐτὴν στύλους, πανταχούντεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.* 'Εξ ὧν φανερόν, ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων τεχνίτης Λόγος, δὲ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ . . . ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Personal relations of Irenaeus, by which his testimony is strengthened. Cf. Süskind, in Flatt's Magaz. f. Dogm. u. Mor. VI. 95, ff., with reference to Eckermann's Theol. Beiträge, V. B. 2. St. Wegscheider, Einl. ins Evang. Joh. p. 93. Olshausen, p. 273. Lücke, Comm. üb. d. Ev. Joh. 3. A. I. 73, ff. Eckermann's objections have been revived by Bretschneider, Probabilia de Evang. Joann. p. 214. Lützelberger, Ueb. d. Ap. Joh. &c., p. 146, ff. — *Tertull.* Cont. Marc. IV. 2. 5 (Pt. I. § 22, notes d, e) : *Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum ceteris quoque Evangeliiis patrocinabitur, quae proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus, Joannis dico et Matthaei, licet et Marcus quod edidit, Petri affirmetur, cuius interpres Marcus, nam et Lucae digestum Paulo adscribere solent.* Cf. Clemens Alex. Euseb. VI. 13 : .... ἐκβιασθῆναι ὄμολογεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων, ἃς ἔτυχε παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων πρεσβυτέρων ἀκηκοώς παραδόσεις, γραφῇ τοῖς μετά τῶν παραδόντων. Μέμνηται δὲ Μελίτωνος καὶ Εἰρηναίου καὶ τινων ἑτέρων, ὃν καὶ τὰς διηγήσεις τέθειται. Cap. 14 : .... ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ Κλήμης βιβλίοις (in the Hypotyposes) περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθειται.

## § 76 b.

Various countries and parties in the Church also furnish testimonies which run back nearly to the Apostolic age.\* — This acceptance cannot be ascribed to a formal agreement, or to a decision by a council. It seems to have grown up in the intercourse of churches and teachers with each other.<sup>b</sup>

\* The testimonies of *Theophilus* (fl. 180), *Tatian* († 176), *Justin. M.* (fl. 140), see Pt. I. § 19, II. §§ 66–68. Even the opponent of Christianity, *Celsus*, and the heretics *Marcion*, *Valentinus* and his school, and *Basilides* (fl. 140 – 150), were acquainted with our collection of Gospels, and do not contest their genuineness, but merely their credibility or freedom from corruption. *Origen. Cont. Cels. lib. II. c. 16*: Πάντας εὐήθως φησὶ (ό Κέλσος) τοὺς μαθητὰς πρὸς παραίτησιν τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀναγεγραφέντας περὶ αὐτοῦ τουάντα. C. 74: “Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων συγγραμμάτων, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδενὸς ἀλλού μάρτυρος χρήζομεν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔαντοις περιπίπτετε.” V. 56: . . . . ἐπιφέρει . . . . ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τάφον ιστόρηνται ἐλληνιζένται ὑπό τινων μὲν ἄγγελοι δύο, ὑπό τινων δὲ εἰς, οὐκ, οἵμαι, τηρήσας Ματθαῖον μὲν καὶ Μάρκον ἔνα ιστορηκέναι, Λουκᾶν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην δύο. II. 27: Τινάς τῶν πιστευόντων φησὶν . . . . μεταχαράπτειν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τριχῇ καὶ τετραχῇ καὶ πολλαχῇ, καὶ μετακλάτειν, ὃν ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὸν ἐλέγχοντας ἀρνεῖσθαι. — *Iren. III. 11. 7*: Hi autem, qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes . . . . plura habere gloriantur, quam sint ipsa Evangelia. C. 12. 12: *Marcion* et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas scripturas conversi sunt. . . . Reliqui vero omnes, falso scientiae nomine inflati, *scripturas quidem confilentur*, interpretationes vero convertunt. C. 14. 4: . . . . hi vero, qui a Valentino sunt . . . . ex hoc (Evangelio Lucae) multas occasiones subtilloquii sui acceperunt, *interpretari audentes* male, quae ab hoc bene sunt dicta. Si autem et reliqua suscipere cogentur, intendentes *perfectio Evangelio* et Apostolorum doctrinas, oportet eos poenitentiam agere. *Tertull. De praescr. haeret. c. 38*: *Si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur*, non callidiore ingenio, quam *Marcion*, manus intulit veritati. *Marcion* enim exerte et palam machaera, non stylo usus est, quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum consecit, *Valentinus* autem pepercit: quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit. *Iren. I. 3. 6*, of the *Valentinians*: Καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πειρῶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιεῖσθαι παρατρέποντες τὰς ἐρμηνείας καὶ ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰς ἐξηγήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, κ. τ. λ. C. 8. 5: “Ἐτι τε Ἰωάννην τὸν μαθητὴν τοῦ κυρίου διδάσκουσι τὴν πρώτην ὄγδοάδα μεμηνύκέναι αὐταῖς λέξεσι, λέγοντες οὕτως· Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν τὴν τῶν δλων γένεσιν, κ. τ. λ. — *Ptolemai*, ad Floram epist., in *Epiphyan. Haeres. XXXIII. 3*: . . . . οἰκία ἡ πόλις μερισθεῖσα ἐφ' ἔαντην ὅτι μὴ δύναται στῆναι, δ σωτήρ ἡμῶν ἀπεφῆνατο (cf. Matt. xii. 25). “Ἐτι γε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου δημουργίαν ιδίαν λέγει εἶναι· ἀτε πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδέν (cf. John I. 3). C. 4: Διαλεγόμενός πον δ σωτήρ . . . . ἐφη αὐτοῖς· “Οτι Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεψε τὸ ἀπολύειν τὴν γνωῶνα αὐτοῦ· ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γὰρ οὐ γέγονεν οὕτως. Further in *Hug*, Einl. I. 83. Fragments from *Heracleon's Comm. on John* in *Origen. Comm. in Joan.*, collected by *Grabe*, Spicil. patr. II. 85, sqq. An exegetical fragment on Luke xii. 8, in *Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. 502*. Citations from the Gospels, in ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου ἐπι-

*τοπαι*, ad calc. Opp. *Clem. Alex.*, in *Hug*, I. 53, ff. *Olshausen*, p. 380. Concerning *Basilides*, see § 73 c, note b.

<sup>b</sup> *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 23, ff. *Olshausen*, p. 434, ff.

### *Mutual Relations and Peculiarities of the Canonical Gospels.*

#### § 77.

The first three Gospels of our canon are so mutually related, that they can be regarded only as different branches of the same stem. They restrict Jesus's history before his Passion to his ministry in Galilee. The fourth Gospel, on the other hand, is quite different and independent, as it records also Jesus's ministry in Jerusalem. As regards the treatment of the Evangelical materials proceeding from doctrinal views (§ 61), all three have a *Jewish tendency*, which is most prominent in the first, while in the third traces of Paulinism appear. In the fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the most free and spiritual form of Christianity is presented. Thus, in these four works, all the various leading tendencies of primitive Christianity appear.\*

\* *Baur*, Krit. Untersuchgg. über die kanonischen Evangg. (Tüb. 1847), and the anonymous author of the work called, Die Evangg. ihr Geist ihre Verff. u. ihr Verhältniss zu einander (Leipzig, 1845), ascribe a sectarian tendency and character to the Gospels,— the last-mentioned writer in the roundest way.

#### *Their Authors.*

#### § 78.

The titles *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, *κατὰ Μάρκου*, *κατὰ Δουκᾶν*, *κατὰ Ἰωάννην*, do not definitely indicate these men as their authors;\* but the opinion of all antiquity attests the commonly accepted sense. They also imply that the same subject has been treated by others.<sup>b</sup>

\* 2 Macc. II. 13: *ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν*. *Epiph.* Adv. haeres. VIII. 4: *ἡ κατὰ Μωῦσέα πεντάτευχος*. In Church writers: *κατὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα*, *κατὰ Ἀκύλαν*, *κ. Σύμμαχον*. *Euseb.* H. E. III. 24: *Ματθαῖος . . . γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν εὐαγγέλιον*. On the other hand, *Plato*, Cratyl. p. 386: *κατ' Ἐύδηδημον*, auctore Euthydemus, according to, with, E. Ib. p. 401: *καθ' Ἡράκλειτον*, according to the doctrine of H. *Epiph.* I. 230: *κατὰ Μαρκίωνα ἔδογμάτισε*.

<sup>b</sup> Misconstruction of this formula by the Manichean *Faustus* (in *Augustin. Cont. Faust. XXXII. 2, XXXIII. 2*), an anonymous writer in Beitr. z. Besörd. d. vernünft. Denkens in der Rel. XVI. 1, ff. *Eckermann*, Theol. Beitr. V. 2. 106, ff. *Credner*, Einl. §§ 80–90.

*Special Helps in the Exegesis of the Four Gospels.*

Cf. above, p. 85, f. *M. Buceri* Enarratt. Arg. 1527, and often.—*H. Bullinger*, Comm. Tig. 1561.—*P. Keuchenii* Adnott. in IV Evv. et Act. ap. Amst. 1689.—*Jo. Maldonati* Comm. Mussip. 1596, and often.—*J. G. Dorschei* Comm. Hamb. 1706.—*H. E. G. Paulus*, Philol. krit. u. hist. Comment. über das N. T. 1–3. Th. Die drei ersten Evangg. 1800. 2d ed. 1804–1805. 4 Th. I. Abth. Joh. Cap. I.–XI. 1804. Exeget. Handbuch üb. d. drei ersten Evangg. 3 Thle. 1830–33.—*Ch. G. Kuinoel*, Comment. in libb. histor. N. T. Vol. I. Ev. Matth. 1807. ed. 4. 1837. Vol. II. Ev. Marc. et Luc. 1809. ed. 4. 1843. Vol. III. Ev. Joann. 1812. ed. 3. 1825.—*C. F. A. Fritzsche*, Quatuor Evangg. recens. et cum commentariis perpet. edidit. T. I. Ev. Matth. Lips. 1826. T. II. Ev. Marc. 1830.—*Wolfg. Musculi* Comm. in Matth. 1548. in Joh. 1585.—*Aeg. Hunni* Comm. in Ev. Joan. 1585.—*Jo. Gerhardi* Adnott. posth. in Ev. Matth. Jen. 1663.—*Gottfr. Olear. Obss.* ad Ev. Matth. 1713.—*Jac. Elsner*, Comment. crit. Philol. in Ev. Matthaei. 2 tom. 1767. In Evang. Marc. 1773. 4to.—*S. N. Mori* Praelect. in Evang. Lucae, ed. *Donat*. 1795.—*K. W. Stein*, Comment. z. d. Ev. d. Luc. Halle. 1830.—*F. A. Lampe*, Comment. anal. exeget. Ev. Johan. Amst. 1724–26. Basil. 1725–27. 3 vol. 4to.—Die Schriften Joh. übers. u. erkl. v. *S. G. Lange*. 1795–97. 3 Thle.—*Mori* Recitatt. in Evang. Joh. ed. *Dindorf*. 1796.—*C. Ch. Tittmann*, Meletemata s. in Evang. Joh. 1816.—*Fr. Lücke*, Comment. über die Schriften d. Evang. Joh. 1. 2. Th. 1820–24. 3d ed. 1840–43.—*A. Tholuck*, Comment. z. d. Ev. Joh. 1827. 6th ed. 1844.—*H. Klee*, Comment. üb. d. Evang. nach Joh. Mainz. 1829.—*M. Wirth*, Das Ev. d. Joh. erläut. 2 Thle. Ulm. 1829.—*Adalb. Maier*, Comm. üb. d. Ev. Joh. 2 vols. Carlsr. 1843–45.

## CHAPTER II.

## RELATIONSHIP OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

*General Statement.*

## § 79 a.

THE Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke stand undeniably in a certain kindred relation to each other. For, 1. They have the same general order and scope;<sup>a</sup> which, as a comparison with the Gospel of John shows, are not always determined by the actual history.<sup>b</sup>

\* Table of Comparison :—

I. <i>Preliminary History.</i>		
Matt. chh. i. ii. (Peculiar.)	Mark. (Wanting.)	Luke, chh. i. ii. (Peculiar.)
II. <i>History of the Baptism.</i>		
Matt. iii. – iv. 12. Mark i. 1 – 13. Luke iii. – iv. 14. (All three closely related.)		
III. <i>Jesus's Ministry in Galilee.</i>		
Matt. iv. 12 – xiii. 58. Mark i. 14 – vi. 13. Luke iv. 14 – ix. 6. (Related, although differently arranged, and with passages intervening.)		
Matt. xiv. 1 – 21. xiv. 23 – xvi. 12. xvi. 13 – xviii. 35.	Mark vi. 14 – 44. vi. 45 – viii. 26. viii. 27 – ix. 50.	Luke ix. 7 – 17. (Omitted.) ix. 18 – 50.
(Related even in the arrangement, though with intervening passages; in particular, Matt. and Mark contain a whole series more than Luke.)		
IV. <i>Jesus's Journey to Jerusalem.</i>		
Matt. (Omitted in this arrange- ment.)	Mark. (Omitted in this arrange- ment.)	Luke ix. 51 – xviii. 14. (Collocation peculiar to Luke.)
Matt. xix. 1 – xx. 34. (Related, even in the arrangement, though with intervening passages.)	Mark x. 1 – 52.	Luke xviii. 15 – xix. 28.

## V.

*Jesus's Entry into Jerusalem, and Stay there.*

Matt. xxi. - xxv.      Mark xi. - xiii.      Luke xix. 29 - xxi.

(Related, even in arrangement, but with intervening passages.)

## VI.

*Jesus's Arrest, Crucifixion, and Burial.*

Matt. xxvi. xxvii.      Mark xiv. xv.      Luke xxii. xxiii.

(Related in their general order, but with passages intervening, and variations.)

## VII.

*Jesus's Resurrection.*

Matt. xxviii. 1 - 8.      Mark xvi. 1 - 8.      Luke xxiv. 1 - 12.

(All three related.)

Ver. 9 - 20.      Ver. 9 - 20.      Ver. 13 - 53.

(Peculiar.)      (In part related to Matt., in part      (Peculiar.)  
to Luke.)

<sup>b</sup> Note the arrangement:—*Jesus's Baptism, Temptation, Return to Galilee*; the connection of the sections of the *Paralytic* and the *Calling of Matthew*; of the *Plucking of Ears of Grain* and the *Withered Hand*; how Herod's Attention was fixed on Jesus, and of the *Feeding of the 5,000*; of the *Disciples' Confession that Jesus is the Messiah*, and the following sections; of the *Blind Men at Jericho*, and *Jesus's Entrance into Jerusalem* (cf. here especially John); *Jesus's Discourses there*, which close with the *Prophecy concerning Jerusalem*.

## § 79 b.

2. That all three, or certainly two, often strikingly agree, not alone in their facts (although, on the other hand, they often differ), but also in their words. The ground of this, likewise, does not lie in the history itself.\*

\* Examples of verbal agreement between *all three*, in single expressions:—

Matt. iii. 3.    Mark i. 3.    Luke iii. 4.

Εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ, differing from the LXX.: εὐθ. π. τ. τρ. τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, and from the Hebrew.

Matt. ix. 6.    Mark ii. 10.    Luke v. 24. A singular construction.

Matt. ix. 15.      Mark ii. 20.      Luke v. 35.

'Ελεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι, Like Matt.      'Ελ. δὲ ἡμέραι, καὶ ὅταν  
ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτὸν . . . . . ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ  
τῶν δυνατίσιος, καὶ τότε . . . . . ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ δυνατίσιος, τότε σηματεύ-  
νηστεύσουσιν.      ἡμέρᾳ.      σουσιν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς  
ἡμέραις.

Matt. xvi. 28.      Mark ix. 1.      Luke ix. 27.

.... εἰσὶ τινες τῶν ὁδε . . . . εἰσὶ τινες τῶν ὁδε . . . . εἰσὶ τινες τῶν ὁδε  
ἐστώτων, οἵτινες οὐ μὴ ἐστηκάτων, οἵτινες οὐ μὴ ἐστώτων, οἱ οὐ μὴ γεύ-  
γεύσωνται θανάτου, γεύσωνται θανάτου, σωνται θανάτου, ἔως  
ἔως ἀν Ιδωσι, κ. τ. λ.      ἔως ἀν Ιδωσι, κ. τ. λ.      ἀν Ιδωσι, κ. τ. λ.

Matt. xix. 23.

Mark x. 23.

Luke xviii. 24.

.... δυσκόλως πλού- .... δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ .... δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ  
σιος εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰσελεύ-  
θασιλείαν τῶν σύρανων. βασ. τ. θ. εἰσελεύσονται. σονται εἰς τ. βασ. τ. θ.

Examples of verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke:—

Matt. iv. 5.

Luke iv. 9.

Καὶ ἴστησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον Καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύ-  
τοῦ ἵεροῦ.

Matt. iv. 10.

Luke iv. 8.

Κύριον τὸν θεὸν προσκυνήσεις, κ. τ. λ. Προσκυνήσεις κύριου τὸν θεόν σου,  
κ. τ. λ.

The LXX. have : κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ, κ. τ. λ.

Matt. vii. 5.

Luke vi. 42.

'Υποκριτά, ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν Like Matthew.

ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ τότε δια-  
βλέψεις ἔκβαλεν τὸ κάρφος . . . .

Matt. xi. 10.

Luke vii. 27.

'Ιδού, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου 'Ιδού, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω, like Mat-  
πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκενάσει thew.  
τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἐμπροσθέν σου.

The LXX. have : ἴδού, ἔξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται  
ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου. Mark i. 2, quotes the passage in the same way as  
Matthew and Luke.

Matt. xi. 11.

Luke vii. 28.

. . . . ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν.

The same.

Matt. xi. 26.

Luke x. 21.

Ναὶ, δ πατήρ, cf. ver. 25, πάτερ.

The same, first πάτερ, then δ πατήρ.

Matt. xxi. 44.

Luke xx. 18.

Καὶ ὁ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τοῦτον, Πᾶς ὁ πεσὼν ἐπ' ἑκείνον τὸν λίθον,  
συνθλασθήσεται· ἐφ' ὅν δ' ἀν πέσῃ, λικμήσει αὐτόν.

Matt. xxiv. 50.

Luke xii. 46.

'Ηξει δ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἑκείνου ἐν ήμέρᾳ ὅ γ οὐ προσδοκᾷ, καὶ ἐν δρᾳ  
ἡ οὐ γνώσκει, καὶ διχοτομήσει  
αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει. . . . μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων.

Same as Matthew, save at the close:

Matt. xv. 8, f.

Mark vii. 6, f.

'Ο λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χειλεσί με τιμᾷ, Οὗτος δ λαὸς τοῖς χειλεσί με τιμᾷ,  
ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἔμοι. Μάτην δὲ σέβονται με, διδά-  
σκοντες διδασκαλίας, ἐντάλματα ἀν-  
θρώπων.

LXX. : Ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χεῖλοσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσί με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Μάτην δὲ σέβορται με, διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

Matt. xxiv. 22.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθη σαν αἱ ἡμέραι Καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐκολόβωσε τὰς ἔκειναι, οὐκ ἀν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ.

Matt. xxvi. 55.

Ως ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἔξήλθετε μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ἔνδιων, συλλαβεῖν με....

Mark xiii. 20.

ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἀν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ.

Mark xiv. 48.

Examples of verbal agreement between Mark and Luke:—

Mark vi. 41.

.... εὐλόγησε καὶ κατέκλασε τοὺς .... εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέκλασε ....

Mark xv. 15.

Καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δεῖξει ἀνάγαιον μέγα γαῖαν εἰστρωμένον ....

Luke ix. 16.

κλασσε ....

Luke xxii. 12.

Κάκεινος ὑμῖν δεῖξει ἀνάγαιον μέγα εἰστρωμένον ....

### § 80.

The relation of *Mark* to *Matthew*, and then to *Luke*, is equally, if not more, striking. *Mark* has only four passages peculiar to him: the two parables, iv. 26–29, xiii. 33–37, and the two healings, vii. 32–37, viii. 22–26, and some trifling additions and insertions: iii. 20, f., xiv. 51, f., xv. 44, f.; all the rest corresponds more or less nearly to the other narratives. Seldom holding an independent position between the other two, he follows the one or the other, and forms the middle member of the threefold accord.<sup>a</sup> He has often, also, a text which seems woven out of the other two.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> According to *Marsh*, p. 242, in those parts which all three Evangelists have in common, *Luke* never agrees with *Matthew*, excepting where *Mark* also does. But *Luke*, in such passages, often approximates nearer to *Matthew*. *Luke* iii. 16, cf. *Matt.* iii. 11; v. 36, cf. *Matt.* ix. 16; viii. 43, cf. *Matt.* ix. 20; ix. 3, f., cf. *Matt.* x. 10, f.; ix. 9, cf. *Matt.* x. 14; ix. 22, 24, cf. *Matt.* xvi. 12, 26; ix. 42, cf. *Matt.* xvii. 18; ix. 44, cf. *Matt.* xvii. 23; xix. 31, cf. *Matt.* xxi. 3; xx. 32, 44, cf. *Matt.* xxii. 27, 45; xxii. 6, cf. *Matt.* xxvi. 16; xxiii. 53, cf. *Matt.* xxvii. 59; xxiv. 6, cf. *Matt.* xxviii. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Examples:—

*Matt.* viii. 3.

*Mark* i. 42.

*Luke* v. 13.

Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθαρίσθη Καὶ .... εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν Καὶ εὐθέως ἡ λέπρα αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα. άπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ἐκαθαρίσθη.

Matt. viii. 4.

Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ὁρα μηδενὶ εἴπης· ἀλλὰ ὑπαγε, σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ιερεῖ, καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξε Μωσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.

ix. 9.

Καὶ παράγων δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν, εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελώνιον, Ματθαῖον λεγόμενον· καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀκολούθει μοι. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἡκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

ix. 17.

Οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ρήγνυνται οἱ ἀσκοί, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἔκχεῖται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται.

viii. 27.

Ποταπός ἐστιν οὗτος, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀνεμοὶ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ;

viii. 28.

Καὶ ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πέραν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο δαμανιζόμενοι, ἐκ τῶν μυημένων ἔξερχόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

Mark i. 44.

Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὁρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἴπης· ἀλλὰ ὑπαγε, σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ιερεῖ, καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, ἢ προσέταξε Μωσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.

ii. 3, f.

Καὶ ἐξῆλθε . . . . καὶ παράγων εἶδε Λευΐν, τον τοῦ Ἀλφαίου, καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελώνιον· καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀκολούθει μοι. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἡκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

ii. 22.

Καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ρήγνεται ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος τοὺς ἀσκούς, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἔκχειται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται.

iv. 41.

Τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἀνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ;

v. 1, f.

Καὶ ἥλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν. Καὶ ἐξελθόντι αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου, εὐθέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μυημένων ἀνήρ τις, κ. τ. λ.

Luke v. 14.

Καὶ αὐτὸς παρήγειλεν αὐτῷ μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ιερεῖ, καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, ἢ προσέταξε Μωσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.

v. 27, f.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐθεάσατο τελώνη ὁνόματι Λευΐν, καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελώνιον· καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀκολούθει μοι. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἡκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

v. 37.

Καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ρήγνεται ὁ νέος οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκούς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔκχυθήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται.

viii. 25.

Τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ τῷ ὑδατι, καὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ;

viii. 26, f.

Καὶ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν . . . . . Ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἀνήρ τις, κ. τ. λ.

Similar are i. 11, 32, 42, 44; ii. 11, 19, 21, f., 23, f.; iii. 2; iv. 15, 21; v. 22, f., 25 – 28; vi. 7, 14, f., 36; viii. 27, 30, 33, 37, f.; ix. 5, f., 18, 22, 42; x. 29 – 31, 33, f., 46; xi. 1 – 3, 15; xii. 1, 8, 11, 14, 26; xiii. 3, f.; xiv. 1, f., 12 – 16, 70. Refer to : Synopsis Evangg. Matth. Marc. et Lucae cum parallelis Joann. pericopis ex rec. Griesbachii cum selecta lectt. varietate concinnaverunt De Wette et Lücke. 1818. 4to. 2d ed. 1842. 8vo.

*Possible Modes of Explanation.*

## § 81.

The phenomenon of so singular a relationship, itself well fitted to provoke attempts at explanation, can be explained only by two kinds of suppositions, or by a combination of these: *either* by supposing that one Evangelist used the others; *or* that all three used a common source; *or* that, in addition to this, one Evangelist made use of the others.

I. *Suppositions that one Evangelist used the Others.*

## § 82 a.

In a quite off-hand way, several writers have thought to untie the knot by a supposition of this sort. In this attempt many allowed themselves to be guided by the wholly accidental order in which the Gospels stand in our Canon, and supposed that Mark used, revised, and corrected Matthew, while Luke did the same by them both.<sup>a</sup> Besides this, all sorts of combinations were attempted.

*Storr* regarded the Gospel of Mark as the oldest; from it sprang the Gospel of Matthew, written in Syro-Chaldaic; from it Luke also drew, and the translator of Matthew used both Mark and Luke.<sup>b</sup> *Büsching*, on the other hand, considered Luke the foundation of Matthew, and both that of Mark.<sup>c</sup> *Vogel* regarded Luke as the source of Mark, and both as that of Matthew.<sup>d</sup>

*Griesbach* investigated more thoroughly, and showed, by an accurate comparison, that Mark made extracts from Matthew and Luke. The complementary supposition, however, that Luke had reference to Matthew, he left somewhat undetermined.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Grot.* ad Matth. i. Luc. i. *Mill*, *Prolegg.* § 109. *Wetst.* *Praef.* ad Marc. ad Luc. *Hug*, *Einl.* II. § 25, ff. His singular theory of omission, § 41.

<sup>b</sup> Ueber d. Zweck d. evang. Gesch. u. d. Brr. Joh. §§ 58–62. *De fonte*

Evangg. Matth. et Luc. 1794. in *Velthusen, Kuinoel, et Ruperti Commentat. theol.* Vol. III. The same view in *Herder*, see § 84 c.

<sup>c</sup> Vorr. z. Harm. d. 4 Evangg. (1766.) p. 109. So also *Edw. Evanson* (The dissonance of the four generally received Evangelists, 1792). Cf. *Eichh. Allg. Bibl.* V. 489.

<sup>d</sup> Ueber d. Entsteh. der 3 ersten Evangg. in *Gabler's Journ. f. auserl. theol. Litt.* I. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Comment., qua Marci Evang. totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur. Jen. 1789–90. (Commentt. theol. I. 360, sqq. Opuscc. II. 358, sqq.) Progr. de fontibus, unde Evangelistae suas de resurrectione Dom. narrationes hauserint. Jen. 1784. (Opuscc. II. 241, sqq.) Before this time, *Owen* (Observations on the Four Gospels, Lond. 1764) supposed that Luke drew from Matthew, and Mark from both. *Augustinus*, De consens. Evangelist. I. 4, is one-sided: Marcus Matthaeum subsequutus tanquam pedissequus et breviator ejus videtur. *Clem. Al.* in *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 14, considers Mark the latest of the Synoptists.

### § 82 b.

While, on the one hand, Griesbach's view met with much opposition, on the other, it obtained considerable acceptance, and has, in the main, held its ground till the present day.<sup>a</sup> We also shall return to it (§ 94). In the most recent times, however, after the criticism of the Gospels had passed through many other phases, several writers have thought they found in Mark the original, simple form of the evangelic record.<sup>b</sup> Some have even gone so far as to complete the unfinished combination of *Storr*, and to assert that the Gospel of Mark is the original or Protevangel, which Luke, with a pragmatism that invented freely, and in part arbitrarily, enlarged; and that Matthew, with almost greater arbitrariness, interpolated both.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> As regards Mark, it is supported by *Stroth*. in *Eichh. Rep.* IX. 144. *Paulus*, Theol. exeg. Conserv. I. 37, ff., 73, ff., 95, ff. *Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. Urchristenth. II. 2, p. 212, ff.; as regards Luke, with modifications, by *Ammon*, De Luca emendatore Matthaei. 1805. An exact exegetical justification of Griesbach's hypothesis is given by *Saunier*, Ueb. d. Quellen d. Evang. d. Marc. 1825. This supposition is sustained also by *Theile*, De trium prior. Evangg. necessitudine, 1825, in *Win.* and *Engellh.* N. krit. Journ. V. 4. Zur Biographie Jesu, 1836. *Sieffert*, Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten kan. Evang. 1833. *Neudecker*, Einleit. p. 145, ff. *H. A. W. Meyer*, Comment. zu Matth. Einl. § 6. *F. J. Schwarz*, Neue Unters. üb. d. Verwandtschafts-Verhältniss d. synopt. Evangg. (Tüb. 1844), p. 277, ff. *Schneeg-*

*ler*, in *Zeller's Theol. Jbb.* 1843. p. 203, ff. *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 457, ff. *Baur*, Krit. Unters. üb. d. kan. Evv. p. 548, ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Lachmann*, De ordine narrationum in evv. synopt. in Stud. u. Kr. 1835. p. 577, sqq., with reference to the different arrangement of the beginning; *Weisse*, Evangel. Gesch. I. 55; both in connection with quite different theories of the origin of the Gospels, cf. §§ 86, 97, 99. *Hitzig*, Ueber Joh. Marcus. Zür. 1843. p. 37, ff. Cf. the views of *Credner* and *Reuss*, § 88 a, b.

<sup>c</sup> *Wilke* (Der Urevangelist oder exegetisch-kritische Untersuchung üb. das Verwandtschaftsverhältniss der drei ersten Evangg. 1838) has attempted, with great industry and acuteness, to show by an exact analysis of the first three Gospels the priority of Mark. *Bruno Bauer*, in his Kritik d. Evang. Gesch. d. Synoptiker, I. 2. Bd. 1841, has worked over with his peculiar dialectic the results of *Wilke's* inquiries. *Wilke* seeks to show, that what Matthew and Luke have, in common and with more or less close agreement, in addition to Mark, and what they have differing from him, is not original, but in part made by themselves, in part arbitrarily altered; and that both had the Gospel of Mark before them, although they differed from it. Matthew's changed arrangement of the history and work of Jesus in Galilee is caused by his inserting the Sermon on the Mount in the early part of his work (so also *Lachm.*). On the other hand, Matthew has imitated Luke, and formed (particularly) the Sermon on the Mount from the materials offered by him. *Bauer* sees even in Matthew's preliminary history nothing but an imitation of that of Luke. So too *Schneckenburger* (Ueber d. Urspr. d. erst. kan. Evang. in the Stud. d. würtemb. Geistl., and printed separately, 1834, p. 69, ff.), only he supposes also the assistance of tradition, whereas *B.* refers the whole to the arbitrary will of the author. An examination of the hypotheses of *Storr*, *Weisse*, *Wilke*, *Br. Bauer*, in *F. J. Schwarz*, p. 26, ff.

### § 82 c.

The bold hypothesis that our second Gospel is the Prot-evangel condemns itself by its auxiliary assumption that, in its present form, the Gospel is not free from interpolations.\* As certainly as the objectionable passages are genuine, are they generally (especially the narrative of the second feeding of the multitude, which most probably rests on an error of Matthew) indicative of the character of Mark as a writer. We trust, moreover, that our justification of Griesbach's hypothesis farther on (§ 94, ff.) will not fail.

\* Besides the conclusion (§ 94, f.), the following passages are reckoned as such:—viii. 1–9, the second feeding (note the characteristic feature, ver. 7, in comparison with vi. 41), with the reference to it in viii. 20; ix. 38–40; xi. 24–26; i. 2, 13 (*καὶ ἦν . . . σταυρῶν*); iii. 6 (*μετὰ τοῦ Ιησοῦ*);

iv. 10 (*σὺν τ. δώδεκα*) ; vi. 37 (*δηναρ. διακ.*) ; ix. 6 (*ἡσαν γ. ἔκφοθοι*) ; x. 16 (*ἐναγκαλισ. αὐτά*) ; vii. 3, f., 13 (*καὶ παρόμ., κ. τ. λ.*) ; the names, x. 46, xv. 10, ii. 13, iii. 17. The reason : “ How shall it be proved that what belongs not to the original type is from the hand of Mark ? ” (!) Comp. *Br. Bauer*, II. 68, 356, 365.

## § 83.

In attempting thus to sustain the theory of the derivation of one Gospel from another, by resort to the supposition of arbitrariness or party feeling in the Evangelists, the most recent criticism necessarily runs counter to the historic sense, and endangers the credibility of the Gospel history. Each of the hypotheses given above labors under the difficulty of being unable satisfactorily to explain why a later author omitted one part of what his predecessor gave, and altered another part of it in substance or in form. Objections of this sort have been urged especially against Griesbach’s hypothesis.\*

It is true that the history of the Old Testament and Apocryphal literature presents similar phenomena in the books of Chronicles, Judith, and Tobit, where changes and corruptions, additions and omissions, have likewise been made by later revising hands. But in the case of these books, at least of Chronicles, certain intermediate steps, or a gradualness of interpolation, are probable (Part I. § 192 c, d) ; and it would be a great gain, if a similar process of growth could be proved in respect of the first three Gospels.

\* Cf. *Russwurm*, Ueb. d. Ursprung der 3 ersten Evangg. 1797. p. 28, ff. *Eichhorn*, Einl. I. 373, ff. Allg. Bibl. V. 767, ff. *Bertholdt*, Einl. III. 1127, ff.

II. *Theory of one or several Common Written Sources.*1. *One Source.*

## § 84 a.

The differing treatment of their matter by the Evangelists would appear much less loose, and more excusable, had they drawn from a common written source, which each used

after a different fashion. Many have regarded the *Gospel of the Hebrews* as such, but in part without being accurately acquainted with it or having closely considered its relation to our Gospel of Matthew, in part without clearly showing the process by which the Gospels were derived from it.<sup>a</sup> Others considered the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew the common source.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Lessing*, Neue Hypothese üb. d. Evangg. (1784), in his Theol. Nachlass, Werke (Berlin, 1793), XVII. Thl. *Niemeyer*, Conjecturae ad illustrandum plurimorum N. T. scriptorum silentium de primordiis vitae Jesu Christi, 1790. *Weber*, Beitr. z. Gesch. des neutest. Kanons (1791), p. 21, f. Cf. *Id.* Unters. über d. Evang. d. Hebr. 1806. The hypothesis of *Schneckenburger* (Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten kanon. Evang. p. 105, ff.), that our Gospel of Matthew is an elaboration of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which Luke and Mark likewise used (p. 152), has not much more precision. According to *Fr. Fischer* (Einl. in d. Dogm. 1828, p. 122, ff.), the Gospels of Luke and of the Hebrews sprang from the works mentioned by Luke in his proem; Matthew's Gospel is a Greek elaboration of that of the Hebrews; Mark previously wrought over the same materials, and perhaps referred to Luke, while both Mark and Luke may have been used by the *redactor* of Matthew's Gospel.

<sup>b</sup> *Corrodi*, Beleucht. d. Gesch. des jüd. u. christl. Bibelkanons. II. 150, ff. Yet he assumed the Greek version of the same as the immediate source. *Thiess*, Comment. über d. N. T. I. Einl. § 13, ff. *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, Entwurf e. bestimmten Unterscheid. verschiedener verloren gegangener Evangg., in *Henke's Mag.* B. IV. St. 3. Einl. ins N. T. I. 68, ff., who, besides, assumes that the text of the three Gospels was made more uniform by later interpolations. *Feilmoser*, Einl. in d. Bücher d. N. T. p. 59, ff. *Bolten* (Vorr. z. deutschen Uebers. d. Matth., Marc., u. Luc.) thinks Mark and Luke used, extracted from, and worked over, not only the Hebrew Matthew, but also the Greek translation.

### § 84 b.

*Eichhorn* attempted a more precise explanation by the supposition of a so-called *Original Gospel*, which, while it contained the sections common to all three Evangelists, was used by them in different editions; so that what was common to all three came from the original work, what was common to but two from an edition used by them in common, and what was found in but one from an edition used by him only, or from another source.<sup>a</sup> This original work he thought was written in Aramæan, and thus he explained

naturally how the three Gospels, as independent versions, agreed in similar expressions and turns of expression; but he left their striking coincidence in (to some degree) rare and peculiar Greek expressions unexplained.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Eichhorn*, Allg. Biblioth. V. (1794), 759, ff. Earlier, from *Eichhorn's* lectures, *Russwurm*, in a prize essay, which, written in German, he published in the work referred to in § 83, note a. Genealogy of the Gospels, according to *Eichhorn*:—

1. Original Gospel.
2. Edition A of the same, foundation of Matthew.
3. Edition B of the same, foundation of Luke.
4. Edition C, compiled from A and B, foundation of Mark.
5. Edition D, used by Matthew and Luke at the same time.

<sup>b</sup> The agreement in Greek words, as πτερύγιον τοῦ λεποῦ, Matt. iv. 5, Luke iv. 9, ἐπιούσιος, Matt. vi. 11, Luke xi. 3, and the citation of O. T. passages after the LXX. point to a Greek source. On the other hand, the supposed errors in translating, which are said to prove an Aramean original (*Bolten*, Bearbeitung der drei Evang. *Eichhorn*, Einl. I. §§ 49, 58. *Bertholdt*, III. 1177), are all moonshine. E. g.: Luke iii. 21, προσευχομένου (Matt. iii. 16, ἀνέβη), confounding of πάλιγ with זלע. Ib. σωματικῶς εἶδει (Matt. iii. 18, ὡσεὶ περιστεράν), Aram. אָנוֹי גְּנָכָה. Luke xxii. 25, εὐεργέται καλοῦνται (Matt. καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι κατεξουσάζουσιν αὐτῶν), confounding of Χסִינִין with צְדַקָּה. Matt. xxvi. 17, τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁζύμων, Mark xiv. 12, τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἁζύμων, Luke xxii. 7, ἥλθε ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἁζύμων, ἐν ᾧ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα, Aram. בַּיּוֹכָא קְרֻמָּה דְפִתְירָא, i. e. on the day before the feast of unleavened bread, and, on the first day of the feast of unleavened bread.

### § 84 c.

To supply this want in *Eichhorn's* hypothesis, *Marsh* so remodelled it that he supposed a Greek translation of the unrevised Aramean Original Gospel; and that *Mark* and *Luke* used this translation in composing their Gospels. He also supposed that the Greek translator of the Hebrew Gospel of *Matthew* used the Greek text of *Mark*, and partly also that of *Luke*.—*Herder* also adopted the hypothesis of the Original Gospel, and modified it. It was written in Aramean for the use of the Evangelists, but not published. *Mark*, who published it in Greek with very little alteration, gives us the most exact notion of it. At an earlier period it was revised by *Matthew* and published in Aramean, in a more detailed form,—the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. *Luke*

then wrote a Hellenistic Gospel, based on the Protevangel, but also used the more complete Gospel of Matthew and the Greek of Mark, to which he added much. Finally, the Gospel of Matthew was translated freely into Greek, and, while much was omitted, much other matter was added.<sup>b</sup> This view is simple, and corresponds well with the course which the development of Christianity took, but fails to explain how, on the one hand, Matthew, and, on the other, Luke, omit or vary so much from the supposed original Gospel of Mark.

\* Abhandl. üb. d. Entsteh. u. Auffass. unsrer ersten drei kanon. Evangg., in *Anmerkk. u. Zusätzzen zu J. D. Michaelis Einl. übers. v. Rosenmüller.* Göttingen. 1795 – 1803. 4to.

Marsh's Genealogy of the Gospels:—

1. Original document  $\kappa$ .
2. Greek version of the same  $\bar{\kappa}$ .
3. Copy, with smaller or greater additions  $\kappa + \alpha + \Lambda$ .
4. Copy, with other such additions  $\kappa + \beta + B$ .
5. Copy, with both kinds of additions — basis of Mark —  $\kappa + \alpha + \beta + A + B$ .
6. Copy, with increase of additions  $\alpha + A$  — basis of Matthew —  $\kappa + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma 1$ .
7. Copy, with increase of additions  $\beta + B$  — basis of Luke —  $\kappa + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma 1$ .
8. Matthew and Luke used, besides, an auxiliary work  $\beth$ , from which they inserted the elements  $\Gamma 2$ , which are common to both, though in different order.

<sup>b</sup> Regel der Zusammenstimmung unsrer Evangg. aus ihrer Entstehung und Ordnung, appended to the work: Von Gottes Sohn der Welt Heiland, nach Joh. Evang. Rig. 1797. Part XII. of his Sämmtl. Werke z. Relig. u. Theol. It is pretty difficult to grasp Herder's meaning. According to Neudecker's account, he must have also held that the translator of Matthew used the Gospels of Mark and Luke; which would supply a more exact explanation of the verbal agreement, a point on which Herder seems not to have laid any special stress.

#### § 84 d.

Hereupon, *Eichhorn* published a revision of his former hypothesis, in which he expressly aimed at explaining the verbal agreement. In order to do this, he likewise supposed the use of Greek versions.<sup>a</sup>

• Einl. ins N. T. 1 Thl. 1804. Accordingly, his Genealogy of the Gospels is as follows : —

1. Aramaean Original Gospel.
2. Greek version of the same.
3. Revised edition of the Original, used by Matthew, *A*.
4. Greek version of the same on the basis of the Greek version of the Original Gospel.
5. Revised edition of the Original, used by Luke, not translated into Greek, *B*.
6. Combination of both editions, used by Mark, also not translated into Greek, *C*.
7. A fourth revision of the Original, used by Matthew and Luke, *D*.
8. Greek version of the same, with help of the Greek version of the Original Gospel.
9. Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, from *A* and *D* combined, *E*.
10. Greek version of Matthew, with help of the Greek version of *A* and *D*.
11. Mark's Gospel is based on *A + B = C*, and in translating this he used the version of *A*; what, on the other hand, belonged to *B*, he must himself have translated.
12. Luke's Gospel is written from *B* and *D* together = *F*, with the insertion of the history of a journey. In translating, he used the Greek text of *D*; but what belonged to *B* he must himself have translated.

The following writers have declared in favor of the Original Gospel : — *Ziegler*, Ideen üb. d. Urspr. d. drei ersten Evangg., in *Gabler's Neuest. theolog. Journ. B. IV. St. 5.* *Hänlein*, Einleit. III. 30. *Kuinoel*, Comment. in libr. N. T. hist. I. xvi. *Bertholdt*, Einl. III. 1205, ff. *Gratz*, N. Vers. d. Entsteh. d. drei ersten Evangg. zu erklären (Tüb. 1812), — this writer, however, with this modification, that he regards the Aramaean Original as the basis of Matthew only, who wrote in Aramaean, but a Greek version of the same as the source of Mark and Luke, and supposes enlargements of the original document by the individual Evangelists, with subsequent additions derived by one from the other.

#### *Untenableness of these Theories.*

#### § 85.

While, in its simpler forms, the hypothesis of an Original Gospel does not explain all the phenomena that demand explanation, in its minuter development it excites distrust, from the artificial nature of the attempts to sustain it by a multitude of auxiliary hypotheses. Moreover, the supposition, not so much of several written editions of the evangelic history, as of such laborious and mechanical work as the

collecting and using of translations, is unlikely. The supposition of a written original Gospel is also improbable, especially in the meagre form supposed by *Eichhorn*, in which it could hardly have gained so much regard as he attributes to it; to say nothing of the fact that Christian antiquity is wholly silent in regard to its existence.<sup>a</sup> These and other reasons have recently become so clear to most writers, that now we can scarcely refrain from wonder that this hypothesis could have found so much acceptance.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Supposed traces of it, according to *Bertholdt*, III. 1208, especially in the Epistles of Paul: 1 Cor. xi. 23, ff., xv. 3, ff.; Rom. ii. 16; 1 Thess. iv. 15; and several other places.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Theile*, Krit. d. versch. Ansichten üb. d. Wechselverhältniss d. synopt. Evv. in *Win.* and *Engelh.* Krit. Journ. V. 4. *Credner*, Einl. § 179, ff. *Neudeck*, p. 19.

## 2. *Hypothesis of Several Common Sources.*

### § 86.

Several writers<sup>a</sup> have tried to solve the difficulty by this hypothesis; but they have either thrown it out hastily, or in stating it have not entered on the explanation of the problem in all its relations. For such an explanation it is not sufficient. It fails, especially, to explain the mutual relationship of the Gospels in their whole structure.

<sup>a</sup> *Cleric. Hist. eccles.* (Amstel. 1716), p. 429 (cf. *Marsh*, as above, p. 152), quite indefinitely says: *Tria haec Evangg. partim petita esse ex similibus aut iisdem fontibus, h. e. e commentariis eorum, qui varios Christi sermones audiverant, etc.* *Koppe*, Progr. Marcus non epitomator Matthaei. 1782. *Michælis*, Einl. 4th ed. §§ 129, 144. *Semler*, Anmerk. zu *Townson's* Abhandl. über die vier Evang. 1783. *Paulus*, in his Comm., in reference to Matthew and Luke. *Halfeld*, in his Prize Essay occasioned by *Eichhorn*: *Comment. de orig. quatuor Evang.* 1794, supposes several Aramaic original documents. So *Schleiermacher*, Ueb. d. Schriften d. Lucas. I. Thl. 1818. In a similar way *Lachmann*, in St. u. Kr. 1835, p. 584, but with resort also to the aid of oral tradition (§ 87). Certain groups of narratives (which may especially be distinguished in Luke), among them the narrative of the journey, Luke ix. 51 – xviii. 14, are hastily assumed to be such original compositions.

III. *Hypothesis of one Oral Source.*

## § 87 a.

They have correctly apprehended the spirit of Christian antiquity who regard the *oral tradition* of the Gospel (the *oral Original Gospel*) as the basis and source of all the Christian Gospels, and who endeavor to apprehend the history of the origin of the latter in a definite relation to the former.\*

\* *Eckermann*, Theol. Beitr. V. 2. Erklär. aller dunklen Stellen, Th. I. Pref. *Herder*, as above, p. 306, ff. *Kaiser*, Bibl. Theol. I. 224. *Paulus*, in the Allg. Litt. Z. 1813. Nro. 105, 106, and in his Conservator. I. 123, ff. *Gieseler*, Ueb. d. Entsteh. d. Schriftl. Evang. 1818. (He especially has the merit of drawing attention to this matter.) *Sartorius*, Drei Abhandl. üb. wichtige Gegenstände d. exeg. u. system. Theol. 1820. *Rettig*, Ephemerid. exeg. theol. Fasc. I. Giess. 1824. *Credner*, Einl. p. 187, ff. *Neudeck*. p. 167, ff. *Ebrard*, Kritik d. Evangg. § 139. *Guerike*, Einl. ins N. T. § 37. *Schleiermacher*, Einl. ins N. T. (Sämmtl. Werke, VIII. 228, ff.).

## § 87 b.

The tidings concerning Christ (*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ κήρυγμα*) were, as is well known, promulgated orally as a living word (§ 61). They were delivered partly in Aramean for Palestinians and Syrians, partly and especially (for the reasons given in § 1) in Greek. In the latter language they obtained the most decided development, so that not only a peculiar Jewish-Greek Christian language grew up, but also a certain uniformity in the delivery of the subject-matter itself. A proof of this uniformity is found in the account of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. xi. 23, ff.; for Paul can hardly have been acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew.

At the same time, however, the oral tradition must have been to a certain extent fluctuating, because,—1. Inquiry into many, and especially less important facts, led to differing results (comp. Matt. xxvii. 5 with Acts i. 18, ff.; Luke xxiv. 44, ff. with Acts i.); 2. The interest of narrators and hearers in the history, though lively, was by no means criti-

cal, for they regarded the environing circumstances of certain incidents, and particularly of the words and teachings of Jesus, as unimportant externals; 3. Quite frequently additions proceeding from the narrators' own inspiration and reflection mingled with what was historically given and handed down.

§ 87 c.

That tradition performed not merely the office of transmitting, but also, at the same time, of changing, and even of creating, is a truth which, despite its misuse through Strauss's exaggeration, must be maintained. For, apart from the fact that it has a sure foundation in the spirit of primitive Christianity, in the want of exact critical interest, and in the independent way in which the revelation through Christ or the Holy Spirit (in which Christ, as it were, a second time became flesh) was received and reproduced, only in this way can we comprehend the great diversity which sometimes occurs in the narration of the same events. For instance, Luke xix. 12, ff., comp. Matt. xxv. 14, ff.; Luke xiv. 16, cf. Matt. xxii. 1, ff.; Mark xii. 28, ff., cf. Matt. xxii. 34, ff. The independent spirit of tradition had a strong influence especially on its didactic element, and altered with freedom the discourses, especially the parables, of Jesus. It may indeed not be too bold to suppose, that in this way parables and other discourses of Jesus may have been invented; to this class probably belong several of the former in Luke (especially the strongly Paulinizing Luke xviii. 19, ff.), and the prophecy of the future coming of Christ (Matt. xxiv. and parallel passages), which was probably the work of some prophet who freely altered a declaration of Christ's.—This view is at least more historical than those of *Weisse*, *Wilke*, *Br. Bauer*, and *Baur*, which ascribe the whole to the arbitrary will of an individual; and can in no wise disturb the believer, unless with pietistic one-sidedness he attach himself to Jesus's person only, and despise his spirit.

## § 87 d.

But if we must explain, by means of oral tradition, not alone those parts of the synoptical Gospels which differ, but also those which agree, the question arises,—1. Whether the agreement of the parallel accounts, both in the general representation and diction, and in single (oftentimes rare) words (see § 97 f), and, 2. Whether the whole scope and structure of our synoptical Gospels, may thus be explained. Neither of these can be asserted as likely. The uniformity of oral delivery cannot reach so high a degree; and as regards the second point, the Apostles must, according to *Herder*, have fixed in a written Gospel, which was committed to the Evangelists, the bounds of their subject. According to *Gieseler*, the uniformity grew up of itself, without any agreement, in consequence of the similar mode of apprehending and representing the subject which frequent repetition of it among the Apostles produced. According to *Paulus*, the Evangelists merely united on one common train of thought. But opposed to all this stands the fact, in itself probable, and also pretty nearly demonstrable, that the Apostles and Evangelists in their preaching gave nothing more than a hasty outline of the whole evangelic history (comp. Acts xiii. 24, ff.), or single parts of the same (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 1, ff.), but not an evangelic whole, like our written Gospels.\*

\* Cf. *Credner*, Einl. p. 192. The tradition of the rise of the second Gospel, that Mark wrote *without arrangement* what he heard from Peter's addressees (§ 99 b), serves as proof. *D. Schulz*, in Stud. u. Kr. 1829, thinks the twofold source, oral tradition and the free individuality of the Evangelists, a quite sufficient explanation. So (following him !) in regard to Mark: *Knobel*, De Evang. Marci origine, 1831; in respect of the relation of Matthew to Luke, *Neudecker*, p. 171, ff.; in general, *Ebrard*, Krit. d. Evang. Gesch. § 139, p. 985, ff. (Against him, *Bleek*, Beitr. z. Evangg. Kritik, I. 68, ff.) Also *Schleiermacher* (Einleit.) is content with this source, except that he brings in also the Hebrew writing of Matthew (§ 97 a) as a basis for the first Gospel; and *Thiersch* (Standp. d. Krit. 137, ff.), for he thinks he can explain the affinity between Matthew and Luke by supposing the oral common source, and their divergence by the use of different written works.

*IV. Union of the Two Hypotheses of a Common Oral Source, and of the Influence, through Writing, of one Evangelist on another.*

§ 88 a.

It is therefore necessary, if we will not take refuge in generalities, to return to the hypothesis that one Evangelist used another, at least in so far as to suppose that this mutual use took place on the basis of oral tradition, and accordingly less under the influence of the arbitrary will of individuals. The way is also open for supposing one or several media of affinity between each two or all three Evangelists. From this stand-point, *Credner*,\* with help of the Church accounts, gives the origin of the synoptical Gospels as follows : — 1. The Apostle Matthew, at quite an early period, collected in the Hebrew language the discourses of the Lord. This collection formed the basis of the first edition of the evangelic history, which at a later period was undertaken by a Palestinian, who used Mark's notes, and, to lighten the labor of translation, sought the aid of oral tradition. This work was our first canonical Gospel, rightly called *\*κατὰ Ματθαῖον*. 2. Another made these notes of Mark the basis of his written presentation of the Gospel history, while he arranged and completed their contents. 3. Luke was acquainted with and used, together with oral tradition, both our canonical Matthew and Mark, and also the ancient Hebrew work of Matthew and that of Mark. — But in this way the structure of our second Gospel, and its manifest dependence on the first, cannot be at all explained; for the pretended notes of Mark, on which it was based, are represented as being without arrangement, — whereas our canonical Mark has in general the same arrangement as Matthew.

\* Einl. ins N. T. I. 203, ff.

§ 88 b.

So too *Reuss*.<sup>a</sup> The oldest Gospel was that written by the Apostle *Matthew* in the Hebrew tongue (§ 97, note b).

Likewise *Mark* very early wrote down what he remembered of Peter's statements (§ 99 b, note *a*). This Gospel is extant in our second Gospel, the spurious beginning, i. 1–13, and end, xvi. 9–20, excepted. That first Gospel of Matthew, however, served only as the basis or chief source of that which now bears his name; and perhaps the author has drawn from *Mark*. Akin to our *Matthew* were the Gospels of the Jewish Christians,—the Gospel of the Hebrews, and that of Peter. As in even the earliest copies of all these Gospels discrepancies might arise, we can comprehend how, towards the end of the first century, the number of Gospels in existence might seem very great (*Luke* i. 1). *Luke* sought, by his critical work, to prevent the further corruption of the Gospel history, for he followed oral tradition to its source, and probably consulted both of the existing works, especially that of *Mark*. The first biographers of Jesus had drawn from oral tradition alone; the later writers drew from written sources, which have however been lost. None of our Evangelists had the work of the other before him in its present form. Hence, to explain their affinity is impossible.

This hypothesis shares in the mistakes of *Wilke's* and *Credner's*. Like *Wilke*, *Reuss*, in aid of his theory, supposes interpolations of the second Gospel (cf. § 94, f.). Like *Credner*, *Reuss* considers our *Mark* independent of *Matthew*, and even makes the latter draw from him. But *Matthew* bears the stamp of originality, and *Mark* is a compiler (§ 94 a, ff.). That no one of our Evangelists used the other, is an assertion which is contradicted by mere ocular inspection, and we must not too hastily abandon the attempt to explain their affinity.

\* *Geschr. d. heil. Schriften N. T. (Halle, 1842), § 91, ff.*

## 1. Explanation of the Relation between Matthew and Luke.

### A. From a Common Oral Source.

#### § 89 a.

The writings which Luke had before him, and probably used (Luke i. 1–4), were drawn from oral tradition (ver. 2); and probably he also drew from the same source. If Matthew followed the same course, his affinity with Luke may be to a large extent explained; and, 1. In respect of the *single corresponding narratives*, *a.* as regards their *general contents* or their ground-form, and partly their *expression*. Here both Evangelists commonly agree in the main points and discourses,—in precisely that which usually makes impression on the memory; they differ partly in their mode of connecting a narrative with what precedes, partly in minor circumstances, and in a greater or less minuteness, all of which are attributable either to themselves or to the written works used by them.\*

#### \* Examples: —

##### *Matthew.*

iii. 7–10. Discourse of John the Baptist.

— 11, f. Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν· ὁ δὲ ὄπισθι μου ἔρχόμενος ἴσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἵκανος τὰ ὑποδήματα οὐκ εἰμὶ ἵκανος τὰ ὑποδήματα θαστάσαι· αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἅγιῳ καὶ πυρί. Οὐ τὸ πτύον, κ. τ. λ.

viii. 2, ff. καὶ ἴδον λεπρὸς ἐλθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ λέγων· Κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς, δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι. Καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἥψατο αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· Θέλω, καθαρίσθητι. Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθαρίσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, κ. τ. λ.

viii. 5–7. The introduction different.

##### *Luke.*

iii. 7–9.

— 16, f. Ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς· ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἴσχυρότερός μου, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἵκανος λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάτιον ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἅγιῳ καὶ πυρί. Οὐ τὸ πτύον, κ. τ. λ.

v. 12, ff. . . . καὶ ἴδον ἀνὴρ πλάτης λέπρας, καὶ ἴδον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐδεήθη αὐτοῦ λέγων· Κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς, δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι· καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἥψατο αὐτοῦ εἰπών· Θέλω, καθαρίσθητι. Καὶ εὐθέως ἡ λέπρα ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

vii. 1–6. Middle.

*Matt. 8.*

viii. 8. .... Κύριε, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανός, ὅταν μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσελθης· ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ιαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου.

— 9.

— 14, ff. .... τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτοῦ βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσονταν. Καὶ ἦψατο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός· καὶ ἤγερθη, καὶ δυηκόνει αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

viii. 18. .... ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν.

— 19 – 22. .... Διδάσκαλε, ἀκολουθήσω σοι, ὅπου ἔαν ἀπέρχῃ. .... Άι ἀλώπεκες φωλεούς ἔχουσι καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνώσεις. .... Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου. .... Ἐκολούθει μοι, καὶ ἄφεις τοὺς νεκρούς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς.

— 23, ff. .... καὶ ἴδού, σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθευδε. .... Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ἀπολλύμεθα. .... Τί δεῖλοι ἔστε, ὀλιγύπιστοι; Τότε ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησε τοῖς ἀνέμοις, κ. τ. λ.

— 29. .... Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, νιὲ τοῦ θεοῦ; ἥλθες δεδειπρότερον βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς;

— 32, f.

*Luke.*

vii. 6. .... Κύριε, . . . οὐ γάρ εἰμι ἱκανός, ὅταν ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου εἰσελθης . . . ἀλλὰ εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ιαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου.

— 8.

— 38, ff. .... πενθερὰ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος ἦν συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ· καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς ἐπετίμησε τῷ πυρετῷ, καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτήν. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀναστάσα διηκόνει αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

viii. 23. .... εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· διελθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς λίμνης.

ix. 57 – 60. Ἐκολουθήσω σοι, ὅπου ἀν ἀπέρχῃ, κύριε. .... Αἱ ἀλώπεκες, κ. τ. λ.

Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἀπελθόντι πρῶτον θάψαι, κ. τ. λ.

.... Ἄφεις . . . νεκρούς· σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

viii. 23, ff. .... ἀφύπνωσε. Καὶ κατέβη λαῖλαψ ἀνέμον εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ συνεπληροῦντο. ....

Ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιστάτα, ἀπολλύμεθα. Ο δὲ ἐγέρθεις ἐπετίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ, κ. τ. λ. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς· ποῦ ἔστιν ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν;

— 28. .... Τί ἔμοι καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ νιὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; δέομαί σου, μή με βασανίσης.

— 33, f.

So also Matt. ix. 2, 5, 9, 12, f., 15, ff., 22, 24; xi. 3, ff., 16, ff.; xii. 2, f., 8, 13, 47, 49, f.; xiv. 15, f., 19, f.; xvi. 13 – 16, 21, 24 – 26, 28; xvii. 1, 3, ff., 17, 22; xviii. 5; and the parallel passages in Luke. Only ix. 5, f.; xi. 10, f.; xvi. 28, as well as iii. 3, iv. 5, 10 (see § 79 b), and the whole history of the Temptation, whose form is throughout too artistic for oral tradition, may indicate a written source. A similar (more or less free) parallelism or a certain similarity of type appears in the narratives of Jesus's journey to Jerusalem and of his stay there. Comp. Matt. xix. 14, 20, f., 24, 26, ff.; xx. 18, f., 30, ff.; xxi. 1 – 3, 8, f., 13, 23, ff.; xxii. 18 – 21, 27, f., 32; and the parallel passages in Luke. On the other hand, far fewer points of agreement occur in the history of the Passion, and hardly any in that of the

Resurrection. In the former, the separate parts are not in general accurately defined, which appears manifest in the history of Jesus's work in Galilee, and clearly shows that it was the custom to narrate miracles and other important events by themselves. In the history of the Passion, a thread appears which runs through the whole; and passages occur which serve only for transition, as Matt. xxvi. 1-5, 14-16. Hence, in this section the relation between Matthew and Luke may have a written basis, on which Luke acted the more freely, as he regarded it only as a literary work, which he might alter, partly according to his own judgment, partly according to accounts received from other quarters. The accounts of the Resurrection, Matt. xxviii. 1-8, Luke xxiv. 1-9, have manifestly a common basis and accord.

Matt. ver. 6. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁδε· Luke ver. 6. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁδε, ἀλλ' ἡγέρθη γάρ, καθὼς εἶπε.      ἡγέρθη. Μνήσθητε, ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ.

Whether the basis was oral or written is difficult to decide.

### § 89 b.

b. In the *connection* of the single narratives, also, the mutual affinity of both Evangelists may be in part explained by a common oral source. In the history of Jesus's work in Galilee, the sequence at the beginning is, to be sure, different; but some passages, as those of the *paralytic* and the *calling of Matthew*, of the *plucking of the corn* and the *healing of the withered hand*, of the *storm on the lake* and the *demoniac* (*demoniacs*), of *Herod's watching Jesus* and the *feeding of the five thousand*, are always connected in pairs, and from Matt. xvi. 13 forth, the arrangement is the same, even in the story of the *journey to Jerusalem*, and the *stay* there. It is quite conceivable that in oral delivery many passages gained a fixed connection, on account of the affinity between their contents or of the historical sequence of the events.

### § 90.

2. As regards the *didactic portion*, or the longer consecutive discourses of Jesus, the parables, &c., and in general such expressions as have a more independent doctrinal meaning, we find in them likewise much verbal agreement, which, considering the earnestness with which tradition must have

striven to retain them, can appear surprising, and point to a written source, only in the case of some very rare words and turns of expression, as Matt. vii. 5, xi. 26, xxi. 44, xxiv. 50 (§ 79 b). But in regard to the connection and the position of parallel discourses, various cases occur. *a.* Some are presented by both Evangelists in the same definite connection (at least as regards their chief points), and in the same historical relation.<sup>a</sup> *b.* Others, grouped by Matthew into one mass or in one relation, are placed by Luke in various positions and relations.<sup>b</sup> *c.* Luke has given a shorter, and, in its main points, quite a different view of the Sermon on the Mount from Matt. v. 3 – vii. 27, although most of its substance is found in Matthew; other parts he gives elsewhere, and sometimes with an historic occasion.<sup>c</sup> *d.* Discourses which have a distinct application appear in the two Evangelists in different places;<sup>d</sup> and, *e.* Expressions of a more general character, proverbs, and sentences are interwoven by both in a different manner.<sup>e</sup> *f.* Some parables appear in different forms.<sup>f</sup> Thus, in respect of this Gospel material, not only oral tradition, but also the written composition, whether of one or another of our two Evangelists, or of one or several earlier, had large and free scope, and we must inquire into their mutual relation, in respect of their composition in general.

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xii. 22, ff. = Luke xi. 14, ff., Discourses against the alleged covenant with Satan, and against the demanding a sign. — Matt. xiii. 1, ff. = Luke viii. 4, ff., Parable of the sower. — Matt. xxi. 33, ff. = Luke xx. 9, ff., Parable of the vineyard. — Matt. xxiv. = Luke xxi. 5, ff. Yet in these discourses we find more in one Evangelist than in the other, and the place of some passages is changed. Matt. xiii. 31 – 33 is put by Luke in another place, xiii. 18 – 21; on the contrary, Luke viii. 16, f. is found in Matt. v. 15, again in Luke xi. 33, in Matt. x. 28, and again in Luke xii. 2. Matt. xxi. 28 – 32 is wanting in Luke. Of Matt. xxiv. several parts are found in Luke xvii. 22, ff., xii. 35, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. x. = Luke ix. 1 – 5, x. 1 – 16, and elsewhere. Matt. xxiii. = Luke xx. 45 – 47, xi. 37 – 52. The reverse is the case with the large collection of discourses in Luke xii.; comp. ver. 1 with Matt. xvi. 6, ver. 54 – 56 with Matt. xvi. 2, f. Several others occur in Matthew, in the Sermon on the Mount, and in chapters x. and xxiv.

•	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>
vi. 20 - 26	=	v. 3 - 12.
— 27, f.	=	— 44.
— 29, f.	=	— 39, 42.
— 31	=	vii. 12.
— 32 - 36	=	v. 46 - 48.
— 37, f.	=	viii. 1.
— 39	=	xv. 14.
— 40	=	x. 24.
— 41 - 42	=	vii. 3 - 5.
— 43, f., 46	=	— 16 - 21.
— 45	=	xii. 35.
— 47 - 49	=	vii. 24 - 27.
 <i>Matthew.</i>		
v. 18	=	xvi. 17.
— 25, f.	=	xii. 58, f.
— 32 (xix. 9)	=	xvi. 18.
vi. 9 - 13 (Our Father)	=	xi. 1 - 4.
— 19 - 21	=	xii. 33, f.
— 22, f.	=	xi. 34 - 36.
— 24	=	xvi. 13.
— 25 - 33	=	xii. 22 - 31.
vii. 7 - 11	=	xi. 9 - 13.
— 13	=	xiii. 24.
— 22, f.	=	— 25 - 27.
 <i>Luke.</i>		

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xi. 12 = Luke xvi. 16; Matt. xi. 20 - 27 (addition ver. 28 - 30) = Luke x. 13 - 22; Matt. xiii. 16, f. = Luke x. 23, f.; Matt. xxiii. 37 - 39 = Luke xiii. 34, f.

\* See the Sermon on the Mount and the Parable of the Sower in Matthew; further, Matt. xxiii. 12 = Luke xiv. 11 and xvii. 4; Matt. x. 39 = Luke xvii. 33; Matt. xviii. 6, f. = Luke xvii. 1, f.; Matt. xviii. 15, 21, f. = Luke xvii. 3, f.; Matt. xvii. 20 = Luke xvii. 5, f. Both give the same proverbial saying twice (Luke xiv. 11, xviii. 14, see note a).

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xviii. 12, f., enlarged and connected with a similar parable, Luke xv. 4, ff. Different forms of the same parable: Matt. xxii. 1, ff., Luke xiv. 16, ff.; Matt. xxv. 14, ff., Luke xix. 15, ff.

It is worth noting, that the declarations in Matt. xiii. 17 and xviii. 8, f. (cf. v. 29), Luke x. 13, cf. Matt. xi. 21, are connected with what precedes by a merely verbal relation, without any logical connection of thought.

B. *Explanation of the Relation between Matthew and Luke from Written Sources.*

a. *Peculiarities of both Evangelists in the Treatment of the Gospel Matter and in the Composition of a Whole.*

§ 91 a.

Both Evangelists have handled the materials which they received through tradition or from Gospel writers with freedom, and in a manner peculiar to themselves. This appears, 1. In the *style of the writing*, which in each has considerable uniformity, although Luke, judging from his proem, would, had he been independent, have written in purer Greek.\*

\* Matthew writes with tolerable uniformity, Luke with greater freedom, and often forms periods: i. 1-4; ii. 42, f.; iii. 1, f., 15, f., 19, f.; vi. 13, f.; vii. 37, f.; xiv. 28, f.; xv. 4; xxiii. 11; xxiv. 19, f. Does he Hebraize less than Matthew? Schott, Isag. p. 108. Favorite words and turns of expression in Matthew: σφόδρα, ἴδον after the genitive absolute, τότε, usual transition-particle. Peculiar: ἀπό for ἐκ, e. g. ἀπὸ καρδίας, xviii. 35; ἔγειρεσθαι, διεγ. ἀπό, i. 24, xiv. 2, xxvii. 64, xxviii. 7; λέγων, excepting in xxi. 2, xxvi. 17 (?), without dative of the person addressed; βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν for βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ, iii. 2, and some twenty times besides; συντελεία τ. αἰώνος five times, elsewhere only in Heb. ix. 26; ἐθνικός, vi. 7, viii. 17; δ λεγόμενος of names and surnames, i. 16, ii. 23, ix. 9, xxvi. 3, 14, 36, xxvii. 16, 17, 22, 33; δ ῥῆθεις, τὸ ῥῆθεν, ἐρρέθη, sixteen times, in Mark, xiii. 14 (?); ἀναχωρεῖν, ten times, in Mark, iii. 7 (Luke, ὑποστρέφειν); διστάζειν, xiv. 31, xxviii. 17; καταποντίζεσθαι, xiv. 30, xviii. 6; μαλακία, iv. 23, ix. 35, x. 1; μεταίρειν, xiii. 53, xix. 1; ραπίζειν, v. 39, xxvi. 67; συρβουλίων λαμβάνειν, xii. 14, xxii. 15, xxvii. 7; συναίρειν λόγουν, xviii. 23, 24, xxv. 19; φράζειν, xiii. 36, xv. 15. Favorite expressions of Luke: Words connected with ἀδικία, xiii. 27, xvi. 8, 9; xviii. 6, Acts i. 18, viii. 23; οἶκος, *family*, i. 27, and five times besides, Acts eight times, in Matt. twice; νομικός, six times, in Matt. once; λίμνη, of Lake Gennesaret; ἵκανός, *numerous*, vii. 11, f., and often (Mark x. 46); ἀνάγειν, ii. 22, iv. 5, viii. 22, xxii. 66, in Acts seventeen times; the participles ἀναστάς, καθίσας, with a finite verb; ἀτενίζειν, excepting in Luke, only in Paul; ἡν, ἡσαν, with the participle, i. 7, 10, and often; more rarely the future, v. 10, xvii. 35, f., xxi. 17, 24; ἀφίστημι, elsewhere only in Paul; καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐτῷ λεπατεύειν, i. 8, and the like, κ. ἐγέν. ὡς, i. 23, 41, ii. 15, xi. 1, xix. 29, κ. ἐγένετο . . . ἥλθον, i. 59, cf. ii. 1, vi. 12, vii. 11, xx. 1; ἐγένετο δὲ . . . διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτόν, vi. 1, cf. ver. 6, xvi. 22, Acts ix. 37, and often; διέρχεσθαι, ten times in Luke,

twenty-one times in Acts, twice in Matt., Mark, and John; *πλήθειν, πλήθεσθαι*, twelve times in Luke, nine times in Acts, twice in Matt.; *παραχρῆμα*, only twice in Matt.; *παρά* and *ὑπέρ*, with accusative, for comparison; *συγκαλεῖν*, only once in Mark; *ὑποστρέφειν*, once in Mark, Paul, Heb.; the article before interrogative sentences, i. 62, ix. 46, and often (Mark ix. 23); *τοῦ* before the infinitive, i. 9, and often, as in Paul (*Win. Gramm.* § 45. 4. δ); frequent participial constructions (*Win.* § 46. 2. δ); frequent use of *δὲ καὶ*, ii. 4, and often. Wholly peculiar: *διαπορέιν*, ix. 7, xxiv. 4, Acts ii. 12, v. 24, x. 17; *ἐπιχειρεῖν*, i. 1, Acts ix. 29, xix. 13; *ἐπιστάτης*, v. 5, viii. 24, 45, ix. 33, 49, xvii. 13; *ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος*, i. 23, 57, ii. 6, 21, 22; *καθεῖναι*, i. 3, viii. 1, Acts iii. 24, xl. 4, xviii. 23; *καθότι*, i. 7, xix. 9, Acts ii. 24, 45, iv. 35; *δδυτάσθαι*, ii. 48, xvi. 24, f., Acts xx. 38; *δμλεῖν*, xxiv. 14, f., Acts xx. 11, xxiv. 26; *συμβάλλειν*, ii. 19, xiv. 31, Acts iv. 15, xvii. 18, xviii. 27, xx. 14; *συμπληροῦσθαι*, viii. 23, ix. 15, Acts ii. 1; *τίθεσθαι εἰς τὰ δῶρα, οἱ ἐκ καρδίας*, i. 66, ix. 44, xxi. 14, Acts v. 4, xix. 21; *ὑπολαμβάνειν*, vii. 43, x. 30, Acts i. 9, ii. 15. Cf. *Schott*, l. c. p. 83, 108. *Gersdorf*, *Beitr. z. Sprachcharakt.* p. 38, ff., 160, ff. *Dav. Schulz* on the Parable of the Steward, in different parts. *Credn.* §§ 37, 59. The author of "Die Evangg." p. 264, ff., attempts to show that the style of the third Gospel is Pauline, and that Paul had therefore a share in it; but he mixes up mistakes with what is correct. Besides what has already been adduced, note especially: *ὑπερεκχυνόμενον*, vi. 38, cf. *ὑπερπερισσεύειν*, Rom. v. 90, and more of the same sort; *συναντλαμβάνεσθαι*, x. 40, Rom. viii. 26; *ἀντικεισθαι*, xiii. 17, xxi. 5, and elsewhere in Paul only; *ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι*, xiv. 6, Rom. ix. 20; *διερμηνεύειν*, xxiv. 27, Acts ix. 36, elsewhere in P. only; *ἔξουσίας εἰναι*, xxii. 25, three times in P.; *ἔξουθενειν*, xviii. 9, xxiii. 11, Acts iv. 14, eight times in P.; *ἐκκακεῖν*, xviii. 1, elsewhere in P. only; *καταργεῖν*, xiii. 7, very often in P., Heb. ii. 14; *ἀνάγκη, distress*, xxi. 23, 1 Cor. vii. 26, and often; *ὑστέρημα*, xxi. 4, eight times in P.; *εἰ καὶ*, xi. 8, 18, xviii. 4, 1 Cor. vii. 8, and often, 1 Pet. iii. 4, but also Matt. xxvi. 33; *μερώγη*, xi. 28, Rom. ix. 20, x. 18; *γέ*, xi. 8, xxiv. 21, and often, elsewhere chiefly in P.; *εἰ μῆτι*, ix. 13, 1 Cor. vii. 5, 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

## § 91 b.

2. The peculiarity of each of the two Evangelists shows itself in certain pragmatic explanatory *additions*, which serve for review, for resting-points, or to carry on the narrative.<sup>a</sup> Indeed, if we may follow analogy, each carries into the history something of his own.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fulfilment of prophecy pointed out: Matt. i. 29, ii. 16, 17, 23, iv. 14, ff., viii. 17, xii. 17, ff., xiii. 34, f., xxi. 4, xxvii. 9. Geographical explanations: Luke i. 26, iv. 31, xxiii. 51, xxiv. 13. Remarks on Jesus's work as a whole, and on its results: Matt. iv. 23, ff., ix. 26, 35, xii. 16, f.

xiv. 35, f., xv. 30, f.; Luke iv. 15, 37, 44, v. 16, f., viii. 1, ff., xiii. 22, xix. 47, f., xxi. 37, f. Resting-points and transitions: Matt. vii. 28, f., xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, f., xxvi. 1; Luke i. 80, ii. 40, 52, vii. 1, xiii. 22, xvii. 11, and many others.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xxi. 7, xxvi. 15, xxvii. 3, ff. The exact agreement of history with prophecy. Not only the remarks, that Mary kept the words in her heart, Luke ii. 19, 51; that the disciples did not understand Jesus, ix. 45, xviii. 34; the characterizing remarks on persons, ii. 25, xxiii. 51,—but also the correspondence of different parts in respect to certain actions, that Jesus is so often introduced praying, iii. 21, vi. 12, ix. 18, 29, xi. 1; that he delivered those restored to life to their parents, vii. 15, ix. 42; the graphic touch in the description, xxiii. 48 (cf. xviii. 13); the hosanna, xix. 38 (cf. ii. 14); the remark, ix. 9, καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰησοῦς αὐτῶν (cf. xxiii. 8),—seem to have come from Luke's pen.

### § 91 c.

From the Evangelists' own hand come also the indications of time and place, and, in general, the connecting links between the separate occurrences. These must needs be different, because Matthew strung all his materials on a chronological thread,<sup>a</sup> and arranged many parts in a quite different order from that of Luke. The latter seems, on the contrary, to prefer abruptness and absence of connection.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This is shown (in opposition to *Olshausen*, Comm. p. 22, who ascribes to Matthew only an arrangement according to subjects) by *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. p. 25, ff., and yet earlier, *Kaiser*, Ueb. d. synopt. Zusammenstell. der 4 kan. Evangg. p. 38. It seems clear from the beginnings of the sections:—iii. 1–12: Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις. iii. 13–17: Τότε. iv. 1–11: Τότε. iv. 12–17: Ἀκούσας δὲ . . . , cf. ver. 17: Ἀπὸ τότε. iv. 18–22: Περιπατῶν δὲ . . . iv. 23–vii. 29: Καὶ περιῆγεν . . . , cf. v. 1: Ἰδὼν δὲ . . . viii. 1–4: Καταβάντας δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους. viii. 5–15: Εἰσελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς Καπερναοῦμ. viii. 14–17: Καὶ ἐλθὼν δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου. viii. 18–27: Ἰδὼν δὲ . . . πολλοὺς δχλοὺς περὶ αὐτόν. viii. 28–34: Καὶ ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ πάνω. ix. 1–18: Καὶ . . . διεπέρασε καὶ ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰδίαν πόλιν. ix. 9–11: Καὶ παράγων . . . ἐκεῖθεν. ix. 18–26: Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος. ix. 27–34: Καὶ παράγοντι ἐκεῖθεν. x. 1–42: Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος (cf. ix. 37: Τότε). xi. 1–30: Καὶ ἔγνετο, ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν δὲ Ἰησοῦς διατάσσων τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς, μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν. 2: Ο δέ Ιωάννης ἀκούσας. xii. 1–8: Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ. xii. 9–14: Καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν. xii. 15–21: . . . ἀνέχωρησεν ἐκεῖθεν. xii. 22–45: Τότε. 38: Τότε. xii. 46–50: Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος. xiii. 1–52: Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. xiii. 53–58: Καὶ . . . μετῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν. xiv. 1–12: Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ. xiv. 13–21: Καὶ ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχωρησεν ἐκεῖθεν (evidently false, even nonsensical). xiv. 22–36: Καὶ εἴθετο. xv. 1–20: Τότε. xv. 21–28: Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐκεῖθεν. xv. 29

— 39 : Καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν. xvi. 1 — 12 : Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι . . . . , cf. xv. 39 : . . . . καὶ ἤλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅρια Μαγδαλά. xvi. 13 — 28 : Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ μέρη Καισαρείας. xvii. 1 — 13 : Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἔξ. xvii. 14 — 21 : Καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον. xvii. 22 : Ἀναστρεφομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαΐᾳ. xvii. 24 — 27 : Ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καπερναούμ. xviii. 1 — 35 : Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ.

<sup>b</sup> Luke v. 1 : Ἐγένετο δέ. v. 12 (= Matt. viii. 1) : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν μᾶς τῶν πόλεων. v. 17 (= Matt. ix. 1) : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν. vi. 1 (= Matt. xii. 1) : Ἐγένετο δέ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ. vi. 6 (= Matt. xii. 9) : Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ. vii. 36 — 50 : Ἡρώτα δέ τις αὐτὸν τῶν Φαρ. viii. 4 — 18 : Συνιώτος δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ, without connection with what precedes. viii. 22 — 25 (= Matt. viii. 18) : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν. ix. 1 — 6 : (= Matt. x. 1) : Συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δέκα. ix. 7 — 9 (= Matt. x. 1) : Ἡκουσε δὲ Ἡρώδης. ix. 18 — 27 (= Matt. xvi. 13) : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον καταμόρας. ix. 43 — 45 (= Matt. xvii. 22, f.) : Πάλιν δὲ θαυμαζόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίει ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ix. 46 — 50 (= Matt. xviii. 1) : Εἰσῆλθε δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς. x. 25 — 37 : Καὶ ἰδού, νομικός τις ἀνέστη. xi. 1 — 13 : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον. xi. 14 — 28 : Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον. xi. 29 — 36 : Τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἐπαθροιζόμενων. xiii. 10 — 17 : Ἡν δὲ διδάσκων ἐν μᾶς τῶν συναγογῶν. xiii. 18 — 21 : Ἐλεγε δέ. xiv. 1 — 24 : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς οἰκόν τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων, κ. τ. λ. xiv. 25 — 35 : Συνεπορεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί. xv. 1 — 32 : Ἡσαν δὲ ἐγγίζοντες αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ τελεῖναι καὶ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοί. xvi. 1 — 31 : Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. xvii. 1 — 10 : Εἶπε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς. xvii. 20 — 37 : Ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων. xviii. 1 — 14 : Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς. xx. 1 : Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων. Even the definite statements, — ix. 57 : Ἐγένετο δέ, πορευομένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. x. 1 : Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα x. 38 : Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτούς. xiii. 22 : Καὶ διεπορεύετο πατὴ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορεύαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, — leave us uncertain. See Exeg. Hdb. z. Luc. xii. 41. Ritschl, Evang. Marc. p. 297.

### § 91 d.

Matthew prefers also to connect the discourses of Jesus, and therefore gives them in large groups (v. 2 — vii. 27, x., xiii., xxiii., xxiv., xxv.) ; Luke, on the other hand, prefers to isolate them, and even in grouping together several discourses he seeks as much as possible for occasions, resting-points, and new connecting links.\* But either his selection or his literary agency seems to have had an influence on even the import and the spirit of these sayings ; for it is remarkable how much in his Gospel refers to the recommending of

poverty and beneficence, the rejection of riches, and to the later oppressed condition of the Christians.<sup>b</sup> The passages, xvii. 7, ff., xviii. 9, ff., which have a Pauline coloring, and ix. 2, ff., x. 25, ff., xvii. 11, ff., which manifest mildness towards the Samaritans, are also to be noted.

<sup>a</sup> See § 90, note b, and cf. Luke xi. 1, 5, 27, 29, 37, f., 45; xii. 1, 13–16, 22, 40, 54; xiii. 1, 18, 23, f., 31; xiv. 7, 12, 15, f., 25; xv. 1–3, 11; xvi. 1, 14; xvii. 1, 5, 20, 22, 37; xviii. 1, 9.

<sup>b</sup> vi. 20, f., 24 (cf. Matt. v. 3, ff.); xi. 41; xii. 33; xvi. 1, ff., 19, ff.; xix. 8.—The Sermon on the Mount is intended, in the main, to infuse into the oppressed Christians submission, courage, and comfort, ver. 20–22, 27–29; further, xii. 32, xviii. 8, xxi. 28.—The similar expressions in Matthew (v. 11, x. 16, ff.) show also a later stand-point, but refer to the Apostles, not to the community.

### § 91 e.

3. In respect of the *composition*, as a whole, Matthew carried out his plan, from a Jewish-Christian stand-point, with conscious design and regular sequence. According to him, Jesus began and completed his course; proved himself, during his ministry, which was limited to Galilee, the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy (§ 91 b, note a); suffered his, likewise prophetically-determined, fate as fulfiller of the law and founder of the kingdom of heaven, which is to come in Messianic glory, in conflict with the false leaders of the people, the Pharisaic literalists and hypocrites; but rose again in the victorious fulness of his power.\*

\* Matt. i. ii.: *preliminary history*, which gives both the Davidic descent and higher nature, the destiny and future acknowledgment (cf. ii. 1–12 with viii. 11, f., xv. 21, ff., xxi. 41, xxviii. 19) of Christ, and also foreshadows his sufferings. Ch. iii. 1–iv. 11: the *forerunner, consecration, temptation*. Ch. iv. 12–x. 42: *appearance in Galilee* (cf. iv. 13–18 with xxviii. 16–20), statement of the Messianic plan, *ministry*, sending forth of the Twelve. Ch. xi. – xviii.: *opposition and rejection, with acknowledgment*; prospect of the *death of Jesus*; his *transfiguration*, the prelude to his heavenly glorification. By his *journey to Jerusalem*, his *entrance* and *stay* there (ch. xix. – xxv.), the breach between him and the ecclesiastical rulers is completed. In his discourse in ch. xxiii. (note especially ver. 37–39), he cuts wholly loose from them. The knot thus tied is loosed, prophetically by the *predictions* in ch. xxiv. and xxv., tragically by the *sufferings* and *death of Jesus* (ch. xxvi. and xxvii.), and finally by his victorious *resurrection*, his meeting with his disciples, and sending them forth (ch. xxviii.).

## § 91 f.

Luke followed this plan in part, but in part also deviated from it in various ways,<sup>a</sup> especially by inserting ix. 51–xviii. 14, which extends the range of Jesus's labors beyond the bounds of Galilee (x. 1, 38). This accords with the non-Judaizing Pauline tendency of his Gospel, which shows itself in the preliminary history,<sup>b</sup> but elsewhere partly in omissions and alterations,<sup>c</sup> partly in additions.<sup>d</sup> The key-stone of Matthew's Gospel (ch. xxviii.) he has broken, by setting aside the last scene in Galilee, to prepare the way for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Jerusalem, Acts ii., and thus to lay an historic basis for the rich development of this spirit in the bosom of Pauline Christianity.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The original plan is traceable from beginning to end, especially in xx. 46, f., xxi. 5, ff.; but it has been disturbed by the too early position of the polemic passages, vi. 1, ff. (Matt. xii. 1, ff.), and of the major part of the discourse in Matt. xxiii. (Luke xi. 39, ff., xiii. 34, f.), whereby its force in its proper position has been lost, and by the insertion of xxi. 1–4.

<sup>b</sup> His universalism appears in ii. 31, Paulinism in i. 20, 45 (cf. Rom. iv. 18, ff.), i. 51, ff., ii. 1–7, in opposition to Matt. ii. 1, ff., and in comparison with 1 Cor. i. 26, ff., 2 Cor. viii. 9. The author of "Die Evangg." has very much exaggerated this, after his fashion, p. 216, ff.

<sup>c</sup> Luke does not give those passages which support the Jewish particularism (Matt. x. 5, xv. 21, ff.) and the pre-eminence of Peter (Matt. xvi. 17–19, x. 2, — the word *πρώτος*). Perhaps his Pauline tendency was opposed also by the passages concerning the law, Matt. v. 17, ff.; by the references to prophecies fulfilled, Matt. viii. 17, xii. 15–21, xiii. 14, ff., 35, xxi. 4, f., xxvi. 56 (to which xxi. 14–16, xxvii. 3, ff., also belong, — the account here of Judas Iscariot does not agree in other respects with Luke xxii. 3, Acts i. 18); the eschatological passages, Matt. xiii. 24–30, 36–43, 47–50, xxv. 1–12, 31–46 (also Matt. x. 23 he omits, Matt. xvi. 28 he softens [ix. 27], Matt. xxiv. 29 he cuts down [xxi. 25], and Matt. xxiv. 23–28, by his change of its position and relation, xvii. 22–37, loses in definiteness); the narratives, Matt. xvii. 24–27, xxvii. 50, ff.

<sup>d</sup> His universalism appears above all in the choosing of the seventy disciples, x. 1, which, like the twelve for the twelve tribes of Israel, correspond to the seventy peoples of the earth; and also in the passages favorable to the Samaritans, ix. 52, f., x. 33. We may hardly place under this head the parables, xv. 11, ff., xvi. 19, ff., the narratives, xxiii. 39, ff., x. 38, ff. (contrary to Schwegler, Nachap. Zeitalt. I. 47, ff., Zeller, in Jahrb. 1843, p. 81, f.). It is also false to conclude from passages like ix. 32, f., 40, 45,

(“Die Evangelien,” etc., p. 24, f., 82, f. *Ritschl*, *Evang. Marc.* p. 188, ff. *Baur*, in *Zeller’s Jahrb.* 1846, p. 500, ff., *Krit. Unters.* 435, ff.,) that Luke meant to throw the Twelve into the shade. Similar passages are also found in Matt. xvi. 8–11, xvii. 16, xxvi. 40. On the other hand, it is a striking fact, that the part of the instructions in Matt. x., directed according to Luke to the Seventy, contains the more important passages, x. 12, 16, and that Jesus on their return says such weighty words, ver. 18, ff. The passages, xv. 11, ff., xvii. 7, ff., xviii. 9, ff., are manifestly Pauline.

<sup>a</sup> Excepting iii. 11, xxviii. 18, Matthew says nothing of the Holy Spirit in relation to the disciples.

### § 92.

As the peculiarities of each of our Evangelists are apparent from beginning to end, the work of each, although perhaps not wholly independent, is yet the result of his own labor. The opening history is not a later addition.<sup>a</sup> As little has Luke inserted without change certain memoranda, especially in the section ch. ix. 51–xviii. 14, a collection of sayings (*Marsh*, *Eichhorn*, and others), or an account of a journey.<sup>b</sup> Still less has he adopted Marcion’s Gospel as his basis (§ 72 c).

<sup>a</sup> Against the genuineness of Matt. i. ii.: *Williams*, A Free Inquiry into the Authenticity of the First and Second Chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel. Lond. 1771. 2d ed. 1790, cf. *Michaelis*, Or. Bibl. I. 53, ff. *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bibl. II. 918, ff. *Stroth*, Von Interpolatt. im *Evang. Matthäi*, in *Eichhorn’s Rep.* IX. 99, ff., *Hess*, Biblioth. d. h. Gesch. I. 208, ff. *Ammon*, De Luca emendatore Matthaei, p. 5, sqq. *Joh. Jones*, Sequel to Ecclesiastical Researches, in which the Origin of the Introductory Chapters in Matthew and Luke, etc. Lond. 1813. (Schmidt, Einl. I. 84, thinks that Matthew found and prefixed these chapters as a distinct Gospel of the childhood of Jesus.) On the other side: *Fleming*, Free Thoughts upon a Free Inquiry, etc. Lond. 1771. 8vo. *Velthusen*, The Authenticity of the First and Second Chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel Vindicated. Lond. 1771. 8vo. *German*: Gerettete Authent. d. ersten beiden Kapp. d. Ev. Matth. Lemgo, 1771. 8vo. *Thiess*, De *Evang. Matthaei integratitiae*, etc. Helmst. 1782. 4to. *Rau*, Symbola ad quaest. de authent. cap. I. et II. *Evang. Matthaei disceptiendam*. Erl. 1793. 4to. *J. F. Schmidt*, Examen integratitiae duorum primorum capp. *Evang. Matthaei*. Lips. 1791. 4to. in the *Commentatt. theolog.* I. 340, sqq. *Paulus*, Comment. I. 105, ff. *Fritzsche*, Exc. III. ad Comm. in Matth. *J. G. Müller*, Ueb. d. Aechth. der zwei ersten Capp. d. Ev. n. Matth. Trier. 1830, &c., which *Bertholdi*, III. 1274, *Eichhorn*, I. 426, adduce.

Against the genuineness of Luke i. ii.: *Edu. Evanson*, The Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists and the Evidence of their re-

spective Authenticity examined. Ipswich. 1792. 8vo. *Horst*, Ueb. d. bei den ersten Kapp. im Evang. Luk., in *Henke's Mus.* I. Bd. 3. St.

<sup>b</sup> *Schleiermacher*, Ueb. d. Schr. d. Luk. I. 158. *Lachmann*, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1835. p. 588. On the other side, *Weisse*, Evang. Gesch. I. 88, ff.

b. *Dependence of Luke on Matthew.*

§ 93 a.

Everything thus far opposes the theory, maintained by many, of the dependence of Matthew on Luke (§ 92 a); particularly the fluctuating composition, resting on a foreign basis, and the Pauline bias imparted to preponderatingly Jewish-Christian matter, in connection with the later origin of the third Gospel, attested by tradition and rendered probable by internal evidence (§ 101 c). Many particulars, moreover, stamp the first Gospel with the character of originality: the account of the Temptation and of the Sermon on the Mount, whose more complete form shows them to be the first outpouring rather than a later emendation and a disjointed copy, — the narrative of the Resurrection, which not only harmonizes with the Galilean scope of the Gospel, but by its simplicity and uniqueness proves itself the oldest, — and many others.

§ 93 b.

From the point which we have reached, it seems natural to conclude that the third Gospel is an elaboration of the first. If the omissions adduced are intentional, and aim to give it a certain bias, others also may be regarded in the same light.<sup>a</sup> In the passages which Luke has in common with Matthew, arbitrary changes and transpositions may be proved;<sup>b</sup> at least, completeness and originality are on the side of Matthew (cf. xvii. 1–4 with Matt. xviii. 1, f., 6, f., 15, ff.).<sup>c</sup> In several passages Luke has endeavored, and sometimes with success, to improve upon Matthew;<sup>d</sup> in others, his pragmatism (generally incorrect) is manifest.

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xvii. 10–12 (christological question); xiv. 3–12 (an addition of particulars, which perhaps Luke thought inappropriate); xxvii. 62–66, xxviii. 11–15 (which he perhaps considered unworthy of credit).

<sup>b</sup> The assignment of the great address of instruction in Matt. x. to the Twelve, ix. 3–5, and to the Seventy, x. 4–12, is plainly arbitrary. Besides, x. 13 (Matt. xi. 21) is introduced improperly by a mistake of memory. The Sermon on the Mount, vi. 20, ff., is a disfigured extract from that in Matthew, which has the appropriate object of showing to Jesus's disciples his plan and doctrine, whereas Luke makes it refer to the oppressed Christians of a later time. Thus the peroration, which, in Matt. vii. 24, ff., calls attention to the doctrine laid down, loses its force in Luke. In vi. 37 the connection is lost, and we see clearly how the passage Matt. vii. 1–5, which floated before Luke's mind, is interrupted by inappropriate reminiscences of Matt. xv. 14, x. 24. (Also in xi. 33, ff., xii. 1, ff., 49, ff., 58, ff., xvi. 16, ff., sayings that in Matthew stand in good connection, or occur as special doctrinal statements, are forced in, as it were, by violence.)

<sup>c</sup> See, on the contrary, *Ritschl*, pp. 260, 274, and his remarks, p. 289, on passages like vii. 39 (Matt. xxi. 32), xi. 48, ff. (Matt. xxiii. 30, ff.), which look like unsuccessful attempts at revision.

<sup>d</sup> iii. 2, 7, 19, f. (Matt. iii. 1, 7, iv. 12); iv. 5, ff. (Matt. iv. 5, ff., a sequence incorrectly altered); v. 17, 29, 33 (Matt. ix. 3, 10, 14); ix. 10 (Matt. xiv. 13); xix. 30, ff. (Matt. xxi. 2, ff.); xxi. 12, 25 (Matt. xxiv. 8, f., 29). See Exeg. Handb. on the passages.

\* The later position of the Sermon on the Mount, deemed by some a ground of preference for the third Gospel, stands in the same category as the account of the choosing of the Twelve, vi. 12, ff. Luke was led to both by the considerations that Matthew addresses the discourse to disciples of whom but four were called (iv. 18, ff.), and that he introduces, in x. 1, ff., twelve without due preparation (Matthew alone having been called in the mean time, ix. 9). The introduction, ver. 12, f., to the new account framed by Luke, is out of keeping, and the name ἀπόστολος betrays its later stand-point.

### § 93 c.

But the Gospel of Luke cannot be regarded throughout as only a free revision of Matthew, without the use of other sources.\* The proem, i. 1–4, shows the contrary (§ 89 a). There is a degree of probability in favor of the theory that Luke arbitrarily undertook to assign the discourses of Jesus — which Matthew placed together — to certain incidents as occasions (§ 91 d, note a). When he gives a corresponding equivalent for what he has not in common with Matthew,<sup>b</sup> it proves that he had reference to Matthew. Cautious criticism, however, will not regard all these passages as manufactured by Luke, but will also suppose the use of oral

tradition or of written sources. The same applies also to several smaller additions<sup>c</sup> and alterations.<sup>d</sup> Many of these seem to have sprung up under the influence of the Pauline tradition,<sup>da</sup> others under that of John the Evangelist.<sup>e</sup> No probable ground for the absence of many passages can be found in the design and tendency of Luke,<sup>f</sup> and the gap between ix. 17 and 18 (cf. Matt. xiv. 22–xvi. 12), especially, makes it probable that he here followed an older and shorter edition of the first Gospel.<sup>g</sup> In this way might be explained, also, the absence of several passages which we have regarded as designedly omitted (§ 91 e, note b). In the same way Luke must have derived the larger passages, which he has in addition to Matthew, from a written source.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> As *Baur* does, p. (574) 501, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. i. ii. = Luke i. ii.; Matt. xiii. 53, ff. = Luke iv. 16, ff.; Matt. iv. 18, ff. = Luke v. 1, ff.; Matt. xxvi. 6, ff. = Luke vii. 36, ff.; Matt. xxii. 35, ff. = Luke x. 25, ff.; Matt. xxi. 17, ff. = Luke xiii. 6, ff., xvii. 5, ff.; Matt. xxii. 1, ff. = Luke xiv. 16, ff.; Matt. xxv. 14, ff. = Luke xix. 12, ff.; Matt. xx. 20, ff. = Luke xxii. 24, ff.; Matt. xxvi. 31, ff. = Luke xxii. 31, ff.

<sup>c</sup> These sometimes bring into the narrative more of the picturesque and stirring (v. 19, vii. 3, ff., viii. 45, ff., 49, ff., xxiii. 27, ff., 39, ff.); sometimes more of the marvellous (xxii. 8, ff., 43, 51,—the hand of Luke is, however, clearly discernible in the narrative in ver. 40, ff., which omits much); and sometimes the miracle gains thereby an important application (ix. 31). Others are introduced in other ways (iv. 42, ff., ix. 49, f.).

<sup>d</sup> vi. 6 (Matt. xii. 9), viii. 27 (Matt. viii. 28), xi. 29 (Matt. xii. 39), xviii. 35 (Matt. xx. 29), xxii. 54, ff. (Matt. xxvi. 57, ff.), xxiii. 2, ff. (Matt. xxvii. 11, ff.), xxiv. 2, ff. (Matt. xxviii. 2, ff.).

<sup>da</sup> Cf. xxiii. 19, f. with 1 Cor. xi. 24, f., xxiv. 34 with 1 Cor. xv. 5, and the passages referred to in § 91 f, note c.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. xix. 29 with John xiii. 1; xix. 37, cf. John xii. 17; xxii. 27, cf. John xiii. 4, ff.; xxii. 50, cf. John xviii. 10; xxii. 55, cf. John xviii. 18, 25; xxiii. 16, cf. John xix. 1; xxiii. 46, cf. John xix. 30; xxiii. 53 (xix. 30), cf. John xix. 41; xxiv. 4, 12, cf. John xx. 6.

<sup>f</sup> E. g. Matt. xviii. 6–9, 15–35, xxi. 28–32 (Luke, however, knew this passage, cf. vii. 30), ix. 27–34, ix. 1–12, xx. 1–16.

<sup>g</sup> The omission of Matt. xv. 21–31 may have had its ground in ver. 24 (§ 91 f, note b), and that of xv. 32–39, xvi. 1–4, in the fact of their being repetitions (cf. Matt. xiv. 13, ff., xii. 38, f.). Matt. xiv. 28, ff., refers to Peter, but does not tend to his advantage; on this account, also, it was unnecessary to omit the whole passage. The sayings in Luke vi. 39, xiii. 1,

give us reason to presuppose an acquaintance with Matt. xv. 1–20, xvi. 5–12, but why does Luke wholly omit these passages? (Cf. *Baur*, p. [540] 471). Probably our Matthew added from another source the whole passage xiv. 22–xvi. 12 to what precedes, and so committed the same error as before (ix. 32, f., cf. xii. 22, f.), of narrating as a different event what a different tradition had reported in a somewhat changed form. Luke, however, followed the older and simpler work, on which our Matthew is based. Cf. *Bleek*, *Beitr.* I. 76. *Ritschl*, p. 291.

<sup>a</sup> We may, with *Marsh* and others, regard a collection of discourses as this source. This collection, however, seems to have been enriched by scattered and unarranged excerpts from Matthew before it fell into Luke's hands; and, despite his acquaintance with Matthew, he preferred to follow it, and to give some of the discourses in less fitting connection.

## 2. Explanation of the Relation between Mark and the other two Evangelists by the Supposition that he used them.

### § 94 a.

From the manner in which Mark stands between Matthew and Luke, combines their text into a third, and has little of his own (§ 80), we may conclude that he is dependent on both of them; this may also be satisfactorily proved. 1. According to Church tradition, Mark wrote later than the other two (§ 100 b). His later stand-point is also manifest in his mediating tendency, and in his selections from the Gospel matter, which show comparatively little interest in the teachings of Jesus.<sup>a</sup> On this account, his notion of the "Gospel," placed at the very beginning (i. 1), and elsewhere introduced (i. 45, viii. 35, x. 29), as denoting the compend of the historic facts concerning the manifestation of the Son of God (i. 1), seems the less apostolic. The absence of the account of the supernatural birth of Jesus in no wise proves the originality of the second Evangelist; for he has the idea of the miraculous generation (vi. 3, cf. Matt. xiii. 55), and of the divinity of Christ (i. 1, iii. 11, v. 7, xv. 39).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Bleek*, *Beitr.* I. 33.

<sup>b</sup> And, indeed, apparently with some leaning towards Docetism. In xv. 39, 44, the view is involved that Jesus's death was not a natural one, and, if not a merely seeming one, yet voluntary (John x. 18).

## § 94 b.

2. If the parallel passages, especially those in Matthew, be compared with it, the Gospel of Mark shows unmistakable signs of non-originality, both in the representation of the teachings of Jesus, which are given sometimes in wrong connections,<sup>a</sup> sometimes more or less disfigured,<sup>b</sup> and in the historic accounts, which are sometimes arbitrarily altered,<sup>c</sup> sometimes amplified by more or less suspicious additions.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The indispensable occasion is wanting in iii. 28, f. (cf. Matt. xii. 31, f.), the necessary middle member in ix. 37 (cf. Matt. xviii. 3, f.), the right position in ix. 41 (cf. Matt. x. 42), 49, f. (cf. Matt. v. 13), xi. 24, ff. (cf. Matt. vii. 7, ff., vi. 14, f.).

<sup>b</sup> The correct sequence is wanting in vii. 6, f. (cf. Matt. xv. 3. ff.). The omission of *καὶ πᾶσαν αἰτιαν* robs the question in x. 2 of its historic force, because among the Jews the right to dismiss a wife was not disputed. To give, in xii. 35, ff., as Jesus's teaching to the people, what had significance, as a disputed question, only for the Pharisees, is manifestly an error. Luke here occupies the middle ground, for he abandons the interrogative turn of the passage, yet preserves the address to the Pharisees. The prayer, xiv. 36, compared with Matt. xxvi. 39, 42, is manifestly distorted. Foreign elements are intermingled in ii. 9 (*ἀρόν σου τ. κράββ.*), x. 21 (*ἀπας τ. σταυρ.*), iv. 10 (*τοῖς ἔξω*). — Wilke, who exposes the first of these passages, seeks to justify the expression in the last one, which is manifestly connected with 1 Cor. v. 12, by referring it to the ship in which Jesus was with his disciples (!). — x. 12 is, like ver. 2, inconsistent with the Jewish system of divorce.

<sup>c</sup> In vii. 24, a mistaken reason is given for Jesus's mode of proceeding, the true one, in Matt. xv. 24, being omitted; xiv. 58, the words *τον χειροποίητον, κ. τ. λ.*, look like a gloss; xi. 10, the expression is weakened; xv. 8, a manifest mistake.

<sup>d</sup> i. 13, *ἢν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων*; iii. 6, *μετὰ τῶν Ἡρωδιανῶν*; iv. 39, form of adjuration; vi. 13, oil as a medicine; xi. 16, Jesus allowed no furniture to be carried through the temple; xiv. 30, 68, 72, two crowings of the cock; xv. 39, the alleged ground for the centurion's exclamation; ver. 44, Pilate wonders at Jesus's speedy death (cf. § 94 a, note b). Other examples in § 94 c, note e.

## § 94 c.

3. The dependence of Mark on Matthew and Luke appears in the abridgments in i. 12, f., xvi. 12, ff. (cf. § 94 f); in the breaking of the connection by borrowing from foreign

sources, iv. 10–34,<sup>a</sup> ix. 38–48;<sup>b</sup> from passages which in one way or the other presuppose the auxiliary accounts.

<sup>a</sup> Ver. 21–25 are improperly placed by Mark and Luke (*Bauer*, II. 321), although more properly by the latter, who makes them the concluding admonition, whereas Mark, ver. 26, ff., continues (like Matthew) to make Jesus speak parables, and to the people (ver. 33); excepting that by the absurd ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο καταρόντας, ver. 10, he suggests the mistaken notion that Jesus delivered the last two to the disciples alone. Mark here manifestly vibrates between the two accounts.

<sup>b</sup> The apothegm parallel with Luke ix. 49, f. is in the latter connected with ix. 51, ff., while Mark, on the other hand, in ver. 42, proceeds on in the connection of Matthew.

<sup>c</sup> i. 2, Mark cites Mal. iii. 1, in conformity with Matt. xi. 10, Luke vii. 27.—ix. 43, ff., he follows Matthew in a merely verbal connection of the thought, the preceding *σκανδαλίζειν* being different from that of which the succeeding expressions treat.—viii. 34, κ. προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν δχλον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ is a mistaken amplification of Luke ix. 25, Θέγε δὲ πρὸς πάντας (sc. τοὺς μαθητάς), for there is no δχλος.—ix. 6, the absurd motive assigned to Peter's expression of pleasure, ἡσαν γὰρ ἐκφοβοι, is drawn from what follows in Matthew and Luke.—xii. 34, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἔτολμα αὐτον ἐπερωτήσαι, appropriate enough in Luke xx. 40, whence it is taken, is inappropriate here, for the scribe has asked in a friendly way and received a friendly answer.—xiv. 65 is clear only by the aid of Luke xxii. 64.—xiv. 12, ff., Mark follows first Matthew in making the disciples put the question, but afterwards Luke in speaking of the sending of the two disciples, so that we look in vain for an answer to the question.—vi. 14, 16 (if the common text, which is supported by preponderating authority, be correct), Mark, by using both of his authorities, has been misled into an unthinking repetition.—xiii. 4, the πάντα is best explained by a side glance at Matthew, who makes the disciples inquire the time, not only of the destruction of the temple, but also of the future coming of Christ.—xiii. 10, Mark has been misled by the word *μαρτύριον*, occurring in both Luke xxi. 13 and Matt. xxiv. 14, into adopting this verse, which has its proper position in Matthew only.—iv. 12, like Luke viii. 10, can be explained only from Matt. xiii. 13, ff., and presupposes the connection there given. Moreover, the blame in Mark iv. 13 is wholly out of place.—iii. 16, ff. seems from the interrupted construction to be an elaboration of Luke vi. 14, ff. and in ver. 15 a false connection of the thought occurs, which may be explained by Matt. x. 1.—v. 15, *ἰματισμένον* can be explained only by the omitted point in Luke viii. 27: κ. *ἰμάτιον* οὐν ἐνεδιδύσκετο.—vi. 6, διὰ τὴν ἀπωτίαν incorrectly combined, cf. Matt. xiii. 58.—vi. 8, vii. 27, Mark introduces unsuitable softenings, in the latter case from a later stand-point.

## § 94 d.

If the theory seem very natural, that a Gospel, which is almost wholly composed of fragments of the other two Gospels, and in other respects bears marks of dependence on these, is a compilation from them (§ 82 a), we can with internal probability trace, step by step, the author's method, and especially the way in which, in arranging Jesus's work in Galilee, he takes a middle course between the accounts in Matthew and Luke, on the supposition that he subordinated the doctrinal element of the Gospel to the miraculous, and avoided the long discourses, and perhaps, at the same time, used a certain degree of critical judgment on the ground of general tradition.\*

\* *Statement of the Course pursued by Mark in the Arrangement of Jesus's Work in Galilee.*

<i>Matt.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
iv.	= i. 14, 15.	
12 – 17.	<i>Jesus's Appearance in Galilee.</i>	
	<i>Folows Matthew.</i>	
iv.	= i. 16 – 20.	
18 – 22.	<i>Calling of the Four Apostles.</i>	
	<i>Likewise follows Matthew.</i>	
	Now, however, he forsakes M., because M. gives the long Sermon on the Mount, and passes over to Luke, omitting the section Luke iv. 16 – 30, which was opposed to the prevailing tradition.	
(vii.)	i. 21 – 28 =	iv.
28, 29.)	<i>The Demoniac at Capernaum.</i>	31 – 37.
	(Ver. 22, an echo of Matt. vii. 28, f.)	
viii.	i. 29 – 39 =	iv.
14 – 17.	<i>Peter's Wife's Mother.</i>	38 – 44.
	In his arrangement he follows Luke, although in Matthew also the section is placed near the omitted Sermon on the Mount. His text follows both, excepting that he takes ver. 35 – 39 from Luke.	
viii.	= i. 40 – 45 =	v.
1 – 4.	<i>The Leper.</i>	12 – 16.
	He passes over Luke v. 1 – 11, because this section excludes the earlier i. 16 – 20, and repeats Matt. viii. 1 – 4, the first section after the Sermon on the Mount, which yet is not very unlike Luke v. 12 – 16. In the text he follows both, and ver. 45 Luke alone.	

<i>Matt.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
ix.	ii. 1 - 12 =	v.
1 - 8.	<i>The Paralytic.</i>	17 - 26.
	The arrangement follows Luke, the text follows both, though Luke more closely.	
ix.	= ii. 13 - 22 =	v.
9 - 17.	<i>Calling of Levi.</i>	27 - 39.
	This section in Matthew also is connected with the foregoing. The text follows both.	
xii.	ii. 23 - 28 =	vi.
1 - 8.	<i>Plucking of the Corn.</i>	1 - 5.
	The arrangement follows Luke, the text both.	
xii.	= iii. 1 - 6 =	vi.
9 - 14.	<i>The Withered Hand.</i>	6 - 11.
	This section is also connected in Matthew with the preceding. The text follows Luke principally.	
(xii.)	iii. 7 - 12.	(vi.)
15, 16.)	<i>Thronging of the People.</i>	17 - 19.)
	Compiled from passages in Matthew and Luke, lying near the preceding.	
(x.	iii. 13 - 19 =	vi.
2 - 4.)	<i>Choosing of the Twelve.</i>	12 - 16.
	The arrangement and narrative follow Luke; ver. 18, however, is an echo of Matt. x. 3.	
xii.	= iii. 20 - 35.	xi.
24 - 32,	<i>Of the Covenant with Beelzebub.</i> Jesus's Mother and Brethren.	14 - 23.
46 - 50.		viii.
	He passes over the Sermon on the Mount in Luke, and proposes to follow Matthew; but instead of turning back to Matt. viii. 5, or viii. 18, he takes up xii. 24, because he had previously touched Matt. xii. 14. He works up this passage with Matt. xii. 46, ff., for, according to his wont, he passes over the longer discourses in Matt. xii. 33 - 45.	19 - 21.
xiii.	= iv. 1 - 34.	viii.
1 - 34.	<i>The Sower.</i>	4 - 18.
	He follows Matthew in the section of <i>the Sower</i> , but incorporates also the inappropriate addition in Luke viii. 16 - 18, as well as Matt. xiii. 31, f. The last words in ver. 34 point to the omitted Matt. xiii. 36, ff.	
viii.	iv. 35 - 41 =	viii.
23 - 27.	<i>The Storm on the Lake.</i>	22 - 25.
	Having been led to Luke viii. 18, ff., and as in Luke sections which have an earlier place in Mat-	

*Matt.*

viii.  
28 - 34.  
ix.  
18 - 26.  
xiii.  
54 - 58.  
(x.)  
xiv.  
1 - 12.  
xv.  
13 - 21.  
xiv.  
22 - 36.  
xv.  
1 - 20.

thew, and which he wishes to give, follow (Luke viii. 19 - 21 he may omit, having already given it above), he now passes over to this Evangelist, whom in his text he most closely follows.

*Mark.*

= v. 1 - 20 =

*The Demonic among the Gadarenes.*

The sequence is the same in M. and L.; but Mark follows the latter more closely in the text.

= v. 21 - 43 =

*Jairus's Daughter.*

He follows Luke; but as Matt. ix. 1 is manifestly echoed in v. 21, and Matt. ix. 2 - 17 is given above in ii. 1 - 22, the course of the combination leads to Matt. ix. 18 - 26. The text follows chiefly Luke.

= vi. 1 - 6.

*Jesus teaches in Nazareth.*

Matthew, after the parable of the Sower,—the point where Mark left him,—introduces a paragraph which seemed to Mark important. Mark, therefore, adopts it, and the more because he had omitted the similar one in Luke iv. 16 - 30.

= vi. 7 - 13 =

*Sending forth of the Twelve.*

He returns to Luke's arrangement, which places this after the above section, Mark v. 21 - 43. His text also follows Luke the more closely.

= vi. 14 - 29 =

*Herod Antipas.*

The sequence is that of Luke; but M. also places this section after that in Mark vi. 1 - 6, and thus from this side also the course of the combination leads to this point. His text follows both, but in the narrative of John's beheading he follows Matthew.

= vi. 30 - 44 =

*Feeding of the Five Thousand.*

Sequence the same in M. and L. The text follows both, though chiefly M.

= vi. 45 - 56.

*Jesus walks on the Water.*

Follows M., also in the text, but with omission of the circumstance in ver. 28 - 31.

= vii. 1 - 23.

*Of the Washing of Hands.*

Follows M., though with divergences in the text.

*Luke.*

viii.  
26 - 29.

viii.  
40 - 56.

ix.  
1 - 6.

ix.  
7 - 9.

ix.  
10 - 17.

<i>Matt.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
xv.	= vii. 24 - 31.	
21 - 31.	<i>The Canaanitish Woman.</i>	
	As above.	
	vii. 32 - 37.	
	<i>The Deaf and Dumb Man.</i>	
xv.	= viii. 1 - 10.	
32 - 39.	<i>Feeding of the Four Thousand.</i>	
	Follows Matthew.	
xvi.	= viii. 11 - 21.	
1 - 12.	<i>Sign from Heaven. Leaven of the Pharisees.</i>	
	Follows Matthew.	
	viii. 22 - 26.	
	<i>The Blind Man.</i>	
xvi.	= viii. 27 - ix. 1 =	ix.
13 - 28.	<i>Peter's Confession.</i>	18 - 27.
	The sequence is M.'s, but L.'s also falls in with it, and his influence is perceptible in the text.	
xvii.	= ix. 2 - 13 =	ix.
1 - 13.	<i>The Transfiguration.</i>	28 - 36.
	The sequence is now in general the same in all three.	
xvii.	= ix. 14 - 29 =	ix.
14 - 21.	<i>The Demoniac.</i>	37 - 43.
xvii.	= ix. 30 - 32 =	ix.
22, 23.	<i>Announcement of Jesus's Death.</i>	43 - 45.
xviii.	= ix. 33 - 50 =	ix.
1 - 9.	<i>The Dispute about Rank.</i>	46 - 50.

In ver. 33 there is an echo of Matt. xvi. 24. The peculiar passage, Matt. xvii. 24 - 27, Mark dropped, because not found in the current Gospel tradition.

Besides this table, compare also *Griesbach's* and *Sauzier's* essays, referred to in § 82 a, note e, § 82 b, note a. *Schwarz*, N. Unters., p. 284, ff. *Baur*, Krit. Unters. p. 541, ff.

### § 94 e.

The Evangelist's course ceases to excite surprise or objection (§ 83), when we consider,— 1. that he had no conception of our historical criticism and art, and that both the written and the oral Gospel tradition were at that time regarded as common property, which any one might deal with at pleasure, especially as its import was religious rather than historical; 2. that oral tradition, from which his au-

thorities and their predecessors had drawn, being not yet closed, stood as much at his command as at theirs, whether as a source of information or as a standard of judgment and selection (§ 87 a); and, 3.— a consideration that especially bears upon what seems to us the petty and tedious course of combining the text of the two Evangelists,— that he did this undesignedly, his exact acquaintance with his prototypes leading him to imitate their very expressions.\*

\* Formerly I regarded Mark's whole use of the two Evangelists, as well as Luke's use of Matthew, as mnemonic. This, however, seems needless.

#### § 94 f.

If this be the true account of the origin of Mark's Gospel, the integrity of the same admits of defence. As regards the account of the resurrection, xvi. 9, ff., which has been questioned,\* the difficulty, that ver. 7 has no sequence, and that the narrative is again taken up in ver. 9 and connected with ver. 1, is explained partly by the alteration made by Luke in Matthew's narrative in omitting the promised meeting in Galilee (§ 91 f), and partly by the influence of the Evangelist John, to which Mark here yielded.<sup>b</sup> The grounds which have been thought to lie in the style are in no case sufficiently decisive.<sup>c</sup> Besides, an interpolator would have avoided such inequalities, as well as the singular representation (i. 13) in the preliminary history, which has also (§ 88 b) been called in question, though we find in it an unmistakable peculiarity of Mark (i. 7).

\* Against the genuineness are: *Griesbach, Gratz, Bertholdt, Schultheiss, Paulus* (Exeg. Hdb.), *Dav. Schulz, Fritzsche, Schott* (Isag.), *Credner, Reuss*. For it: *R. Simon, Mill, Wolf, Storr, Matthai, Paulus* (Comment.), *Kuinoel, Eichhorn, Hug, Feilmoser, Schott* (Opusc.), *Vater, Saunier, Gucrike* (Einf. § 34), *Schwarz* (p. 327, ff.), *Baur* (as it seems), p. 574.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. ver. 9 with John xx. 14, f. Also elsewhere are found references to John: ii. 9, 12, cf. John v. 8, f.; vi. 37, 39, cf. John vi. 7, 10; xi. 9, cf. John xii. 13; xiv. 3, 5, 6, cf. John xii. 3, 5, 7; xiv. 54, 65, cf. John xviii. 18, 22; xv. 8, f., cf. John xviii. 39. Against *Baur*, who, pp. 244, 253, 258, 261, 279, regards these and the like passages in Luke (§ 93 b, note e) as original and used by John, we appeal to the character of originality which our fourth Gospel bears, and to that of compilations which marks our second and third. Cf. *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 83, 200.

\* What *Schultess*, in the *Analekten*, Bd. III. St. 3, and *Schott*, *Isagog.* § 30, note 2, have stated, *Fritzsche*, ad Marc. xvi. 9, has found for the most part inconclusive. Even his suspicion is excited by ver. 9: ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτη σαββάτων, instead of which Mark would have written ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐφάνη; the words ἀφ' ἡς ἐκβεβλήκει ἐπτὰ δαιμόνια, as inappropriate here (?); the frequent ἔκεινος, instead of ὁ δέ; ver. 10, πορευθείσα, instead of ἀπελθούσα (Mark xi. 4), cf. ver. 12, 15; τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις, which does not elsewhere occur in the Gospels; ver. 13, οὐδὲ ἔκεινος ἐπίστευσαν, in which there is a confounding of Luke xxiv. 34, f. with ver. 41 (which, however, might be the mistake of M. himself); the same holds of ver. 14, καὶ ὥνειδισε, κ. τ. λ., cf. Luke xxiv. 25 – 27, 41 – 46, John xx. 24 – 29. *Fritzsche* thinks suspicious, in ver. 17, f., the too great hankering after the miraculous, the extension of the gift of miracles to all Christians, the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν κανάν, borrowed from Acts, and the not elsewhere attested miracle, καὶ θανάσιμόν τι πίωσι, κ. τ. λ.; ver. 19, the sitting at God's right hand; ver. 20, trace of the post-apostolic age in the πανταχοῦ (?). Cf. my Exeg. Hdb. on these passages. — The external grounds against the genuineness of the passage (*Griesbach*, Not. crit., Comment. crit. *Fritzsche*, Comment. *Schott*, *Isag.* l. c.) amount to little.

## § 95 a.

The connecting links and transitions between sections chosen in this way cannot fail to be at times very arbitrary.<sup>a</sup> Mark inserts, also, many minute particulars, which come in part from the connection (xi. 27), but are generally his own additions.<sup>b</sup>

- I. Transitions, which have suffered little or no change in themselves, but whose meaning is altered by their change of position.

Mark i. 21.

Luke iv. 31.

Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καπερναούμ. Καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς Καπερναούμ, πόλιν  
Καὶ εὑθέως τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν τῆς Γαλιλαίας· καὶ ἦν διδάσκων αὐτὸν  
εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἑδίδασκε.

Cf. what precedes, i. 16 – 20.

Cf. iv. 16 – 30.

Matt. xiii. 54.

Mark vi. 1.

Καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ἐλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ.

Cf. xiii. 1 – 53.

Cf. v. 21 – 43.

- II. Transitions which have arisen from arbitrarily connecting both Evangelists.

Matt. ix. 1.

Mark ii. 1.

Luke v. 17.

Καὶ ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον Καὶ πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν  
διεπέραστε, καὶ ἤλθεν εἰς Καπερναούμ δι' ἡμερῶν, ἡμερῶν, κ. τ. λ.  
τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. καὶ ἡκούσθη, ὅτι εἰς οἱ-  
κόν ἔστι.

Mark here follows Luke's arrangement.

iii. 7 - 12 is compounded of Matt. xii. 15, 16, and Luke vi. 17. But Mark here follows Luke, and what he draws from Matthew belongs in the latter to a different connection.

### III. Transitions of his own.

Matt. ix. 9.

Mark ii. 33, f.

Luke v. 27.

*Kai παράγων δὲ Καὶ ἐξῆλθε πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ πᾶς δὲ όχλος ἥρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξῆλθε, κ. τ. λ. κ. τ. λ. ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Καὶ παράγων, κ. τ. λ.*

Matt. xii. 22.

Mark iii. 20.

Luke ix. 14.

Totally unlike.

*Kαὶ ἔρχονται εἰς οἶκον. Καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν όχλος, δισταύρων μήτε ἄρτον φαγεῖν.*

Mark iv. 35.

Luke viii. 22.

*Kαὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μῷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης· Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸς ἐνέβη εἰς πλοῖον καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· Διέλθω μεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς λίμνης.*

Mark here has given greater precision to Luke's account.

Matt. xvii. 24, xviii. 1.

Mark ix. 33.

Luke ix. 46.

*'Ελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καπερναοῦν, Καὶ ἤλθεν εἰς Καπερνα- Nothing similar.*

*Καπερναοῦν, . . . . Ἐν σύμ. Καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γε-*

*ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ προσῆλθον νόμενος, κ. τ. λ.*

*οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ,*

*κ. τ. λ.*

<sup>b</sup> Besides the favorite word *πάλιν* (ii. 1, 13, iii. 1, iv. 1, v. 21, vii. 31 [cf. iii. 20, viii. 13, x. 1, 24, 32], xi. 27 [cf. xiv. 61, 69, f., xv. 4, 12, 13]), he adds *εὐθέως* (i. 29, vi. 45), an exact (iv. 35, xi. 19) or inexact specification of time (ii. 1, viii. 1), or a specification of place (iii. 20, ix. 30, x. 17). His misplacement of the scene on the sea-shore is peculiar to him: ii. 13, iii. 7, iv. 1 (this according to Matthew), v. 21; he likes the expressions *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν*, vi. 1, *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν*, viii. 27, xi. 1, *καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελθόντες*, ix. 30.

### § 95 b.

His numerous additions or divergences in the discourses of persons concerned, and in the narrative, are to be attributed to the same arbitrariness.\*

\* In discourses: ii. 27, iv. 39, vi. 36, vii. 18, 13, viii. 3, 15, 17 - 21, ix. 9, 39, 43 - 50, x. 19, 38, xi. 10, 25, f., xiv. 30, 58, xvi. 3. In facts and circumstances: i. 20, iii. 6, iv. 36, vi. 41, 48, vii. 17, 24, viii. 7, 14, f., ix. 14, f., 21 - 26, 30, 33, xi. 18, xiii. 1, f., xiv. 50, ff., 65, 72, xv. 44, f., xvi. 8. Graphic and lively particularization: i. 13, 19, 41, 45, ii. 2, f., iii. 30, 34, iv. 32, 38, v. 5, vi. 27, 31, f., 38, ff., 56, f., vii. 25, 28, 30, viii. 12, ix. 3, 24, 36, x. 18, f., 21, 23, 32, 50, xi. 4, 27, xii. 37, xvi. 2. Various exact

specifications in numbers and the like: i. 21, v. 13, vi. 30, 37, vii. 1, 30, viii. 14, xii. 41, xiii. 3, xiv. 5. More exact statements concerning persons: ii. 14, 17, vii. 26, x. 46, xv. 21, xvi. 1. Pragmatical explanations: vi. 52, ix. 6, xi. 13, xv. 39, xvi. 4. Clearer statements: v. 18, 23, x. 1, xiv. 58. Remarks to soften and moderate: vi. 8, f., vii. 27. — Much is plainly false, as the mingling in of the Herodians and of Herod (iii. 6, viii. 15); others are liable to suspicion through their uniformity, as that Jesus wished to remain unknown (vii. 24 [in connection with the dropping of Matt. xv. 24], ix. 30), the pictorial additions of *ἐναγκαλισάμενος* (ix. 36, x. 16), and the like. The pragmatical remarks, ix. 6, xi. 13, are absurd; so also *ἀντεῖλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* with *λίαν πρωῒ*, xvi. 2. Cf. § 82 c.

## § 96.

Even where Mark gives a representation apparently independent of the parallel accounts, iii. 20, f., 31, ff., vi. 17, ff., xi. 11, ff., xii. 28, ff., he probably had them before him and made use of them.<sup>a</sup> He is by no means a mere abbreviator, for he does not spare words, and indeed is sometimes diffuse (ii. 15, v. 3–5, vi. 55, f., vii. 3, f., 13, 21, f., x. 29, f., xiii. 35). His style of writing is peculiar.<sup>b</sup> He likes to introduce Hebrew words (v. 41, vii. 11, 34, xiv. 36), which, like other things, he explains (vii. 3, ff., xv. 16, 42). By setting aside what is characteristic in Matthew (v. 17, x. 5, xv. 24, xvi. 17–19, xix. 28),<sup>c</sup> and in Luke (the choice of the seventy disciples, the parables, xv. 11, ff., xvii. 7, ff., xviii. 9, ff., &c. cf. § 91 f.), Mark has secured a neutral stand-point.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The peculiar turn given to the story of the visit of Jesus's mother and brethren, by stating its moving cause (iii. 21), seems to rest on Matt. xii. 24, cf. Mark iii. 23. The peculiar treatment of the cursing of the fig-tree, xi. 11, ff., has a certain analogy with the accounts of miracles that are peculiar to this Gospel, cf. my Exeg. Hdb. on this passage and on vi. 13. *Baur*, p. 558, ff. Only in xii. 28, ff. are we unable to trace the hand of a reviser.

<sup>b</sup> In this he comes nearer Matthew than Luke. He has forty-five words in common with the former, only eighteen with the latter. He is fond of the present tense (iv. 37, v. 15, 22, vi. 7, 30, 48, vii. 32, viii. 1, 22, x. 1, 35, 46, xi. 1, f., 15, 21, f., 27, f., 33, xii. 13, 18, xiii. 1, xiv. 12, 17, 66, xv. 21, f., xvi. 2, 4, 6); the finite verb (iii. 24, f., vi. 17, 29, viii. 11, 36, xi. 4, xii. 20); questions (iv. 21, v. 35, 39, viii. 12, xi. 17, xii. 24); direct addresses (iv. 39, v. 8, f., 12, vi. 23, 31, ix. 25, 33, xii. 6, cf. on the contrary v. 30, vi. 49, vii. 25, and other passages); repetition of the substantive (i. 34, ii. 18, iii. 17, 24, f., v. 9, 41, vi. 17, x. 46, xiii. 15, xiv. 4, f., 67); introduction of the antithesis (i. 22, 45, ii. 27, iii. 29, v. 26, vii. 19,

ix. 37, xi. 23, xii. 32, xiv. 61); multiplying of negations (i. 44, vi. 8, vii. 12, ix. 8, &c., also xiv. 15); of the diminutive (v. 23, 41, vi. 28, vii. 25, 27, f., viii. 7, xiv. 47); pleonasm (vii. 13, xii. 23, xiii. 19, f., xiv. 68); the relative τι (vi. 36, xiv. 36); the elliptical ἴνα (v. 23, xiv. 50); the verb ἀρχεσθαι, more almost than Luke; ἔρχεσθαι, and other similar verbs in the participle with other verbs, oftener than in the other Evangelists (vi. 21, 25, xii. 28, 42, xiv. 12, xvi. 1, &c.); more frequent use of Latin words: κεντυρίων xv. 39, 44, f., ξεστής vii. 4, 8, σπεκουλάτωρ vi. 27; the favorite word ἐπερωτῆν twenty-five times (in Matthew eight, in Luke eighteen times). He alone has the words ἀλαος, ἐκθαμβεῖν, ἐπιθάλλειν (intrans.), πολλά (adverb.), συμβούλιον ποιεῖν. Cf. *Dan. Schulz*, in the *Analekten*, B. II. St. 3, 4. *Schott*, Isag. § 29. *Credn.* § 49.

\* He avoids also prophetic parallels, excepting in the probably unguine passage xv. 28, and softens down the eschatological passages ix. 1 (Matt. xvi. 28), xiii. 4 (Matt. xxiv. 3). *Baur*, p. 565, explains the omission of the Sermon on the Mount by its character as a statement of principles, and by the Evangelist's caution in avoiding the dispute concerning the validity of the Mosaic law.

<sup>4</sup> He has omitted even the anti-Jewish parts of Matthew (viii. 10–12, xxi. 43). On the other hand, universalism shows itself in xi. 17 (*πᾶσι τοῖς θηνεσι*), and xvi. 20 (*πανταχοῦ*). For his omission of the preliminary history we may, with *Baur*, p. 564, give the reason, that Mark meant to set forth neither the natural nor the supernatural origin of Jesus. *Schweigler* gives this omission a Docetic meaning.

### CHAPTER III.

#### OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS SEPARATELY.

##### I. *Author, Original Language, and Date of the First Gospel.*

###### § 97 a.

THE author of our first Gospel has given neither his name nor any other indication of himself; but antiquity describes him as the Apostle *Matthew*, who is one and the same with Levi, son of Alphæus (Matt. ix. 9, Mark ii. 14, Luke v. 27).<sup>a</sup> According to an old and often repeated authority, Matthew wrote a work of this sort in Hebrew (i. e. in the current lan-

guage of Palestine) for the Hebrew Christians.<sup>b</sup> Several writers, who acknowledge the Greek origin of the Gospel, follow the lead of *Erasmus* in questioning this Church tradition,<sup>c</sup> while others have built on it untenable theories concerning the connection of our Greek Gospel of Matthew with that original (§§ 84, 97 b).

\* They were regarded as different persons by *Heracleon*, in *Clem. Al.* IV. 502. Sylb.: οὐ γαρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὡμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἔξηλθον· ἐξ δὲ Ματθαῖος, Φιλιππος, Θόμας, Δευτὶς κ. ἀλλοι πολλοι. — *Origen*, Cont. Cels. I. 62. *Grot. ad Matth. ix. 9. Michael. Einl.* II. 934. According to *Theod. Has. Disquis. de Levi*, etc. in *Bibl. Brem. Class.* V. p. 475, *Biel*, Ib. Cl. VI. p. 1038. *Heumann*, Nov. syll. diss. I. 1, on *Matth. ix. 9. J. F. Frisch*, De Levi cum Mattheo non confundendo (1764), *Levi* is one and the same as *Lebbaeus*. Following *Marsh*, II. 60, several writers (*Fritzsche, Win.*) supposed Levi to be the earlier name of the Apostle. According to *Sieffert*, Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten kan. Evang. p. 58, the Evangelist may have confounded the similar history of the conversion of Levi with that of Matthew. — Obscurity of the later history of Matthew: *Euseb.* H. E. III. 24 (see next note). *Hieron.* De vir. illustr. c. III., has no account of him. According to *Heracleon* (see above) he died a natural death, according to *Socrates*, H. E. I. 19, in Ethiopia, on the other hand, according to *Isidor.* Hisp. de vita et morte sanct. c. 67, in Macedonia; according to *Niceph.* H. E. II. 41, a martyr,

<sup>b</sup> *Papias*, in *Euseb.* H. E. III. 39: Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν ἑβραΐδες διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεράξατο· ἥμηνεντε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἡν δυνατὸς ἔκαστος. (Ingenious but not probable view of the passage by *Schleiermacher*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1832. IV. 735, ff., that Matthew wrote in Hebrew a collection of Christ's discourses, which others illustrated by supplying the circumstances of time and place. But τὰ λόγια comprehends, undeniably, in Papias's meaning, also historic matter, and ἥμηνεντε refers to the language. Cf. *Lücke*, in *Stud. u. Kr.* 1833. p. 501, f. *Frommann*, ib. 1840. p. 912, ff. *Kern*, Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten Evang. p. 8. *Thiersch*, Standp. d. Krit. p. 186, ff. On the other hand, Schleiermacher's view is followed by *Credn.* Einl. p. 91, 203. *Weisse*, Evang. Gesch. I. 29, ff, and others.) *Iren.* Adv. haer. III. 1. b. *Euseb.* H. E. V. 8: Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μ. ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραιοῖς τῇ ἴδιᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφήν ἔξηνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου. *Origen.* in *Euseb.* VI. 25: Ὄτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτὲ τελώνην, ὑστερὸν δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰ. Χ., Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ιουδαισμοῦ πιστεύσασι, γράμμασιν ἑβραικοῖς συντεταγμένον. *Euseb.* III. 24: Ματθαῖος πρότερον Ἑβραιοῖς κηρύξας, ὡς ἐμελλε καὶ ἄφ' ἐτέρους λέναι, πατρίφ γλώττῃ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, τούτοις ἀφ' ὃν ἐστὶλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου. *Hieron.* Comment. in *Matth.* praeſ.: *Matthæus in Judaea Evangelium Hebraeo sermone edidit ob eorum vel maxime causam, qui in*

Jesum crediderant ex Judaeis. De vir. ill. c. 3: M. .... primus in Judaea propter eos, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit: quod quis postea in Graecum transtulerit, non satis certum est.

<sup>a</sup> Erasm. ad Matth. viii. *Matth. Flac.* (N. T. ex vers. D. Erasm. c. gloss. comp. Bas. 1570. p. 1, in *Credn.* p. 80), *Calvin. Bez.* *Calov.*, and many others. Schrödter, *De ling. Matth. auth.* Viteb. 1699. Wetstein, N. T. I. 224. *Masch.* Von d. Grundsprache d. Matth. 1755. The dogmatic interest of the older Protestants in this assertion opposed to that of the Catholics (*Baron.*, *R. Simon*, and others). *Hug* (Einl. II. 16, ff.) doubts the credibility of Papias, from the judgment of *Euseb.* (III. 39) upon him in regard to his Chiliasm: σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὡν τὸν νοῦν. He is supposed to have derived his account from the Ebionites, whose Gospel he used, though this does not clearly appear from Eusebius's words: ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἀλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἐβραιὸν εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει (§ 64 a, note a). It is asserted that all the subsequent testimonies rest on that of Papias. That of *Pantænus*, however, is independent (see above, § 73 a, note b). According to Bleek, *Beitr.* I. 69, the Hebrew Gospel with which Papias was acquainted was not an original apostolic work, but a recast, in Aramaic, prepared for the use of the Hebrew Christians, of a Greek writing, viz. our first canonical Gospel, which quite early acquired canonical acceptance in the Church. Probably the Aramaic editor of the work had already given it the form which it subsequently had (see *Epiphan.* III. 13, and *Hieron.* Cont. Pelag. III. 2, above, § 64), and it thereupon claimed to be an apostolic writing, and by Matthew; and here first arose this opinion in the Church in regard to the Greek original likewise. In opposition to this view, *H. A. W. Meyer*, *Comm. üb. d. Evang.* *Matth.* Einl. § 2, lays great stress on the Church tradition.

### § 97 b.

The agreement of our canonical Matthew with the other Synoptists, in quoting Old Testament passages from the Septuagint version,<sup>a</sup> is opposed to the theory of its being a translation of that Hebrew original,<sup>b</sup> and favors that of its being originally written in Greek. The theory that Matthew wrote the Gospel twice, in the Hebrew and in the Greek, is a pure invention.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "The Old Testament citations in Matthew are of two kinds: in part those in which the Evangelist gives pragmatical proofs of the fulfilment of Old Testament predictions, as, i. 23, ii. 6, 15, 18, iv. 15, ff., viii. 17, xii. 18–21, xiii. 35, xxi. 5 (xxvii. 9); in part such as in the course of the narrative appropriately occur or are used in the discourse of the speaker, as, iii. 3, iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, v. 5, 21, 27, (31, 33,) 38, 43, ix. 13, xi. 10, xii. 7,

xiii. 14, f., xv. 4, 8, f., xix. 4, f., 18, f., xxi. 13, 16, 42, xxii. (24.) 32, 37, 39, 44, xxiii. 39, xxiv. 15, xxvi. 31. There is, however, this difference, that the latter class of passages are adduced according to the Septuagint version, sometimes literally, and even in cases where this version differs from the Hebrew text (as iii. 3, xiii. 14, f., &c.), sometimes more freely, but not so as to countenance the supposition that the variation is caused by a reference to the Hebrew text (except perhaps xi. 10, xxvi. 31); the passages of the former class, on the other hand, are given according to his own translation of the Hebrew text, and differ in part, not only from the words, but also from the meaning of the Septuagint, so that its expressions are rarely visible. This relation is such as, leaving out of view a comparison with the other Synoptists, cannot in our opinion be naturally explained by the twofold theory that the Gospel is an entirely independent work, and that this work, originally written in Aramaic, lies before us in a translation. For, as regards the passages of the second class, those contained in the discourses of Christ and others, of which by far the largest part were certainly delivered in Aramaic, it is altogether unlikely that, if these narratives were originally conceived in Aramaic, the passages would be given in a form corresponding to the Septuagint text, and at variance with the Hebrew.<sup>\*</sup> This form must have been the work of a Greek translator, who handled his subject freely, and was accustomed to the Septuagint. Its origin would, even then, be with difficulty apprehended; yet more difficult is it to apprehend how the translator refrained from using the same freedom with passages of the first class. From this we deduce the following conclusions regarding the origin of our first Gospel:—1. That its author, to whom these pragmatical illustrations belong, was a learned believing Jew, probably a Palestinian, who was better acquainted with the Old Testament in the original than in the Septuagint version; 2. That he wrote the Gospel in Greek; and, 3. That he made use of one or more earlier evangelic writings, which, being likewise written in Greek, contained those accounts of events and discourses that comprehend the citations of the second class.”—*Bleek*, Beitr. I. 57, f. It is to be noted, in passing, that the citations of the second class belong to the substance of the Gospel, those of the first class to only the pragmatical accessory work peculiar to the first Evangelist. *Baur*, p. 578, to be sure, concludes from the citations of the first class that another Hebrew Gospel was the basis of our canonical Gospel. (!)

The following writers also hold that the Gospel was originally written in Greek (see § 97 a, note c): *Hug*, *Fritzsche*, *Theile* in *Win.* u. *Engelh.* Journ. II. *Schott*, Isag. § 22. *Credn.* Einl. § 46. *Neudecker*, Einl. § 24. *Reuss*, Gesch. d. N. T. § 97. *Baumgart.* Crus. Comm. p. 23. *Harless*, Lucubratt. *Thiersch*, and others.

\* So, recently, following *Bolten*, *Eichhorn*, and others, *Ebrard*, Krit. d. evang. Gesch. p. 946, ff., who conjectures, moreover, that this translation was made in the lifetime of the Apostle, and perhaps under his own supervision; he also supposes that the language of Papias or John the presbyter

implies that it was already well known and in general use. To make this out, he (as also *Thiersch*, Standp. d. Krit. p. 193) perverts the meaning of the words, takes *συνεράξαντος* as used in the sense of the pluperfect, and refers the *ἡρμήνευσε*, κ. τ. λ. to the interval between the publication of the Hebrew original and the Greek translation. Cf. *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 59.

\* *Bengel*, Gnom. N. T. p. 3. *Schott*, Isag. p. 69. *Guerike*, Beitr. p. 36, cf. Einl. 237. *Olshausen*, Comm. I. 12. *Thiersch*, as above.—According to *Orelli*, Select. patr. eccles. capp. p. 10, two of Matthew's disciples wrote, the one in Aramaic, the other in Greek.

### § 97 c.

The opinion that Matthew wrote first of all the Evangelists prevailed in the ancient Church;\* and, in fact, he is the oldest of the Evangelists known to us (for the greater age of the Gospel of the Hebrews is more than doubtful, § 65 b), save that he probably based his Gospel on an older, though also Greek Gospel (§ 93 c, note g). In regard to the date of the composition of his Gospel, we have but one precise testimony, which brings it down to a tolerably late period.<sup>b</sup> Indeed, the Evangelist's stand-point is one pretty remote from the history he narrates (xxvii. 8, xxviii. 15). It must, however, have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for he hopes for the return of Christ shortly after that event (xxiv. 29).<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 101 c.

\* *Euseb.* VI. 14, of *Clemens Alex.*: *Προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας*. And VI. 25, of *Origen* (cf. note b): .... δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον. *Euseb.* III. 24 (note b): .... ἥδη δὲ Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἐκδοσιν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννου φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχρημάνον κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀλεῖν, κ. τ. λ. How much here may depend on tradition and on the established arrangement of the canon? Arrangement of the Gospels in the MSS.

<sup>b</sup> *Iren.* III. 1 (§ 97 a, note b): .... τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. The opinions of the later writers (*Nicephorus*, *Cosmas Indicopl.*, *Theophyl.*, *Euthym.* *Zigab.*) adduced by *Eichhorn*, I. 505, *Bertholdi*, III. 1265, cannot be taken into account.

<sup>c</sup> Quite contrary to exegetical probability, *Credner* (Einl. p. 207) says that the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem in all three Evangelists presupposes that event. In the passage xxiii. 35, cf. Luke xi. 50, f., *Hug*, II. 10, *Eichhorn*, I. 510, *Bertholdi*, II. 1269, *Credner*, as above, discover a reference to the murder of Zacharias, Baruch's son, in *Josephus*, B. J. IV. 6. 4, and consequently a trace of the date; but even granting that the participle

*ἐκλυνόμενον* seems to sustain this, yet the aorist *ἔφορεύσατε* is opposed to it, and the correct conclusion remains, that the Zacharias of 2 Chron. xxiv. 19 – 24 is meant, and the name Jehoiada exchanged for Barachias. (The reading of the Evang. sec. Hebr. [in *Hieron.* Quaest. in Matth. ad h. l.], *Jojada* for *Berechja*, is probably an emendation.) The passage in xxvii. 15, also, does not prove that the Jewish state had already come to an end. According to *Baur*, Krit. Unters. p. 605, ff., note, the Gospel of Matthew must have been written during the Jewish insurrection, because *βδέλυγμα τ. ἐρημώσεως*, Matt. xxiv. 15, cannot be anything but the statue of Jupiter erected by Hadrian. (!)

### *Doubts regarding its Apostolic Genuineness.*

#### § 98 a.

The doubts urged by several critics against the apostolic origin of our first Gospel<sup>a</sup> are in many respects of uncertain weight, because based on more or less disputed assumptions; as, for instance, on the genuineness and credibility of the fourth Gospel, which have since been called in question, on the supposed superior credibility of the third, and on subjective notions as to what an eyewitness and Apostle would be likely to narrate.

<sup>a</sup> After the hints of *Schleiermacher* (Ueb. d. Schr. d. Lucas), *Lücke* (Comment. über d. Ev. Joh.), and *Usteri* (Comment. crit., in qua Ev. Joh. genuinum esse ex comparatis IV Evangg. narrationibus de coena ultima et passione J. C. ostenditur. 1823), this was done distinctly by *Dav. Schulz*, Beil. z. Lehre v. heil. Abendm. (1824), p. 300, ff., *Fr. Fischer*, Einl. in d. Dogm. (1828), p. 116, *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. p. 24, *Schleiermacher*, Einl. p. 248; most comprehensively by *Sieffert*, Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten kanon. Ev., *Schneckenb.* Ueb. d. Urspr. d. ersten Ev. p. 6, ff. *Kern*, Ueb. d. Urspr. d. Ev. Matth. (Tüb. Ztschr. 1834). *Klener*, Rec. de authent. evang. Matth. quæstiones (1833). *Schott's* posthumous work, Ueb. d. Authent. dea kan. Ev. Matth. (1837). Cf. also *Roediger*, Symbolæ quædam ad N. T. evang. potissimum pertinentes. 1827. *Orelli*, Sel. capp. II. 1821, p. 10. *Schultess*, in *Rosenmüller's* Repert. II. 172. *Credn.* Einl. p. 95. *Neudecker*, p. 209, ff. *Reuss*, Geach. § 96, f. (*Eichhorn*, according to his theory of an original Gospel, regarded our Gospel as a later edition.) In favor of the genuineness, see *Theile*, in *Winer's* Neu. krit. Journ. II. 181, ff., 346, ff. *Heydenreich*, ib. III. 129, ff., 385, ff. *Guerike*, Beitr. p. 27, ff. Einl. § 38. 5. *Fritzsche*, Prolegg. ad Matth. *Schott*, Isag. § 23. *Ebrard*, Krit. p. 961. *Meyer*, Einl. z. Matth. § 3. *Olshaus*. Apostolica ev. Matth. origo def. 3 Progr. Erl. 1835 – 37. *Rördam*, De fide patrum . . . in iis, quae de orig. evang. . . . tradid. Hafn. 1839. Cf. *Rudelbach*, in his Ztschr. 1840. IV.

## § 98 b.

The following grounds of doubt may be regarded as tolerably independent of all assumptions, and certain. They obtain pretty general assent. 1. The Gospel itself gives no occasion, especially in the account in ix. 9, ff., for referring its composition to the Apostle Matthew. 2. An eyewitness and Apostle would not have passed over in silence Jesus's ministry in Judæa, which, in itself probable, is recorded in John, and presupposed by Matthew (§ 110 *b*, note *f*). 3. The chronologic arrangement seems arbitrary (in xiv. 13 it is plainly absurd), and to have in part grown out of an original arrangement according to subjects (xii. 9, cf. Luke vi. 6). The crucifixion of Jesus is erroneously placed on the first Passover-day (§ 110 *b*, note *f*). 4. Well-founded doubts may be urged against the historical character of whole narratives and of particular facts.<sup>a</sup> 5. The narrative everywhere, and especially ix. 9, ff., and in the account of the crucifixion, lacks vividness. 6. Jesus's discourses are in part out of their true historic connection,<sup>b</sup> in part incorrectly given.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The appointment and bribery of the watch is an improbable legend; see the commentators on xxvii. 62, ff., xxviii. 11, ff. The resurrection of several dead persons is apocryphal, xxvii. 52, f. The account of the baptism in iii. 13 ff. is mythical, when compared with John i. 32, f. The temptation, iv. 1, ff., is a symbolic representation, but given as historical. The miracle, xvii. 24, ff., tries one's faith in miracles too severely. Two narratives have been doubled by an oversight of the author in the use of his materials (§ 93 *c*, note *g*). Ch. xxvii. 3–10 has been affected by regard to prophecy; so also, perhaps, xxi. 7, 39, ff.

<sup>b</sup> The discourses in x. 19, ff., go beyond the historical horizon of that time. (Perhaps they belong to an eschatologic source, which presupposes a stand-point different from that of ch. xxiv.) Here, as in chh. v. – vii. (where the assumption that Jesus is the Messiah appears too early), xiii., xviii., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., the Evangelist has followed an arrangement according to subjects rather than to chronology.

<sup>c</sup> xii., 39, f., xiii. 11, ff., xxviii. 19, f. (see the remarks in my *Exeget. Hdb.*). This is especially applicable to the eschatological discourses, x. 23, xvi. 27, f., xxiv., which cannot be harmonized with other expressions of Jesus, especially in John (Bibl. Dogm. §§ 216–218).

II. *Mark, Author of the Second Gospel.*

## § 99 a.

By Mark, to whom Church tradition ascribes our second Gospel, is unquestionably meant *John* (Acts xiii. 5, 13), or *John Mark* (Acts xii. 12, 25, xv. 37), or *Mark* (Acts xv. 39, Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 11, 1 Pet. v. 13?), son of Mary (Acts xii. 12), cousin of Barnabas (Col. iv. 10), who accompanied him and Paul on their journeys (Acts xii. 25, xiii. 5, xv. 36–39), aided the latter during his imprisonment in Rome (Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 11), and appears also as Peter's assistant (1 Pet. v. 13?), whose interpreter he was, according to the statements of Church writers. Little is known of his later history.\*

\* *Euseb.* H. E. II. 16: .... Μάρκον πρώτου φασίν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στειλάμενον, τὸ εὐαγγελιον, δὲ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο, κηρῦξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρώτου ἐν αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συντήσασθα. *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 8: Mortuus est octavo Neronis anno et sepultus Alexandriae, succedente sibi Aniano. Other accounts in *Niceph.* H. E. II. 44, *Simeon Metaphrast.* In martyr. S. Marci, *Baron.* Annal. ad ann. 64. n. 1, have little weight.

## § 99 b.

All the Church writers, Papias here also at the head, agree in stating that he wrote his Gospel at the dictation of the Apostle Peter. They differ, however, in details.\*

\* *Papias in Euseb.* H. E. III. 39: Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος (Johannes) ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, δσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν οὐ μέν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ λεχθέντα ἡ πραχθέντα· οὕτε γάρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου, οὕτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὑστερὸν δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτροφ, δις πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων. ‘Ωστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος οὗτος ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ‘Ενδε γάρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν δν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. (*Fritzsche*, Prolegg. ad Marc. p. xxvi., explains wrongly the words ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, and *Thiersch* with him, Standp. d. Kr. 181: “making himself the interpreter of Peter [by accurately writing down, etc.].”) *Tertull.* Adv. Marc. IV. 5: Marcus quod edidit Evangelium, Petri adfirmatur, cuius interpres Marcus. *Origenes in Euseb.* H. E. VI. 25: .... δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκου, ὡς Πέτρος ἴψηγησατο αὐτῷ, ποιήσατα. *Iren.* III. 1 (in *Euseb.* H. E. V. 8): Μετὰ

τὴν τούτων (Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου) ἔξοδον Μάρκος ὁ μαθητής καὶ ἐρμηνευτής Πέτρου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε. Hieron. Ep. 150 ad Hedib. c. 11: . . . . beatus Petrus Marcum (interpretem habuit), cuius Evangelium, Petro narrante et illo scribente, compositum est. — Ireneus is contradicted by Clement of Alexandria (Euseb. VI. 14), for he places the writing of the Gospel in the Apostle's lifetime: Τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν 'Ρώμῃ κηρύζαντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ πνεύματα τὸ εὐαγγελιον ἔξεπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας πολλοὺς δυτας παρακαλέσας τὸν Μάρκον, ὃς ἀν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν, καὶ μεμυμένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα. Ποιήσαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγελιον, μεταδοῦναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτὸν. "Οπερ ἐπιγνόντα τὸν Πέτρον προτρεπτικῶς [προφανῶς conject. Vales.] μῆτε κωλύσαι μῆτε προτρέψασθαι. And indeed Euseb. II. 15 assigns this to the time of Claudius, contradicting the statement of Clement, although appealing to him (according to Credner, p. 113, Thiersch, p. 212, f., through mistake [!]) in respect of the share which Peter had in the composing of the Gospel: Γνώντα δὲ πραχθέν φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τὸν πνεύματος, ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ, κυρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. — On this tradition probably rests the statement in the Peshito, that Mark wrote in the Roman language, which Baronius, Annal. ad ann. Chr. 45. Nr. 41, has repeated. A spurious Latin autograph in Venice and Prague, a part of the Cod. Foro-Juliensis. Dobrowsky, Fragm. Prag. Evang. S. Marci, vulgo autographi. Prag. 1778. 4to. Michaëlis, Or. Bibl. XIII. 108. — Hieron. De vir. ill. c. 8, repeats the second statement of Clement, and adds: Assumpto itaque Evangelio quod ipse confecerat, perrexit Aegyptum, et primus Alexandriae Christum annuntians, constituit ecclesiam . . . , for he combines with it the above account of Euseb. II. 16. In a similar strain, Epiphanius. Haeres. LI. p. 428: Εἰδὼς δὲ μετὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον, ἀκόλουθος γενόμενος ὁ Μάρκος τῷ διγίῳ Πέτρῳ ἐν 'Ρώμῃ ἐπιτρέπται τὸ εὐαγγελιον ἐκβέσθαι, καὶ γράψας ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ διγίου Πέτρου εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων χώραν. From this combination probably arose the account in Chrysostom. Homil. I. in Matth.: (ἔγραψε) . . . . Μάρκος . . . . ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, τῶν μαθητῶν παρακαλεσάντων αὐτὸν, upon which, however, Chr. himself seems to place little reliance, Ib. p. 8: ἐνθα μὲν οὖν ἔκαστος διατρίβων ἔγραψεν, οὐ σφόδρα ἡμᾶς δεῖ λογχυτίσασθαι. — Wahl (Magaz. f. alte bes. morgenl. u. bibl. Litt. III. Lief.) supposes that Mark wrote in the Coptic language.

### § 100 a.

Papias's statement, which alone has weight, has been variously understood. Most writers, and of late those who regard Mark's Gospel as the first, follow the ancient authorities, and refer it directly to this in its present form;<sup>a</sup> others, on the other hand, have discovered that Papias's language does not apply to our present Gospel of Mark,<sup>b</sup> and have

supposed that he refers to a Gospel no longer extant,<sup>c</sup> which however, according to *Credner*, must have been the basis of our second canonical Gospel. The negative conclusion is the most certain, that, in view of the structure of our so-called Gospel of Mark, it being dependent on Matthew and Luke, Papias's statement has neither application nor meaning in regard to it.

<sup>a</sup> *Weisse*, Evang. Gesch. I. 41, ff. *Reuss* (§ 88, 6). From a quite different stand-point, *Schott*, § 27, note 3, finds in our Mark traces of Peter's influence, especially in the frequent mention of this Apostle, i. 36, xi. 21, xiii. 3, xvi. 7. According to *Bertholdi*, III. 1280, Peter left Mark his copy of the Aramaic original Gospel, to be re-edited in Greek.

<sup>b</sup> Especially οὐ μέν τοι τάξει, for Mark is not inferior to the others in arrangement. — *Thiersch*, as before cited, p. 182, supposes that what was at first written down without any order, Mark subsequently arranged after Luke, and thinks he finds this even in Papias's account, by acutely referring the last words of the Presbyter, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε, κ. τ. λ., to the *finished work* of Mark; so that the want of arrangement is not mentioned, but the fact that Mark wrote only "some things," i. e. a Gospel which, compared with his predecessors, was incomplete.

<sup>c</sup> *Schleiermacher*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1832. 758, ff. *Credner*, Einleit. p. 122, f. *Baur*, Krit. Unters. p. 538.

### § 100 b.

As regards the date of its composition, *Irenaeus* (§ 99 b, note a) places it after the death of Peter and Paul;<sup>a</sup> *Clement* of Alexandria, on the other hand (ib.), during the lifetime of the latter, although he considers the first and third Gospels earlier in date,<sup>b</sup> which agrees with the character of this Gospel. From its numerous Latinisms, and the passage x. 12, Rome seems to have been the place where it was written.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον does not mean *after the departure* (contrary to *Ebrard*, Krit. p. 967).

<sup>b</sup> In *Euseb.* VI. 14: προγεγράφθαι ἐλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας.

<sup>c</sup> x. 12, Mark presupposes the Roman divorce. Cf. *Schweigler*, in *Zeller's Jbb.* 1843. p. 233. According to the author of "Die Evangelien," etc., p. 367, there is also in xv. 21, cf. Rom. xvi. 3, a proof of its being composed at Rome.

III. *Luke, Author of the Third Gospel.*

## § 101 a.

*Luke*, the accredited author of the third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles, is the assistant and friend of the Apostle Paul mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 11, Col. iv. 14, Philem. 24; but not the same person as *Lucius* of Cyrene, Acts xiii. 1, and *Lucius*, Rom. xvi. 21, because *Luke* is equivalent to *Lucan* or *Lucilius*.<sup>a</sup> — Whether the Church authors are correct in calling him an inhabitant of Antioch must remain undecided;<sup>b</sup> that he was born a heathen we may conclude from comparing Col. iv. 14 with ver. 11, and from his Greek style of writing.<sup>c</sup> — From Acts xvi. 10 – 17, xx. 5 – 15, xxi. 1 – 17, xxvii. 1 – xxviii. 16, it is usually thought (see, however, § 114) that the author of the Gospel and of the Acts accompanied Paul on his journeys and to Rome. Col. iv. 14 accords with this view. The New Testament is silent and tradition fluctuating in regard to the closing events of his life.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Origen.* ad Rom. XVI. 21: *Lucium quidam ipsum perhibent esse Lucam, qui Evangelium scripsit, pro eo quod soleant nomina interdum secundum patriam declinationem, interdum etiam secundum Graecam Romanaque proferri.* Cf. on the other side *Grotius*, Ad Luc. Evang.

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. III. 4. *Hieron.* Praef. in Matth., De vir. ill. c. 7. Does this account rest on Acts xiii. 1?

<sup>c</sup> He was a disciple of Paul, according to *Jerome*, Praef. in Matth.; one of the seventy disciples, according to *Origen*, Dial. de rect. fid. I. 806. *Epiphani.* Haeres. LI. p. 433; the companion of Cleopas mentioned Luke xxiv. 13, according to *Theophylact* in loc. His calling, according to Col. iv. 14. Traces of his medical knowledge, Luke iv. 38, Acts xiii. 11, according to *Michallis*, Einl. II. 1078 (?). According to *Nicephorus*, H. E. II. 43, he was at the same time a painter.

<sup>d</sup> *Pritius*, Introd. in N. T. ed. *Hofmann*, p. 180.

## § 101 b.

He also is said to have written under the direction of an Apostle, namely, Paul.<sup>a</sup> But in his preface (i. 2, f.) the author himself gives no hint of such a relation, but refers rather to the tradition of the eyewitnesses of and participa-

tors in the history which he narrates, and to its documents written by others. His dependence on evangelic tradition and on Matthew (§ 93), as well as the character of the narratives in the Acts (§ 114), supports this view rather than that of the Church. Thus much, however, is correct, that the author was of Paul's school (cf. §§ 91, f., 93 c.).

<sup>a</sup> *Iren.* III. 1 (cf. *Euseb.* H. E. V. 8) : Καὶ Δοῦκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. *Tertull.* *Adv. Marc.* IV. 5 : *Lucae digestum Paulo adscribēre solent.* <sup>b</sup> *Origen*, in *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 25, goes yet further : Καὶ τρίτου τὸ κατὰ Δοῦκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον (*Rom.* ii. 16). So also *Euseb.* III. 4 : Φασὶ δ' ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον μνημονεύειν ὁ Παῦλος εἰωθεν, ὅπηνίκα, ὥσπερ λίδιον τινὸς εὐαγγέλιον γράφων ἔλεγε “κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μου” (*2 Tim.* ii. 8). And *Hieron.* De vir. ill. e. 7 : Quidam suspectantur, quotiescunque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, *juxta Evangelium meum*, de *Lucae* significare volumine, et *Lucam* non solum ab Apostolo Paulo didicisse *Evangelium*, qui cum Domino in carne non fuerat, sed et a caeteris Apostolis.

## § 101 c.

An ancient statement exists regarding the place of the composition of this Gospel,<sup>a</sup> but has no weight. Tradition is silent in regard to its date.<sup>b</sup> On internal grounds, it appears to have been earlier than the second Gospel, although tolerably late, for it presupposes many evangelic works already in existence (i. 1, f.), a somewhat confused Gospel tradition, persecution of the Christians as already begun (xxi. 12, cf. Matt. xxiv. 8; Luke xii. 32, xviii. 1, ff.), the destruction of Jerusalem (xxi. 20–24, cf. Matt. xxiv. 15, ff.), and the hope of the coming of Christ disconnected from the last event (xxi. 25, cf. Matt. xxiv. 29).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Hieronym.* Praef. in Matth. : Lucas . . . in Achaja Boeotiaeque partibus volumen condidit. The Syriac version bears the title : *Evangelium Lucae Evangelistae, quod protulit et evangelizavit Graece in Alexandria magna*, cf. *Grabe*, Spicil. patr. I. 32, sq.

<sup>b</sup> *Iren.* III. 1, by speaking of Mark before he mentions Luke, seems to indicate Luke as the later. On the contrary, *Clem. Al.* § 101 b, note b.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Kaiser*, Bibl. Theol. I. 247. *Credn.* p. 169. *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 53. Against this, *Neudeck*. p. 273. The majority place the date with that of the *Acts*, about the time of Paul's imprisonment. Cf. § 116.

## § 102.

The author of the third Gospel wrote his evangelic narrative for one Theophilus (Luke i. 3, Acts i. 1), who was a Christian or a friend of Christianity, perhaps a man of distinction,<sup>a</sup> and probably a Roman or an Italian.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The adjective *καπτιοτος* seems, according to Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25, to indicate this.

<sup>b</sup> This supposition rests on the acquaintance with the geography of Italy assumed in Acts xxviii. 12, 13, 15. Cf. Luke i. 26, iv. 31, xxiv. 13, Acts i. 12, xvi. 12, xxvii. 8, 12, 16. *Hug*, Einl. II. § 35. *Eichhorn*, I. 593. With this agrees the account of *Eutychius*, Orig. eccles. ed. Selden. (Lond. 1642), p. 36. — Opinion of *Heumann*, De Theophilo. Bibl. Brem. Cl. IV. fasc. III. p. 483. See other opinions in *Winer*, Bibl. Real-WB., in the Art. *Theophilus*. According to the author of "Die Evangelien," etc., p. 249, *Theophilus* is a feigned name for any Pauline Christian.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

*Comparison of the Same with the First Three Gospels.*1. *In respect of its Style of Narrative and Writing.*

## § 103.

SOME of the narratives in this Gospel are parallel with the synoptical accounts, or closely resemble the synoptical style of narration.<sup>a</sup> Parallel expressions also occur.<sup>b</sup> In other respects the Evangelist seems to presuppose in his readers acquaintance with the evangelic tradition (i. 32, f., 45, ii. 1, iii. 24, xi. 2).

<sup>a</sup> ii. 13–22, cf. Matt. xxi. 12, f.; iv. 46–53, cf. Matt. viii. 5–13; v. 1–9; vi. 1–15, cf. Matt. xiv. 13–21; vi. 16–21, cf. Matt. xiv. 22–36; vii. 53–viii. 11 (to be sure, questioned by critics as ungenuine); xii. 1–8, cf. Matt. xxvi. 6–13; xii. 9–19, cf. Matt. xxi. 1–11; xiii. 36–38, cf.

Matt. xxvi. 33 – 35. The healing of the blind man, ix. 6, similar to Mark viii. 23.

<sup>b</sup> In part in literal agreement: xii. 25, cf. Matt. x. 39; xiii. 20, cf. Matt. x. 40; iv. 44, cf. Matt. xiii. 57; xiii. 16, cf. Matt. x. 24.

### § 104.

As, on the one hand, much important matter belonging to the very substance of the evangelic history (e. g. the establishment of the Lord's Supper) has been omitted, and, on the other, much narrated which is not found in the Synoptics; as, too, in the narratives or series of narratives which give the same events discrepancies occur, and once, iii. 24, an erroneous statement seems to be expressly corrected; — it has been supposed that our Evangelist meant to fill out and correct the other three Gospels.\*

But granting it to be not incredible that the Evangelist was acquainted with earlier Gospels, and perhaps even with our Matthew,<sup>b</sup> he has neither in xx. 30, f., nor elsewhere, mentioned this design; nor can it be presupposed, in the face of narratives which repeat, without completing or correcting, the parallel narratives, e. g. vi. 1, ff., xii. 1, ff. In more or less important divergences, as ii. 13 – 22, cf. Matt. xxi. 12, ff.; i. 35 – 52, cf. Matt. iv. 18, ff.; vii. – xii., cf. Matt. xix. – xxi.; xviii. 28, xix. 31, cf. Matt. xxvi. 17, ff., which do not present any so express contradiction as iii. 24, the design of correcting must have been very dimly present to his mind.

\* Euseb. H. E. III. 24: "Ηδὴ δὲ Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἔκδοσιν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννην φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχρημένον κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν τοιάσδε χάριν αἰτίας. Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ήδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδεδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασίν, ἀλήθεαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα· μόνην δὲ ἄρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ἵπτο τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διῆγησιν. Hieron. De vir. ill. c. 9: .... quod quum legisset Matthaei, Marci, et Lucae volumina, probaverit quidem texum historiae, et vera eos dixisse firmaverit, sed unius tantum anni, in quo et passus est, post carcerem Joannis historiam texuisse. Praetermissa itaque anno, cuius acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis, antequam Joannes clauderetur in carcerem, gesta narravit. Cf. Storr, Zweck d. evang. Gesch. u. Br. Joh. p. 246. Michaëlis, Einl. II. 1158. Eichhorn, Einl. II. § 159, p. 127, who makes him refer to and correct the Original Gospel. Schmidt, Einl. I. 146 suggests the Gospel of Marcion.

<sup>b</sup> Bleek, Beitr. I. 268. According to Lücke, I. 198, f., he was acquainted with only the oral Gospel tradition.

### § 105 a.

The manner of narration differs from that of the Synoptists (who give the tradition wholly free from admixture of their own personality, excepting that Luke introduces himself as compiler):—1. In the circumstance that here an eyewitness appears (i. 14, xix. 35, cf. 1 John i. 1, f., iv. 14), and proves himself such by historical vividness and originality (i. 35, ff., xiii. 22, ff., xviii. 15, ff., xix. 4, ff., 26, f., 34), or at least one who has obtained accurate information (i. 31, ff., v. 10, ff., vii. 1, ff., ix., xi., xii., xviii. 28, ff., and other passages).<sup>a</sup> It must be admitted, on the other hand, that traces occur of a view of facts and relations formed at a distance both of time and place.<sup>b</sup> This, and the conjoining of circumstances chronologically separate (vii. 21, cf. v. 1–16; x. 26, cf. x. 1–18; xii. 34, cf. iii. 14), seem to betray an author in whose non-original view of the history intervals of time became confounded, rather than an eyewitness.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Even obscurities in the representation, as ii. 3–5, xi. 4, 6, xii. 23, seem deducible from his own apprehension and recollection. On the contrary, the more correct apprehension, we must own, is found in Matt. xiv. 15, as compared with John vi. 5. Cf. Exeg. Hdb. on the passages. Strauss, Leben Jesu, II. 212, f., 1st ed. As here and in the following verse the narrative of the miracle has the appearance of being developed and worked over, it seems natural to ascribe iv. 43–53 also to a later tradition, because of ver. 50, ff., and likewise the manner of healing in ix. 6.

<sup>b</sup> In the numerous vague statements that “the Jews” persecuted Jesus and sought to destroy him (v. 16, 18, vii. 1, 19, 25, viii. 37, 40, xi. 8, cf. vii. 30, viii. 20); in the position of the Evangelist in relation to the Jews, their ritual system, and their customs (ii. 6, 13, v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2, xi. 49, xix. 40), and which he even ascribes to Jesus (viii. 17, x. 34, xv. 25, cf. Fischer, Ueb. d. Ausdruck ol 'Ioudaion im Ev. Joh., in the Tüb. Ztschr. 1840, II.); in the relation of Jesus to Judas Iscariot and his treachery, betraying rather a view of his fate adopted subsequently than a genuine historical pragmatism (vi. 64, 70, f., xiii. 11, 18, 26, f.); in the evident reference of iv. 38–38 to Acts viii. 4, ff.; in geographic-topographic and archaeological difficulties (iii. 23, iv. 7 [?], 52, v. 2, xviii. 1 [?], xi. 49, xviii. 13).

<sup>c</sup> On the other hand, in vi. 36, x. 25, f., are found false back-references concerning sayings of Jesus. The remarks in x. 1, ff., xv. 1, ff., seem with-

out connection. The sayings in xiii. 20, xiv. 31, may be regarded as reminiscences inappropriately worked into the narrative.

### § 105 b.

2. This Gospel is distinguished by conversations given in a sort of dialectic form, whereas the first three Gospels give Jesus's utterances usually in fragments, as proverbs, or arranged consecutively as doctrinal discourses (iii., iv., vi. 26, ff., vii., and other passages ; cf. Matt. viii. 19, ff., ix. 12, ff., xi. 4, ff., v. – vii., x., xiii., xxiv., Luke xii., xv. – xviii.).<sup>a</sup> This dialectic form of discourse is not, like the proverbial form, capable of being easily remembered and reproduced in its original shape ; its retention and reproduction can therefore, if it is authenticated as true and reliable, be expected only from an eyewitness. But in this case grave doubts arise against its correctness and reliableness,<sup>b</sup> and the candid critic must admit that the Evangelist has given a free representation of Christ's discourses.

<sup>a</sup> As they sometimes record dialogues (Matt. xii. 22, ff., xix. 16, ff., Luke x. 25, ff.), so in John we find also proverbial maxims and parables (xii. 24 – 26, xiii. 16, 20, x. 1, ff., xv. 1, ff.). The latter, however, are broadly distinguished from those of the Synoptists by their want of historical foundation, and by a certain dialectic flow. Comp. *E. A. Berger, De constanti et aquabili J. C. indole, doctrina et docendi ratione, sive comment. de Ev. Joan. c. Matth. Marci et Lucae Evangg. comparato.* P. I. 1816.

<sup>b</sup> The discourses of Jesus, as well as of John the Baptist, iii. 27, ff., are closely allied to the prologue, and to the First Epist. of John. In iii. 18, ff., 31, ff., the previous free reproduction passes over into the language of the Evangelist himself. The discourse xii. 44, ff. is manifestly a free composition. Much in Jesus's discourses may be called in question as not to the purpose (iii. 14, iv. 21, ff., vi. 51, ff., xi. 42), and harsh (viii. 44, x. 8) ; his habit of causing misunderstanding and objection, by his strong and striking expressions, rather than of removing them (iii. 3, 5, ff., 14, vi. 51), as not becoming his wisdom as a teacher ; their mystico-allegorical (iii. 14) and enigmatical (viii. 33, f.) character, as unworthy of his simple mode of teaching. The notion of the Logos is, to be sure, not stated in Jesus's discourses, but it substantially appears in viii. 58, x. 30, xvii. 5. The replies and objections of spectators, which serve to carry out and prolong Jesus's discourses, are too uniform, and often so intrinsically improbable as to tempt one to regard them as added by the Evangelist (iii. 4, 9, iv. 11, f., 15, 33, vi. 34, 42, 52, viii. 19, 22, 33, 39, 41, 52, f., [cf. iv. 12.] 57, x. 33, xi. 12, xiv. 5, 8, 22, xvi. 17, f.). Cf. *Bretschneider, Probabilia*, pp. 31, sq., 45, 48, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59.

## § 105 c.

The unquestionably original Greek<sup>a</sup> style of the writing has also a certain Hebrew cast, although more smoothness and flow than in the Synoptics. It has also a remarkable peculiarity, less in its phraseology and grammatical turns, than in the artless simplicity of the structure and connection of the sentences, in the quiet and even, though sometimes unconnected and merely sketchy, character of the discourse, in its easy statement of the weightiest and most comprehensive truths in figurative abstract language, in a profound clearness and pregnant brevity, and in an inexpressible charm of discourse, by which the mind of the reader, gently drawn and firmly held, is at once deeply moved and soothed.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Against *Grotius* (Prolegg. in *Ev. Joh.*), *Salmasius* (De lingua Hellenist. p. 257), *Bolten* (Der Bericht des Joh. von Jesu, Vorber. § 9), who suppose a Syriac original, see *Schmidt*, Biblioth. Bd. II. St. 2. *Wegscheider*, Einl. ins *Ev. Joh.* p. 253, ff. *Eichhorn*, Einl. II. 258, ff. *Lücke*, Comment. I. 169, ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Seyffarth*, Beitr. z. Specialcharakteristik d. johann. Schriften. 1823. *Dan. Schulze*, Der schriftst. Char. u. Werth des Joh. 1803. *Tholuck*, Einl. z. Comment. § 4. *Eichhorn*, as above, p. 262, ff. *Schott*, § 41. *Credner*, p. 223, ff. Particular peculiarities of the style of writing: — Expressions wholly peculiar: ἀλήθειαν, ἐπιθυμίαν ποιεῖν; ἀνάστασις ζωῆς, κρίσεως; ἀμαρτίαν ἔχειν; ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς τὰ ὅπισσα; ἀρχῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; γεννηθῆναι ἄνθετοι, ἐκ θεοῦ, ἐκ πνεύματος; εἶναι ἐκ τῶν κάτω, ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, ἐκ τῶν ἀνών; ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα; κράζειν (of the teaching); μαρτυρίαν, δόξαν λαμβάνειν; μεταβαίνειν (trop.); δῆμος; παράληπτος; τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον; ψυχὴ τιθέναι, &c. Favorite and technical expressions: κόσμος, ἀμαρτία, σκοτία, φῶς, ἀλήθεια, δόξα, δοξάειν, ζωή, μένειν ἐν τινὶ, μαρτυρία (not μαρτύριον), ἐρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀμήν, ἀμήν, &c. Continuing the narrative by οὖν, and also by unconnected clauses, as e. g. i. 26, 40–42, 46–51; peculiar use of the conj. ἵνα, iv. 34, vi. 50; very frequent use of the pronouns ἐκεῖνος, οὗτος, &c., of the present in the narrative; repetition by negation or affirmation (i. 3, 20, [cf. 1 John ii. 27,] vi. 53, f.); antitheses (i. 13, iii. 6, i. 17, iii. 18, 20, f., 36, v. 19, 31); propositions apparently general, but referring to particular individuals (iii. 27, 29, 31, 34, vii. 18); extended development of the thought by taking up again the same idea or sentence (i. 1, 4, f., 10, f., 33, iii. 5, 7, 17, ff., vi. 48, ff., 53, ff.).

*2. In respect of its Contents and Stand-point.*

## § 106.

In respect of its contents, this Gospel differs from the others,— 1. by enriching the stock of Gospel matter with many new narratives, especially of miracles, which leave those of the Synoptists far behind them, and by its extending the sphere of Jesus's ministry to Judæa, and lengthening it beyond one year; 2. by a more spiritual, comprehensive, and profound statement of his doctrine and his work, since the theocratico-messianic and other doctrinal conceptions of the Jews, which in the Synoptics have almost entire validity, serve here merely as the foundation of a new and living development of thought (see iii. 17, v. 21, ff., xi. 25, xiv. 2); since the popular restriction of the messianic work is wholly broken down (x. 16), and the new life of "grace and truth" (i. 17) and "love" (xiii. 34) entirely severed from the ancient Jewish legalism ; and since the idea of this new life, apprehended morally, as in the Synoptics, only far deeper (cf. iii. 3 with Matt. iv. 7, v. 20), is at the same time connected with the ideas peculiar to the Christian faith, it being represented especially as mediated by the person of Jesus alone, which, one with God, manifested God in a living form, and by his sacrificial death,— and as maintained by the community of brotherly love founded by him and by the independent Spirit of Truth which should come in place of his personal presence. The consciousness of Jesus concerning himself and his relation to God and the world which he is to save and to rule, is expressed in this Gospel (as is but seldom the case in the Synoptists, cf. Matt. xi. 27, ff., xxvi. 64) purposely (most of his discourses refer to it), decidedly, and in so comprehensive a manner, that the bounds of individual human consciousness are passed (viii. 58, xvii. 5). At the same time, the Gospel reflects the consciousness of a perfect disciple, assured of communion with him, and of the possession of his spirit, who, by dogmatic speculation, after the manner of the Alexandrine-Jewish theosophy, had raised

his faith in him into knowledge (i. 1, ff.), and who in a similar mystico-allegoric fashion handles the Old Testament (iii. 14, viii. 56, 58, xii. 41).<sup>a</sup> While the person and the work of Christ are thus set forth in clear light, in so much the stronger contrast therewith stands the dark mass of the unbelieving "world," especially of Judaism. Thus the standpoint of the Evangelist is distinctly polemic, for he, even more than the Synoptists, places Jesus in a polemic attitude, and frequently mentions the hostility of the "Jews."

<sup>a</sup> When *Clem. Alex.* in *Euseb. H. E.* VI. 14, says: Τὸν μέντοι Ἰεάννην ἔσχατον συνιδόντα, ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον, — his meaning probably is that the first three Evangelists portray the external glory of Jesus, his miraculous birth, miracle-working, transfiguration on the mount, resurrection, and ascension, while John shows his internal glory, oneness with the Father, and eternal glory. — Jesus declares himself to be the Messiah more clearly than in the first three Gospels, iv. 26, v. 17, ff., viii. 28, 36, 56, ix. 35, ff., x. 7, 9, 25, 35, f. — For a more exact comparison of this Gospel with the others, designed to show both the differences and affinities, see *Schott*, § 38, note 4. Cf. *J. W. Rettburg*, *An Joannes in exhibenda Jesu natura reliquis canoniciis scriptis vere repugnet*, Gött. 1826. 8vo.

### 3. *In respect of Arrangement.*

#### § 107 a.

The arrangement is somewhat like that of the first Gospel, and it is probable that this formed its basis.\*

##### \* Table of Comparison: —

Chap. i. <i>Introductory</i> , in a measure parallel to . . . . .	Matt. i. — iv. 22.
i. 1 — 18. <i>Prologue</i> , general view and sum of the whole.	
Ver. 1 — 5. Ante-mundane and ante-messianic existence and influence of the "Word," in a measure =	— i. Genealogy and divine origin of Jesus.
Ver. 14. Incarnation of the "Word."	— i. 25; ii. Jesus's birth.
Ver. 19 — 34. Testimony of John the Baptist.	— iii.
Ver. 35 — 52. Some attach themselves as disciples to Jesus.	— iv. 18 — 22.

**Chap. ii.-xii. First Division.** Jesus's ministry, rejection, and acknowledgment.

**ii.-vi. First Subdivision.** Jesus's work in Galilee and Judea.

**vii.-xii. Second Subdivision.** Jesus's last journey to Jerusalem and stay there, in a measure parallel with

**xiii.-xx. Second Division.** Jesus glorified in his death.

**xiii.-xvii. First Subdivision.** Jesus glorified in the circle of his disciples.

**xviii.-xx. Second Subdivision.** Jesus's sufferings, death, and resurrection.

**xxi. Supplement.**

Comp. on the division by other writers *Lücke*, Comm. I. 177, ff.

Matt. iv. 23 - xxiii. 39.

— iv. 23 - xviii. 35. Jesus's work in Galilee.

— xix.-xxiii.

— xxiv.-xxviii.

— xxiv. 1 - xxvi. 35.

— xxvi. 36 - xxviii. 20.

#### 4. *In respect of the Object.*

##### § 107 b.

The object of the Gospel is solely to prove the Messianic and divine dignity of Jesus, and the necessity of faith in him to produce true life (cf. xx. 31). It is accordingly in part *apologetic*, in part, as opposed to a hostile unbelief, *confutatory*, in part *confirmatory* to the faithful. The *historic* aim is, as in the other Gospels (§ 61), comparatively secondary, though not to such a degree that the Evangelist could transform the historic reality of Jesus's person into an idealistic phantom, and, knowingly leaving evangelic tradition, give himself up to inventive fancy, as *Baur* asserts.\* The author draws his proofs partly, as do the Synoptics, from the testimony of John the Baptist, from Jesus's miracles and manifestations of higher knowledge (i. 49, ii. 24, f., iv. 17, f., vi. 64, xiii. 11, 18, f.), and from Old Testament prophecies (i. 46, ii. 17, v. 39, 46, xii. 14, 38, xiii. 18, xvii. 12, xix. 24, 36); in part, and chiefly, from Jesus's discourses and declarations regarding himself; partly, in fine, from the speculative principles of the Evangelist. These are so adduced as to place

Jesus's work and person in a very high and pure light, as the founder of a kingdom of Truth (xviii. 36), as the Light of the World (viii. 12), as the Bearer of Truth and Grace (i. 17), as one with God (x. 30), as he who alone can lead to the Father (xiv. 6). Such a delineation could in general be apprehended only by readers of very high capacity for receiving truth, power of thought, and of extended comprehensiveness of vision. Hence we must suppose that the Evangelist wrote especially for Greek and Græco-Jewish readers.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Hauff*, in St. u. Kr. 1846, pp. 550, ff., makes good objections to Baur's view, the foundation of which is destroyed in the very beginning by his false apprehension of i. 9, ff., p. 574, ff. — While no precise dogmatic aim can be ascribed to narratives like vi. 16 – 21, xii. 1 – 8, chap. ix. shows how carefully the Evangelist respects reality, and in i. 14, xix. 35, he appeals to his own experience (not, as *Baur* thinks, to his idealistic apprehension).

<sup>b</sup> Hence the explanations in i. 38, 41, f., iv. 25, 9, ii. 6, v. 2, xi. 18, which for Palestinian Jews would be superfluous, and the manner in which the Jews are spoken of (§ 105 a).

### § 107 c.

The supposed special *polemical* designs are either foreign to the Evangelist, or at most find in isolated passages only a feeble confirmation. This applies to the theory that the Evangelist wrote against the *Gnostics*.<sup>a</sup> At the utmost, it is probable that he designed to give a better direction to the already awakening speculation concerning the connection between the Old and the New Testament revelations, and the relation of the hidden God to the revelation of Him in Christ. It is, however, more correct to regard all that bears upon Gnosticism as the untrammelled statement of his own view.

<sup>a</sup> *Iren.* Cont. haeres. I. III. c. 11, § 1: Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerinthus inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his, qui dicuntur Nicolaitae, qui sunt vulso ejus, quae falso cognominatur scientia, ut confunderet eos et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus, qui omnia fecit per verbum suum, et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem patrem Domini; et alium quidem fabricatoris filium, alterum vero de superioribus, Christum, quem et impassibilem perseverasse, descendentem in Jesum filium fabricatoris, et iterum revolasse in suum

pleroma ; et initium quidem esse Monogenem, Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti ; et eam conditionem, quae est secundum nos, non a primo Deo factam, sed a virtute aliqua valde deorsum subjecta et abcessata ab eorum communicatione, quae sunt invisibilia et innominabilia : omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini et regulam veritatis constitutare in Ecclesia, quia est unus Deus omnipotens, qui per verbum suum omnia fecit et visibilia et invisibilia ; significans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his, qui in conditione sunt, praestitit hominibus, sic inchoavit, etc. (That Irenæus here refers also to the Valentinians, who came much later, is shown by *Storr*, Ueber Iren. III. 11, in *Eichhorn's Rep.* XIV. p. 127, ff.) *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 9: . . . . . aduersus Cerinthum aliquos haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse : unde et compulsa est divinam ejus nativitatem edicere. But the doctrine of Cerinthus, — . . . . . Et post baptismum descendisse in eum (Jesum) ab ea principalitate, quae est super omnia, Christum figura columbae, et tunc annuntiassse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse : in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu et Jesum passum esse, etc. (*Iren.* I. 26), — is, if not favored by John i. 32, f., not distinctly contradicted. *Epiphan.* Haeres. LI. § 3, of the Alogi: λέγοντι μὴ εἴναι αὐτῷ (the Johannic writings) Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ Κηρύθου. — In favor of this theory, see *Michaelis*, Einl. II. 1135, ff. *Storr*, Zweck d. ev. Gesch., &c., p. 180, ff. *Hug*, Einl. II. § 51. *Schott*, § 40, not. 7. *Schneckenburger*, Beiträge, p. 60, ff., who by means of this polemic design explains certain omissions, e. g. that of the agony. On the contrary, *Eichhorn*, Einl. II. 192, ff. *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 148, and against *Schneckenb.* in special *Lücke*, Comm. I. 219, ff., who however supposes the above conciliatory design. *Kleuker*, Joh. Petr. Paul. als Christologen, p. 36, ff., stands by the Gnostics (Theosophic) simply.

## § 107 d.

There appears also no distinct opposition to *Docetism*, although some passages might be used in refuting it (i. 14, xix. 34, xx. 20, 27), while the First Epistle of John seems directed against such an error (§ 179).\*

\* In favor of this theory, see *Semler*, Paraphr. ad Joh. i. 14. *Bertholdi*, Einl. III. 1318. *Eckermann*, Erkl. aller dunkeln Stellen d. N. T. II. 5. *Schmidt*, Bibl. I. 73. *Ag. Niemeyer*, De Docetis. Hal. 1823. 4to, *Schneckenburger*, as above, who on this ground explains the omission of the transfiguration. Opposed to this, *Kuinoel*, Prolegg. in Ev. Joh. p. 53, sqq. *Hug*, Einl. II. 188, f.

## § 107 e.

The theory<sup>a</sup> that the Evangelist wrote against *Ebionitism*, and against the *Nomism* which Paul also attacked, is certainly countenanced by the tenor and spirit of the Gospel (i. 13, 17, iii. 3, iv. 21, v. 9, ff., vi. 32, x. 16); but designed and express opposition of this sort is wanting, and even that against the Jewish law is far behind the stand-point of the Evangelist (i. 17).

<sup>a</sup> *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 9 (§ 107 c, note a). *Schott*, § 40, note 5. Cf. *Lange*, Die Judenchristen, Ebioniten u. Nicolaiten d. apost. Zeit (Lpz. 1828), p. 147, ff.

## § 107 f.

Finally, the theory that he is opposing the disciples of John must first be freed from its false reference to the *Zabians* or *Mendæans*,<sup>b</sup> who stand in no historic connection with John's disciples, and to other later disciples of John.<sup>b</sup> The Evangelist could refer to only such disciples of John as are mentioned in Acts xviii. 24, xix. 1, ff. These, however, did not acknowledge John as the Messiah, but were merely ignorant concerning Jesus. He therefore could not so much oppose them as seek to win them.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Resting on the accounts and suppositions regarding this sect in *Ignatius a Jesu*, Narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Joh. etc. Rom. 1652. 8vo. *Engelb. Kaempfer*, Amoenitati. exot. Fasc. V. Lemg. 1712. 4to. *Math. Norberg*, De relig. et lingua Sabaeorum, in comment. Gotting. p. a. 1780, Vol. III. *Biorntahl's Briefe*, VI. 265, ff. *C. G. J. Walch*, Observatt. de Sabaeis in commentt. Gott. 1781, the theory of this polemical design was adopted by *Overbeck*, Neue Vers. üb. d. Ev. Joh. 1784. *Storr*, Zweck d. ev. Gesch. u. d. Br. Joh. *Michælis*, Einl. II. 1440. *Hug*, II. § 52, and others. (Before this, the same was indicated by *Grotius*, *Schlüting*, *Wolzogen*, *Herder*, cf. *Wegscheider*, Einl. p. 229.) It was opposed by *Lindemann*, in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bibl.* X. 379. *H. E. G. Paulus*, Introduct. in N. T. capp. selectt. p. 194. *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 150, f. *Eichhorn*, II. 199, ff. *Gesenius* gives more exact information concerning the Zabians in the specimen number of the Hall. Allg. Encyclop. Art. *Zabier*. Cf. *Lücke*, I. 225, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Recognitt. Clement. I. 54, in *Coteler*. Patr. apost. I. 500: Et ex discipulis Johannis, qui videbantur esse magni, segregarunt se a populo et magistrum suum veluti Christum praedicarunt. c. 60: Et ecce unus ex

discipulis Johannis affirmabat, Christum Johannem fuisse et non Jesum : in tantum, inquit, ut et ipse Jesus (Matth. xi. 11) omnibus hominibus et prophetis majorem pronuntiaverit Johannem. Si ergo, inquit, major est omnibus, sine dubio et Moyse, et ipso Jesu major habendus est. Quodsi omnium major est, ipse est Christus.

\* With *Herder* (Von Gottes Sohne, &c., p. 24), a peaceful, conciliatory reference to the disciples of John seems to me admissible. *Lücke* rejects every reference.

5. *In respect of the Date of Composition.*

§ 107 g.

If we put all these circumstances together, viz. that the fourth Gospel presupposes an evangelic tradition and probably also our first Gospel (§§ 104, 107 a), that it is written from a higher stand-point, which has in view a further development of Christianity (§ 106), and for Greek and Græco-Jewish readers (§ 107 b);<sup>a</sup> the opinion of the ancient Church, that it was written after the other three Gospels (§ 104, note a, § 106, note a, § 111, note a), is confirmed, at least in so far that we must date it later than the first Gospel and other lost Gospels.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps also with polemic designs (§ 107 c, d), which refer to a later time and to Greek environments.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Semler*, Paraphr. in Ev. Joh. i. 11. *Tittmann*, Meletem. p. 13, and even according to *Schleiermacher*, Einl. p. 331, it is the oldest Gospel.

*Is John the Author? Accounts of him.*

§ 108 a.

The current opinion in the Church is, that the author of the fourth Gospel is the Apostle John, son of Zebedee, brother of James the Elder, son of Salome (cf. Matt. xxvii. 56 with Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1), the most intimate disciple of Jesus, formerly a fisherman on the Lake of Gennesaret (Matt. iv. 21, Mark i. 19, Luke v. 10), but also previously, as it seems, a follower of John the Baptist (John i. 35). After Jesus's ascension, he remained some time in Jerusalem (Acts iii. 1, viii. 1, 14, 25, Gal. ii. 9), and, according to Church tradition,

went thence to Asia Minor, settled at Ephesus, and there died.<sup>a</sup> And yet in Paul's time he could hardly have made that city his abode, else had Paul not sought a sphere of labor there (cf. Rom. xv. 20, 2 Cor. x. 16, Gal. ii. 7, 8); moreover, neither the speech in Acts xx. 18, nor any of the letters written to that region (those to the Ephes., Coloss., Tim.), presupposes John's presence there. He probably did not leave Jerusalem before the breaking out of the Jewish war.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Nicephor. H. E.* II. 42: 'Ιστορεῖται, ὡς ὁ θεότατος οὐτος εὐαγγελιστής μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνοδὸν Ἰησοῦ συνῆν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Σιών οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἅχρι τῆς πρὸς Κύριον ἐκδημίας αὐτῆς· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενόμενον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸν Χριστόν. *Euseb.* III. 1, according to Origen: 'Ιωάννης τὴν Ἀσίαν (εἰληχειν)· πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτὴν. III. 23, according to Clem. Alex.: 'Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαστος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφέσον, κ. τ. λ. Ib. according to Iren. II. 22. 5: Καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν 'Ιωάννην τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες, παραδεδωκέναι ταῦτα τὸν Ἰωάννην. Παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων. V. 8, according to Iren. III. 1: "Ἐπειτα 'Ιωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, δ καὶ ἐπὶ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ Εὐαγγελίον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων. Hieron. De vir. ill. c. 9: Quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmos insulam relegatus, scripsit Apocalypsin. .... Interfecto autem Domitiano et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a Senatu rescissis, sub Nerva principe rediit Ephesum, ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans, totas Asiae fundavit rexitque ecclesias et confectus senio sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini anno mortuus, juxta eandem urbem sepultus est. Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, in Euseb. III. 31, V. 24: "Ἐτι δὲ καὶ 'Ιωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ στῆθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν .... ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοιμῆται. Against these authorities, especially the latter, the silence of the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp, urged by Lützelberger, weighs little. Bleek, Beitr. I. 88, f.

<sup>b</sup> It has been erroneously concluded (*Lücke, Credner*), from the silence regarding him of Acts xxi. 17, ff., that he at that time was no longer in Jerusalem; for Acts xv. also is silent concerning him; cf. on the other hand Gal. ii. 9. Bleek, Beitr. I. 194.

### § 108 b.

The saying, that John was banished to the Isle of Patmos,<sup>a</sup> refers to the doubtful passage Rev. i. 9 (§ 190, note b), and, being contradicted by the earlier date of the Apocalypse (§ 190), appears very questionable. On the other hand, the

tradition seems reliable that the Apostle reached a great age, and lived to the beginning of the second century.<sup>b</sup> For *Polycarp*, who, in his eighty-sixth year (about A. D. 170<sup>c</sup>), and *Papias*, who (A. D. 164) suffered martyrdom,<sup>d</sup> saw and heard him; he was also a contemporary of *Cerinthus*.<sup>e</sup> The external history of the Apostle makes the composition of the fourth Gospel possible, from his stand-point and character (§ 107 g).

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. III. 18: 'Ἐν τούτῳ (in the persecution under Domitian) κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἄμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίφερ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐνεκεν μαρτυρίας Πάτμου οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον. . . . δὲ Εἰρηναῖος . . . φησίν . . . Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη (ἡ ἀποκάλυψις), ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομιτιανοῦ ἀρχῆς (cf. *Iren.* V. 30. 3). Ib. c. 20: Τότε (after Domitian's death) δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειλήφεναι, δ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος. *Euseb.* in Chron. ad an. 14 Domitiani: Secundus post Neronem Domitianus Christianos persequitur; et sub eo Apostolus Joannes ad Patmum insulam relegatus Apocalypsin vidit. Cf. *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 9 (see § 108 a, note a). *Origen.* Comm. in Matth. T. XVI. (III. 719, sq.): 'Ο δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον. Διδάσκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἑαυτοῦ Ἰωάννης, μὴ λέγων τις αὐτὸν κατεδίκασε, φάσκων ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ταῦτα (Rev. i. 9). The story is enlarged in *Tertullian*, De praescript. haeret. c. 36: Si non potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum: si autem Italiae adjaces, Romam . . . ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. Cf. *Hieron.* Adv. Jovinian. I. 26, p. 280, ed. Vallars., in Matth. xx. 23. *Epiphan.* Haeres. LI. § 33, differs: . . . αὐτοῦ ('Ιωάννου) προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλανδίου Καίσαρος ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπῆρξεν.

<sup>b</sup> *Iren.* II. 22. 5, cf. *Euseb.* H. E. III. 23 (see § 108 a, note a), who also quotes from *Iren.* III. 3. 4: 'Αλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκελησίᾳ ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μαρτὺς ἀληθῆς ἔστι τῆς Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως. *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 9 (see § 108 a, note a); Adv. Jovinian. I. 26. p. 279: Ut autem sciamus Joannem tunc fuisse puerum, manifestissime docent ecclesiasticae historiae, quod usque ad Trajani vixerit imperium, id est, post passionem Domini sexagesimo octavo anno dormierit.

<sup>c</sup> *Iren.* Ep. ad Florin. in *Euseb.* V. 20; also in the same, V. 24.

<sup>d</sup> 'Ιωάννου ἀκοντής, according to *Iren.* V. 33. 4. *Euseb.* III. 39, denies that he was a disciple of the Apostles. Cf. *Rettig*, in St. u. Kr. 1831. IV. p. 770, ff. On the contrary, *Olsh. Aechth. d. Evangg.* p. 224, f.

*• Iren.* III. 3. 4, cf. *Euseb.* III. 28. *Olshausen*, p. 217, ff. A thorough statement and examination of the Church tradition concerning John is given by *Grimm*, Allgem. Encycl. 2. Sec. XXII. 5, ff.

*Controversy concerning the Apostolic Genuineness.*

1. *On External Grounds.*

§ 109 a.

The attacks on the Apostolic genuineness of the fourth Gospel<sup>a</sup> have been aimed first at its external attestation, the existing testimonies having been viewed with doubting eyes and unfavorably judged, and older and more precise proof demanded than can rightly be expected.<sup>b</sup> In this respect our Gospel stands, not in a worse, but in a better position than either the first three Gospels or the writings of Paul.

The opponents are: — *Evanson*, in the work quoted in § 92, note a. *Eckermann*, Theol. Beitr. V. 2. (Vogel) *Des Evang. Johannes und seine Ausleger vor d. jüngsten Gericht*, Part I. 1801, Part II. 1804. *Horst*, Lässt sich d. Aechtheit des Johann. Evang. aus hinlängl. Gründen bezweifeln, u. welches ist der wahrsch. Ursprung dieser Schrift? in *Henke's Mus.* 1. B. 1 H. p. 47. The same, Ueb. einige anscheinende Widerspr. im Evang. Joh. in Absicht auf d. Logos od. d. Höhere in Christo. Ib. p. 20. *Cludius*, *Uran-sichten d. Christenth. Alt.* 1808. p. 40, ff. *Ballenstädt*, *Philo u. Joh.*, od. fortges. Anwendung d. Philo zur Interpret. d. Johann. Schriften m. besond. Hins. auf d. Frage: Ob Joh. d. Verf. der ihm zugeschrieb. Schriften sein könne? Gött. 1812. *Bretschneider*, *Probabilia de Evang. et epp. Joannis Ap. indole et origine*. Lips. 1820. (Cf. the author's later concessions in *Tzschirner*, Mag. f. chr. Pred. II. 2. p. 154. Handb. d. Dogm. 3d ed. I. 268.) *Rettig*, *Ephemerid.* I. 62, sqq. *Strauss*, *Leben Jesu*, in various parts. *Weisse*, *Evang. Gesch.* I. 96, ff. *Lützelberger*, *Die kirchliche Tradition üb. den Ap. Joh. u. s. Schriften in ihrer Grundlosigkeit nachgewiesen*. 1840. *Bruno Bauer*, *Kritik. d. evang. Gesch. d. Joh.* 1840. *Ferd. Christn. Baur*, *Ueb. d. Composition u. d. Charakt. d. joh. Evang.* in *Zeller's Jbb.* 1844. 1. 3. 4. Hft. *Krit. Untersuchungen über d. kanon. Evang.* Tüb. 1847. p. 79, ff. *Zeller*, *Die äussern Zeugnisse über das Dasein u. den Ursprung des vierten Evang.* Ib. 1845. p. 579, ff. Defenders: — *F. W. Schleker*, *Vers. e. Widerleg. der hauptsächl. Einwürfe, die in d. newest. Zeit geg. d. Aechth. d. Evang. Joh. gemacht sind*. Rost. 1802. 8vo. *Süsskind*, *Beitr. z. Vertheid. d. Aechth. d. Evang. Joh. in Bezieh. auf d. Schrift: Der Evang. Joh., &c.* in *Flatt's Magaz. f. christl. Dogm. u. Mor.* 9. Heft.

*Nöldeke*, Vers. einige Widersprüche, welche im Ev. Joh. zu liegen scheinen, exeget. u. psychol. zu heben, in *Henke's Mus.* B. II. H. 1. p. 97. *Süsskind*, Noch etwas z. Vertheid. d. Aechth. d. Ev. Joh., and Ueber ein. anschein. Widerspr. im Evang. Joh., in *Flatt's Magaz.* XI. 57, 110. *Van Griethuysen*, Pro. Ev. Joan. *abtheoriq.* Harderv. 1807. *C. W. Stein*, Authentia Evang. Joa. cont. Bretschneideri dubia vind. 1822. *J. T. Hensen*, Die Authentie d. Schriften des Evang. Joh. 1823. *A. G. Calmberg*, De antiquiss. patrum pro Evang. Joh. *abtheoriq* testimoniis. 1822. 4to. *L. Usteri* Comment. crit. (§ 98 a, note a). *Fr. Gottl. Crome*, Probabilia haud probabilia od. Widerleg. d. v. Bretschneider gegen d. Aechth. d. Ev. u. d. Br. Joh. erhob. Zweifel. 1824. *C. V. Hauff*, Die Authent. u. d. hohe Werth. d. Ev. Joh. m. Rücksicht auf neuere Einwendungen, etc. 1831. *Frommann*, Ueb. d. Aechtheit u. Integrität des Evang. Joh. mit bes. Rücks. auf *Weisse's* Evang. Gesch., in Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1840. p. 853, ff. *J. H. Ebrard*, Das Ev. Joh. u. die neueste Hypothese (*Baur's*) üb. s. Entstehung. 1845. *Bleek*, Beitr. z. Evang. Krit. (1846.) p. 92, ff. *Pf. Hauff*, Bemerkk. über d. Abhandl. von D. Baur, etc., in St. u. Kr. 1846. p. 550, ff. Besides these, on this side are *Eichhorn*, *Hug*, *Bertholdt*, *Schott*, *Credner*, *Lücke*, and others.

<sup>b</sup> If the non-apostolic origin of the Gospel followed from the paucity of testimony, we might with equal justness conclude that its author was not a disciple of any apostle, and that it first saw the light in the second century. This *Baur* and his school maintain, but it is wholly improbable (§ 110 c).

### § 109 b.

The oldest, although indirect, witnesses in favor of the great age of our Gospel, are Luke and Mark, who have referred to it (§§ 93 c, 94 f).<sup>a</sup> No distinct trace of it is found in the Apostolic Fathers,<sup>b</sup> — the testimony of *Polycarp* and *Papias* especially being wanting, — but both were acquainted with 1 John,<sup>c</sup> and the absence of their testimony is in part supplied by *Irenaeus*, Polycarp's friend and disciple, who regarded the genuineness of the fourth Gospel as unquestionable (III. 1, § 108 a, note a), although it must be confessed that he does not appeal directly to Polycarp, and that he has erred in regard to the Apocalypse (§ 191). Before his time our Gospel was known and used by *Justin Martyr* (§ 66 a, notes c, d), *Tatian* (§ 68), and probably *Celsus*.<sup>d</sup> *Theophilus* of Antioch distinctly quotes it.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 83. According to his and the common opinion, 2 Pet. i. 14 also contains a reference to John xxi. 18; see however Exeg. Hdb. on the passage.

<sup>b</sup> *Ignat.* Ad Philadelph. c. 7: Εἰ γάρ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα μέ τινες ἡθελησαν πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὅν. Οἴδεν γάρ πόθεν ἔρχεται, καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει (cf. John iii. 8, 1 Cor. ii. 10?). Still more uncertain is c. 9: Αὐτὸς ἀν δύρα τοῦ πατρός, δι' ἣς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία (cf. John x. 7, 9!). Only the Ep. ad Rom. c. 7: Ἀρτον θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὃς ἔστιν σάρξ Ἰησοῦ Χρ. . . . καὶ πόμα θεοῦ θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ . . . seems to refer to John vi. 32, f., 45, 51, ff. (Baur is silent on it, probably because he thinks the Ignatian letters spurious, cf. Pastorab. p. 87. Tüb. Ztschr. 1836. III. 199. 1838. III. 149, ff. Zeller, in his Jbb. 1845. p. 585, f.; on the other hand, Rothe, Anf. d. christl. Kirche, p. 715, ff. Hefele, Patr. ap. p. xv. sqq. Huther, in Ilgen's Ztschr. 1841. IV.) Bar-nab. Ep. c. 12, on the brazen serpent of Moses.

\* *Euseb.* III. 39: Κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς (ὁ Παπίας) μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς πρότερας Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς. This testimony is without reason rejected by Zeller, p. 584. Credner, Einl. p. 266, considers the silence of P. ominous, if he wrote about A. D. 140. He therefore assumes A. D. 110. Zeller, p. 653, denies totally that Papias was acquainted with it. *Polycarp*, Ep. ad Philipp. c. 7: Πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἀν μὴ δρμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἔστι (cf. 1 John iv. 3). This letter, also, Zeller considers spurious.

<sup>a</sup> *Orig.* Cont. Cels. I. 67, in relation to John ii. 19.

\* Ad Autolyc. lib. II. p. 100: Οθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ δγίαι γραφαὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, κ. τ. λ.

### § 109 c.

We may infer a fixed and long-established acceptance of our Gospel by the Church from the fact, that, in the controversies which took place about the middle of the second century, it was acknowledged by both the opposing parties. Johannic formulas are found in the Gnostic system of *Valentinus* (about A. D. 140), and his followers made use of the Gospel of John. One of them, *Heracleon*, wrote a commentary upon it, and another, *Ptolemy*, quotes John i. 3 (§ 76 b, note a).<sup>a</sup> *Montanus* (about A. D. 150) and his party borrowed from it the idea of the Paraclete.<sup>b</sup> That, on the other hand, the *Alogi* rejected the Johannic writings, is accounted for by their opposition to the Montanists, and shows that the latter from the first had used this Gospel. Moreover, they adduced against its genuineness no historical grounds, and their critical objections were in part dogmatic, in part drawn

from a comparison of it with the first three Gospels.<sup>c</sup> The Easter controversy, and the manner in which reference was made during it to the Gospels, have been improperly used by the opponents of John's Gospel. The testimony of *Claud. Apollinaris* in favor of its acceptance at that time (about A. D. 170) is certain.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Against *Bretschneider's* (Probab. p. 212) objections, see *Olshausen*, p. 386; against those of *Baur's* school, see *Bleek*, *Beitr. I.* 214, ff.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Bretschneider*, p. 205, sqq. *Olshausen*, p. 283, ff. *Lücke*, Comm. I. 60. The first tries, erroneously, to prove that the Montanists had rejected the Gospel of John, especially from the passage in *Iren.* III. 11. 9, which has been improperly applied to them:— *Alii vero ut donum spiritus frustrentur, quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quae est secundum Joannis Evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit; sed simul et Evangelium et propheticum repellunt spiritum.* *Zeller*, p. 637, asserts that *Tertullian* first introduced the Paraclete into the Montanistic system.

<sup>e</sup> *Epiphanius*. *Haeres.* LI. de Alogis, c. 3: .... Εἶχον γὰρ τὴν αἱρεσιν καλουμένην, ἀποβάλλουσαν Ἰωάννου τὰς βίβλους. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν λόγον οὐ δέχονται τὸν παρὰ Ἰωάννου κεκηρυγμένον, διογοι κληθήσονται .... Λέγουσι γὰρ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰ Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ Κηρίνου, καὶ οὐδὲ ἄξια αὐτά φασιν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. c. 4: Φάσκουσι γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτῶν, οὐ γὰρ εἴποιμι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅτι οὐ συμφωνεῖ τὰ αὐτοῦ βιβλία τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις (cf. *John* i., *Matt.* iii. iv.). c. 18: Τὸ δὲ εὐαγγελίον τὸ εἰς ὄνομα Ἰωάννου, φασί, ψεύδεται. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δὲ λόγος σάρκες ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ δλίγα ἀλλα, εὐθὺς λέγει, ὅτι γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. c. 22: Κατηγορούστι δὲ πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἀγίου εὐαγγελιστοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτι, φασίν, δὲ Ἰωάννης ἔφη περὶ δύο πασχῶν τὸν Σωτῆρα πεποιηκότα, οἱ δὲ ἀλλοι εὐαγγελισταὶ περὶ πάσχα ἐνός. The above passage of *Irenaeus* also belongs here. Cf. *Olshausen*, p. 254, ff.

<sup>f</sup> The Christians of Asia Minor (*Quartodecimani*) celebrated the Passover according to the Jewish custom, on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, on which, according to the Synoptics, Jesus celebrated it. The Western Christians, on the other hand, who were joined by *Apollinaris* of Hierapolis, *Clement* of Alexandria, and others, and whose view subsequently triumphed in the Council of Nice, always celebrated it on a Friday, in memory of the death of Jesus as the Christian paschal Lamb. They interpreted the Synoptics according to John, and assumed that Jesus held, not a Jewish, but a typical paschal feast, and was himself sacrificed on the 14th of Nisan. *Apollinaris* in the *Chron. pasch.* p. 6, ed. *Du Cang.*: .... λέγουσι (the opponents), ὅτι τῇ ιδίᾳ τῷ πρόβατον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν ὁ κύριος, τῇ δὲ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀξύμων αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν, καὶ διηγούνται *Matthæi* οὗτω λέγειν, ὡς νενοήκασιν· διθερεύ ἀσύμφωνος τῷ ιδίῳ ή τῷ ιδίῃ αὐτῶν, καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ

εὐαγγέλια. According to *Schwegler* (Der Montanismus, etc., p. 191, ff.) and *Baur* (p. 353), the Johannic Gospel is not the subject here mentioned; but they explain *στασίας* wrongly by *oppose the law*, whereas *Wieseler*, Chronol. Synopsis, p. 370, and *Ebrard*, p. 124, ff., understand it rightly in the absolute sense to be at variance, so that its sense is, that the Gospel of John does not agree with the Synoptics, because it (as *Apollinaris* correctly viewed it) placed the day of Jesus's death on the 14th of Nisan. Cf. *Rettberg*, Der Paschastreit, in *Illgen's Ztschr.* II. 2. 117, f. *Zeller*, in his *Jahrbb.* 1846. p. 622, f. *Hauff*, in *St. u. Kr.* 1846. p. 647, f. *Apollinaris's* opinion becomes clear from the fragment of *Clement of Alexandria*, Ib. p. 7: *Τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρεληλυθσιν ἔτεσιν* (in the earlier years of his life) τὸ θυμόν τὸν πρὸς Ἰουδαίων ήσθιεν ἑρτάζων δέ κύριος πάσχα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκκήρυξεν αὐτὸς ὁν τὸ πάσχα δέ ἀμνος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγόμενος, αὐτίκα ἐδίδαξε μὲν τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ τύπου τὸ μυστήριον τῇ εἰ, ἐν γὰρ καὶ πινθάνονται αὐτοῦ· ποῦ θέλεις ἐτομάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν; Farther on he appeals to John xviii. 28, and adds as follows: *ταύτη τῶν ἡμερῶν τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ πάσαι συμφωνοῦσι, καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια συνωδά*. Also in the other fragment of *Apollinaris*, Ib. p. 6, is a reference to the Gospel of John: . . . δέ ἐκχεάς ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα; and it is a miserable evasion to go back to a tradition which is older than the Gospel of John (*Baur*, p. 356). On the other hand, it is remarkable that, both earlier (about A. D. 162) and later (about A. D. 190), the Christians of Lesser Asia appeal to the apostolic tradition and to the example of the Apostle John. *Iren.* in *Euseb.* H. E. V. 24: *οὐτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πείσας ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἀτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἰς συνέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, κ. τ. λ.* *Polycrates*, Ib.: *Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν μήτε προστιθέτες μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀστιάν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται . . . ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης δέ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών . . . οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται . . . οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* How could John observe with them a custom which was in contradiction with his Gospel? This has been asked, from, however, a quite false stand-point, so that the answers given by *Ebrard*, *Wieseler*, *Thiersch*, must also be erroneous. According to the correct view of the case, which *Bleek*, Beiträge, 157, ff., has luminously stated, the Passover controversy did not concern itself at first about the day of the month on which Jesus died, but about the co-celebration of the Jewish Passover, which probably originated with the first Jewish Christians, and which the Apostle John, as well as Paul (Acts xviii. 21), could well take part in, although he knew that Jesus did not hold the Jewish Passover with his disciples, but was crucified on the 14th of Nisan. The conclusion stated by *Zeller*, p. 646, is, that the fourth Gospel was in use from about A. D. 170; and as they who quote it and defend it, e. g. *Irenaeus*, do not appeal to tradition or to authorities, it may have first come to light a few decades earlier. — On the historic grounds for the genuineness of the fourth Gospel, see *Grimm*, Allg. Encycl., quoted above, p. 18, ff.

2. *On Internal Grounds.*

## § 110 a.

1. The Evangelist designates himself indirectly as the “beloved disciple” of Jesus, i. 35, ff., xiii. 23, xix. 26, 35, xx. 2,<sup>a</sup> and expressly as an eyewitness, i. 14, xix. 35 (§ 105 a). The postscript (xxi. 24, f.), whose unknown author appears to have been a younger contemporary, also testifies to the same disciple as the author. We must either allow this testimony its due weight, or declare the author a forger, who artfully aimed to pass for the Apostle John.

<sup>a</sup> He is generally regarded as John; *Lützelberger* thinks he is Andrew. It is remarkable, in this connection, that he never gives John the Baptist the surname of ὁ βαπτιστής, as the Synoptics do. *Credner*, I. 209, f. *Bleek*, *Beitr.* p. 178.

## § 110 b.

2. The style of the writing and the whole spirit of the work show incontrovertibly that the Gospel is the work of the same author as the First Epistle of John. Though the genuineness of the latter is a matter of dispute, it claims by the spiritual character and depth of its contents, and by the statement in i. 1, to be at least the work of an eyewitness, and an apostolic man thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Jesus Christ.

## § 110 c.

3. The historic matter offers to opponents many convenient points of attack: *a.* in the indications of a view formed at a distance from the historic facts and relations (§ 105 a); which, however, is to be explained by the fact that John wrote in the later part of his life, and in wholly different environments, when his original view had died out, and he had cut completely loose from Judaism, and that the bias of his mind led him to set little store by historic pragmatism;<sup>b</sup> *b.* in his variations from the Synoptics (§ 104), both in respect of additions and omissions,<sup>b</sup> and of contradictions.

According as writers set out from the unfounded assumption of the unqualified or preponderating credibility of the first three Gospels,<sup>c</sup> or from the view that they present the older series of Gospel myths, they beheld in the fourth Gospel only a web spun arbitrarily out of few actual materials by an author far removed from the history (*Weisse, Br. Bauer, Baur*),<sup>d</sup> or the creations of a later myth-development (*Strauss*). Decisive however against this are the vividness and originalness of many of the narrations (§ 105 a), (although a one-sided critical dialectic has sought to reason these away,<sup>e</sup>) and the demonstrable correctness of its deviation in essential points.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Reuss*, Ideen z. Einl. in d. Evang. Joh., in Denkschr. d. theolog. Gesellsch. z. Strassb. (1840.) p. 51, ff. *Lücke*, I. 138, ff. That the anti-Jewish position of the Evangelist shows him to be neither a Jew nor a Palestinian, is refuted by *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 244, ff. He was acquainted with the Old Testament in the original text, as appears from the quotations which differ from the LXX., e. g. xiii. 18, xix. 37. He believed in the divine revelation in the Old Testament, and in its prophecies.

<sup>b</sup> The miracle of the raising of Lazarus, especially, has been called in question, on the ground that the Synoptics, if they had known of it, would not have passed it by in silence. *Grotius, Herder, Schultheiss, and Olshausen* explain this silence by the desire to spare Lazarus or his family; *Meyer*, from their Galilean stand-point. *Lücke*, II. 475, supposes that the Synoptics were unacquainted with it, partly because the Galilean tradition which they followed came from those who were not eyewitnesses, partly because from a want of pragmatism they failed to see the vast importance of the miracle. That they must have regarded it as the greatest of all the miracles (*Strauss, Weisse, Baur*) is denied by *Ebrard* (Kritik d. Evang. Gesch. 565. das Evang. Joh. 39), because to them one raising of the dead was as good as another.

<sup>c</sup> So *Bretschneider, Weisse* (from his preference for Mark), *Br. Bauer* (in his work on John, although in his subsequent work on the Synoptics he subjects them to the same dissolving process), *Baur* (who regards Matthew as the basis of all the other Gospels).

<sup>d</sup> According to the last-mentioned writer, the fourth Gospel has no historic aim (§ 107 b) or significance: the author, who knew nothing of evangelic tradition save what the Synoptics gave him, invented everything new or discrepant in his account, with the dogmatical design of representing Jesus as the incarnate Logos.

<sup>e</sup> *A. Schweizer, Das Evang. Joh. nach s. innern Werthe kritisches untersucht* (1841), strikingly remarks, p. 239, ff., that, where this vividness and

originalness appear, the *ἄλλος μαθητής* (cf. § 105 a) usually has a hand in it. That rationalizing method, awaking suspicion by its very narrowness, for the most part refutes itself, as when *Baur*, p. (431) 268, finds in the statement (xviii. 13), that Jesus was first led to Annas and tried by him, a pure fiction, which aimed to strengthen, by a double condemnation, the proof given by the Jews of their own unbelief,—because Annas did not condemn Jesus; or when, p. (438) 279, he deduces all that John says of Pilate's desire to acquit Jesus, from his desire to lay the whole burden of Jesus's death on the Jews,—this is done by *Matthew*! or when the difference between John and the Synoptics in regard to the day of Jesus's death is explained by John's desire to remove the improbability which is found in the Synoptics' account,—elsewhere he argues against John from the very ground of improbability; or when his extension of Jesus's ministry to Judæa is ascribed to the design of setting in stronger light the unbelief of the Jews (see note f); or when, p. (415) 252, he argues thus: It is clear that, if the Synoptics represent Jesus as making a long address *before* the supper, such cannot also have taken place *after* the supper, as in John. What must we think of a critic who, p. (438) 279, asserts that Jesus alludes to his public teaching in the temple in Luke xxii. 53 only (cf. Matt. xxvi. 55, Mark xiv. 49); who, pp. (164, ff.) 215, ff., understands allegorically the "water" in John xix. 34; and, pp. (445, ff.) 285, ff., tries to persuade us that John, in vii. 10, 15, viii. 59, speaks of a magical transformation and disappearance of Jesus? Farther, comp. *Bleek*, I. 272, f.

<sup>f</sup> That Jesus had previously been in Judea and Jerusalem the Synoptics themselves imply (Matt. xxiii. 37, Luke xiii. 34; Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke x. 38, ff., cf. Matt. xxvi. 6; Matt. iv. 25), and it is also in itself probable, cf. *Ebrard*, p. 22, f. *Bleek*, Beitr. p. 94, ff. The discrepancy between John and the Synoptics, in regard to the day of the month on which Jesus was crucified,—a discrepancy which must exegetically be acknowledged, and cannot be explained away, as by *Tholuck*, *Hengstenberg*, *Ebrard* (*Das Evang. Joh.*; differently in his *Krit. d. Evang. Gesch.*), *Wieseler*, *Chronol. Synops.*,—must be decided in favor of the former, as the 15th of Nisan, the first day of the Passover festival, and which the Synoptics assert, is opposed by the strongest probabilities. See *Bleek's* exhaustive remarks, in the above work, p. 107, ff.

## § 110 d.

4. The discourses and doctrinal contents of the Gospel offer, in their obviously subjective presentation, the most tempting point of attack. It is an unsettled question, how far this subjectiveness extends. The impression is different which our Evangelist's narrative makes on different minds.\* But, setting aside particulars, it must be regarded as con-

ceivable that an Apostle, to whom the strictly historic was of comparatively small moment, should allow himself a certain freedom of representation, and that John had so deep an insight into the consciousness of Jesus as to be able to express, if not exactly in the Master's own words, yet in regular development, the truth which was, and still is, of moment to every believer; and also as possible, that this distinguished disciple had not only reached that stand-point, which, independent of Judaism, was the peculiarly Christian stand-point,<sup>b</sup> but also that, amid Hellenistic influences, he had made the Hellenistic style of writing and philosophy his own. If this Apostle be not regarded as the author, we should be compelled, by the profoundly spiritual apprehension and development of Christian truth, to select a man of no less rank than the Apostle Paul or the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>c</sup> The certainly genuine substratum of the freely-narrated discourses,<sup>d</sup> and the originality stamped on many isolated declarations, which, like similar utterances in the Synoptics, come from genuine tradition (i. 52, ii. 16, 19, iv. 21, ff., 48, ix. 3-5, vii. 37, viii. 12, xviii. 36, f., xx. 23, 29, and many others<sup>e</sup>), require an author not too far removed from the original source.

<sup>a</sup> While *Baur* and others ascribe everything, without discrimination, to the author of the Gospel, *Schweizer*, above work, p. 30, ff., estimates quite differently what is ascribed to the "Johannic manner," and endeavors, p. 188, ff., to show in the testimony of John the Baptist genuine historical foundations.

<sup>b</sup> As he appears in Gal. ii. 9 as the Apostle of the circumcision, *Baur*, p. (633, ff.) 329, ff., thinks that at that time John could not have had the conviction that the heathen were also entitled to share the Messianic salvation. But as he with Peter and James approved of the ministry of Paul, he must also have approved of his principles. Cf. *Ebrard*, p. 99, f. *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 249, ff. According to *Baur*, p. (619, ff.) 314, ff., John's stand-point presupposes that of Paul, even when we apply to it the common standard. But could he not learn from Paul, and yet surpass him? Might we not expect something extraordinary from the disciple who was especially dear to Jesus? To be sure, with such a character (Luke ix. 54) and such a disposition (Matt. xx. 20, ff.), he would have needed most of all to experience the "birth from above." But is this so impossible?

<sup>c</sup> Nothing, in truth, can be more unreasonable than, with *Baur* and oth-

ers, to ascribe this wonderful production to the second century, and to place it, accordingly, in the same category with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and of the Christian Pseudepigraphists.

<sup>a</sup> Though *Strauss*, Leben Jesu, I. 675, f., 1st ed., asserted that the discourses in our Gospel are arbitrary creations out of little actual material, and give rather a few fundamental ideas, developed in the spirit of the Alexandrian school, than precise utterances of Jesus, he subsequently doubted the correctness of this assertion. *Weisse* here is on our side.

• The Evangelist so entirely regards certain expressions of Jesus as fixed historic data, that he sometimes assigns them a double sense (xviii. 9, 32), sometimes illustrates their meaning (ii. 19, ff.). The manner, too, in which he gives the utterances in xiii. 20, xiv. 31, secures him from the suspicion of having invented Jesus's discourses. Cf. *Bleek*, p. 226, ff. The predictions of Jesus's death in vii. 33, f., viii. 21, x. 12, 17, f., xii. 23, f., xiv. 1, ff., xvi. 16, are more original than those in the Synoptics. *Grimm*, Allg. Encycl., as above, p. 50.

### § 110 e.

To explain the (apparent or real) diversity in the character and contents of our Gospel, several writers have supposed that it contains Johannic elements, which have been worked over by a disciple of the Apostle.\* On this supposition, the passages which refer to the Apostle John retain a certain amount of force (§ 110 a). In a similar way, *Weisse* discriminated between a Johannic nucleus and a later envelopment, and found the former in the didactic portion of the discourses of Jesus and of the Baptist, which the Apostle wrote down as studies (so to speak), without any historical design, but for the purpose of presenting his Master's doctrine in a connected form. After John's death, it occurred to John's followers and disciples to combine these studies, together with his oral teachings and the materials afforded by tradition, into a Gospel history.<sup>b</sup> But to separate this nucleus from its envelopments, — which *Weisse* did not attempt, — involves the gravest difficulties, both from the closely woven connection and especially from the similarity of the style. *Schenkel*, who carried out this idea farther, attempted merely to show the more or less probable incongruity of several passages (the most probable is vi. 27).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Eckermann* and *Vogel* had previously made a similar assertion. Especially *Ammon*, Progr. quo docetur, Joannem Evang. auctorem ab editore hujus libri fuisse diversum. 1811. *Paulus*, in his review of Bretschneider's Probabil., Heidelb. Jahrb. 1821. No. VII. - IX., and of *Lücke's* Comment. No. XV. *Rettig*, Ephemerid. exeg. theol. I. 83, sqq.: .... de hoc Evangelio statuerim: compositum esse et digestum a seniori Christiano, Joannis auditore, forsitan Gnosticae dedito philosophiae. Qui quum in ecclesiae Ephesinae scriniis ecclesiasticis vel alio loco privato plura Jesu vitae capita per Joannem descripta reperisset, vel a Joanne ipso accepisset, iis compositis et ordinatis suam de λόγῳ philosophiam praefixit. *Reuss*, as above, p. 57, lays down this alternative: "Either John himself is the author, or he delivered to the author ample and sufficiently attested materials."

<sup>b</sup> Evang. Gesch. I. 106, ff. Comp. on the contrary *Frommann*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1840. p. 909, ff. *Lücke*, Comm. I. 141, ff. *Schweizer*, Das Evang. Joh., &c. p. 9, ff., who calls especial attention to the certainly not intentional chronological thread of the visits to the festivals.

<sup>c</sup> Stud. u. Krit. 1840. p. 765, ff. Cf. *Schweizer*, p. 12, ff.

### § 110 f.

*Alex. Schweizer* likewise finds in our Gospel incongruous and discordant matter, but not in the didactic portions (§ 110 d, note a), nor even in all the historical sections, but only in some "which stand quite apart and alone, woven into no discourses, containing no important expression of Jesus, presenting an essentially different estimate and idea of miracle, without vividness of narrative, and indeed different from each other in style, although they agree in narrating Galilean occurrences." He thinks, by separating these, to restore the simple unity of the plan, which was restricted to the ministry of Jesus in Judæa, and admitted miracles only with important additions in shape of discourses and other results. Besides the small interpolations xix. 35 - 37, xviii. 9, xvi. 30, ii. 21, f., he indicates the following as to be struck out: *the miracle at Cana*, ii. 1 - 12, *the healing of the nobleman's son at Capernaum*, iv. 46 - 54, and *the story of the feeding*, vi. 1 - 26, in which he recognizes the hand which wrote the legendary supplement (chap. xxi.), itself referring likewise to Galilee. In fact, two of these sections relieve us from the striking synoptical parallelisms, and from several of the critic's crosses (ii. 1, iv. 44, 48, 54, vi. 30); and

he points out with uncommon acuteness several apparent incongruities in the connection of these sections with what precedes, and several singularities in the style. But of these special local grounds of proof several are incorrect or not quite convincing;<sup>a</sup> the original connection as restored, especially in vi. 27, ff., is unsatisfactory;<sup>b</sup> and the main argument is untenable, that these Galilean miracles are distinguished by their magical character from the others in the Gospel, and that greater value is meant to be ascribed to them than is elsewhere ascribed to miracles.<sup>c</sup> Finally, the preservation of the rest from all attack could hardly succeed. Consequently this hypothesis would be for many unsatisfactory.

<sup>a</sup> Certainly non-Johannic is *ἀληθινός*, xix. 35, and the address to the reader is unusual; difficult, *τὴν ἡμέρα τὴν τρίτην*; ii. 1, and singular, *ἥ ὥρα μου*, ii. 4; both however (with ii. 4, cf. xvi. 21) are not exactly to be rejected; the believing expectation of Jesus's mother (cf. vii. 3–10, Mark iii. 21?) is obscure and difficult; the un-Johannic *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, iv. 48, is however in this (certainly obscure) relation not inapt; the narrative of the miracle, iv. 54, in comparison with ii. 23, iii. 2, and even with ver. 48, is out of keeping. The greatest inconcinnity is found in vi. 1, ff., *ἀπῆλθεν . . . πέπαυ*, κ. τ. λ., without any account of the return; *τὸ δόρος* (?) (the words *ὅτι ἔώρων*, κ. τ. λ. are misinterpreted by Schw., because he overlooks the imperfect); the known difficulties in ver. 26, 30, f.; the *'Ιουδαῖοι*, ver. 41, 52, which does not apply to Galileans; in the style of writing, ver. 1, ff., certainly similar to that of the Synoptics, yet the Johannic *οὐν* is not wanting, and the strange *ἴν*, ver. 9, is omitted by various codd.

<sup>b</sup> To render the junction of vi. 27, ff. to chap. v. possible, something must previously be cut away. Moreover, the pragmatic reason assigned, in accordance with the proposed connection, for the words *ὅτι ἐξήρουν αὐτὸν* of *'Ιουδαῖοι ἀποκτείναι* (vii. 1), viz. the supposed exasperating (?) tendency of the discourse in vi. 27–71, is not evident; it is also needless, for v. 16 (especially in the common reading) is enough.—The striking out of ii. 1–11 seems to make a sensible gap, and ii. 12, although purified from additions, will not fitly join i. 52.

<sup>c</sup> The healing of him that was born blind (cf. ver. 6 with Mark viii. 23) is magical, and chap. xi. taxes in the highest degree our belief in miracles. In ix. 16, 31, ff., xi. 15, 41, f., a high value is set on the proof from miracles, and the *καὶ ἐπίστευσαν*, κ. τ. λ., ii. 11, which has been called in question, is completely justified by xi. 15, xiv. 29. Cf. Schweigler, in Zeller's Theol. Jahrb. I. 1. 156, f., all of whose objections I cannot approve, least of all that against ii. 1.

## § 110 g.

A critical conclusion which denies to the Apostle John all share in this Gospel, and declares the same to be of later origin, not only involves the odious but inevitable confession that the author was a forger, but is opposed by the improbability that Christian antiquity accepted a Gospel which differed in important points from the evangelic tradition, without having found a sure and satisfactory ground in its apostolic authority.\*

\* Grimm, Allg. Encycl., as before referred to, p. 51.

*Time and Place of Composition.*

## § 111.

According to the Church tradition,\* which is confirmed by the character of the Gospel itself (§ 107 g), it was composed later than the first three Gospels, and therefore about the close of the apostolic age. The circumstances of John's life point in the same direction (§ 108 a). For, if he be the author, he must have written it on Greek ground, whither he came probably at a very late period.<sup>b</sup> There are no precise internal grounds for determining the date of the composition. The passages xi. 18, xviii. 18, xix. 41, by no means presuppose the desolating of the country around Jerusalem;<sup>c</sup> none presuppose the destruction of the city.

In regard to the *place* of composition, the opinions of the ancients vary, some naming Ephesus (*Irenaeus*, III. 1, § 108 a, note a), others Patmos.<sup>d</sup>

\* Euseb. H. E. VI. 14, see § 106, note a. III. 24, § 104, note a. Heron. De vir. ill. c. 9: novissimus omnium scripsit Evangelium. Epiphan. Haeres. LI. § 19: πρώτος μὲν ὁν, ὑστερός δὲ τοῖς ἔτεσιν εὐαγγελισάμενος. The assertion of the latter, l. c. § 12, that John wrote ἐπὶ τῇ γηραλέᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίᾳ, μετὰ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζωῆς, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον, τῇ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καισάριον . . . . , appears certainly in a suspicious connection (see § 108 b, note a).

<sup>b</sup> The determination of the date given by Eichhorn, Einl. II. 156, rests on the genuineness of the Apocalypse, which we cannot acknowledge.

<sup>c</sup> Against Bleek, p. 267; but we cannot, either, with Lampe and others, fix it, from v. 2, in the time while Jerusalem was still standing.

<sup>a</sup> Hippolytus, De XII. Apostolis : Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξορισθεις ἐν Πάτρᾳ τῇ νῆσῳ, ἐν γὰρ τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ συνεγράψατο. Synops. script. in Athanas. Opp. III. 202. ed. Bened.: Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου ὑπηγορεύθη τε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ ἡγαπημένου, ὃντος ἔξοριστον ἐν Πάτρᾳ τῇ νῆσῳ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔξεδόθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διὰ Γαιοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ ἔνοδόχου τῶν ἀποστόλων, περὶ οὐ καὶ Παῦλος Ῥωμαίους γράφων φησί· ἀσπάζεται ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ.

*Of the last Chapter.*

§ 112.

As chapter xx. manifestly ends the work,<sup>a</sup> chapter xxi. must undeniably be regarded as a supplement. It is a question, however, whether it comes from John or from another.

Important objections may be urged against the former view, which is held by several critics.<sup>b</sup> The close, xxi. 24, 25, is acknowledged, even by several defenders of the whole chapter,<sup>c</sup> to be un-Johannic, because of its allusion to the author of the Gospel, the expression *οἴδαμεν* (ver. 24), and the hyperbole (ver. 25). But these verses are so closely connected with what precede, that with their genuineness that also of the whole chapter falls. The mention of John in ver. 20 does not tend to show him as the author. Although the style is in many respects Johannic,<sup>d</sup> in others it excites more or less suspicion.<sup>e</sup> The whole style of narration is less clear and vivid than in the rest of the Gospel (see especially ver. 20, ff.). Verse 23 seems to have been written after John's death, and verse 19 after Peter's, and the whole to belong to an uncertain, obscure tradition.

<sup>a</sup> According to Baur, p. (188, ff.) 236, ff., this conclusion is by the author of the supplement. See, against him, Bleek, p. 179, f.

<sup>b</sup> Gerh. Joh. Vossius, Harm. evang. I. III. c. 4. § 8. Richard Simon, Michaelis, Hug, Eichhorn, Tholuck, H. A. W. Meyer, &c. Older writers, as Wolf, Cur. phil. ad h. l., regard even this supposition as untenable, on account of its inconsistency with the doctrine of inspiration.

<sup>c</sup> Hammond, Paraphras. ad h. l. Beck, Observatt. crit. exeg. P. I. (Lips. 1795. 8vo). Hug, Kuinoel, Tholuck, Guerike (Beitr. p. 68), Meyer. Mich. Weber (Progr. de authentia c. ult. Evang. Joan. Halle, 1823) resorts to the arbitrary expedient of striking out the words τὰ γραφόμενα βεβλαία.

\* Conjunctionless sentences : ver. 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13 (?), 15, 16, 17, 22 ; frequent use of *οὐν*, ver. 5, 6, 7, 9, 13 (?), 15, 23 ; *μετὰ ταῦτα*, ver. 1, cf. iii. 22, v. 1, 14, vi. 1, &c. ; *οὐδέν*, placed after the verb, ver. 3, cf. iii. 27, v. 19, 30, viii. 28, ix. 33, &c. ; *οὐ μέντοι*, ver. 4, cf. iv. 27, vii. 13, xx. 5 ; *δύσπαιον*, ver. 9, 10, 13, cf. vi. 9, 11 ; *διαζώνυμι*, ver. 7, cf. xiii. 4, 5 ; *φανεροῦν ἑαυτόν*, ver. 1 ; cf. vii. 4 (?), cf. Mark xvi. 14.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ver. 1, for ἐπὶ τῇ θ., cf. iv. 6, v. 2 ; the turn ἐφανέρωσε δὲ οὗτος, ver. 1 ; ἔξετάζειν, ver. 12, for ἔρωτάν ; φέρειν, ver. 18 ; ἐπιστραφεῖς, ver. 20, for στραφεῖς, i. 38, xx. 16 ; ἔρχομαι, ver. 23 ; the d. λ. ἐπενδύτης, ver. 7.

The genuineness of the chapter has been doubted by *Grot.* ad Joa. xx. 30, xxi. 24, who regarded it as an addition by the Ephesian elders; *Cleric.* ad Hammond. paraphr. ad. h. l. *Pfeff.* De variis lection. N. T. c. 11, § 5. *Semler*, Einl. z. Baumgartens Polemik. I. 62. *Paulus*, N. Repert. II. 327. Memorab. V. 176. *Gurlitt*, Lectionum in N. T. spec. III. (Hamb. 1805. 4to). *Bertholdt*, Einl. III. 1326. *Lücke*, in his Comment. on the passage. *Seyffarth*, Special-Charakt. d. joh. Schr. 271. *Schott*, De indeole c. ult. ev. Joh. Jen. 1825. Isag. § 43, note 5. *Credner*, Einleit. p. 232. *Neudecker*, p. 334, ff. *Bleek*, Beitr. I. 78. *Grimm*, Allg. Encycl.

Besides the writers mentioned in notes *a*, *b*, the following maintain its genuineness : *Mill*, Prolegg. § 249. *Lampe*, Comment. ad h. l. *Osiander*, Exercit. qua authent. cap. xxi. Ev. Joa. pertractatur. Tüb. 1756. *Papst*, Diss. de authent. c. xxi. Joan. Erl. 1779. *Krause*, Vindiciae cap. ult. Ev. J. Viteb. 1793. *Wegscheider*, Einleit. in das Ev. Joh. p. 173. *Bretschneider*, Probabil. p. 182. *Handschke*, De authent. c. 21. Ev. Joh. e sola orationis indeole judicanda. Lips. 1818. *Erdmann*, Einige Bemerk. über c. 21 des Ev. Joh. Rost. 1819.

## CHAPTER V.

## ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

*H. Bullinger*, Comm. 1533, and often. — *Jo. Bugenhagen*, Comm. 1524. — *Jo. Gerhard*, Adnott. posth. 1669. — *Casp. Sanctii* Comment. L. B. 1616. ed. 2. 1617. 4to. — *Phil. a Limborch*, Commentar. in Acta Apost. et in epp. ad Rom. et ad Ebr. Roterod. 1711. Bas. 1740. fol. — *N. Test. ed. Koppianaæ*, Vol. III. auct. *Heinrichs*. — *Kuinoel*, Comment. in libr. N. T. Tom. IV. 1818. ed. 2. 1827. — *Olshausen*, Bibl. Comment. Theil II. — *H. A. W. Meyer*, Abth. 3. — *Exeg. Handb.* I. 4. — *S. F. N. Mori* Vers. et explic. ed. *Dindorf*. Lips. 1794. 2 vols. 8vo. — *T. W. Hildebrand*, Die Gesch. d. Ap. Jesu exeget. hermeneut. bearbeitet. 1824. 8vo. — *Schrader*, Der Ap. Paulus, &c. Theil V. Uebers. d. AG. mit Anmm. — *J. E. Im. Walch*, Dissertt. in Acta Apost. Jen. 1756–61. 3 vols. 4to.

*Plan and Object of the Book.*

## § 113 a.

THIS is the second part of the evangelic history written for Theophilus (i. 1, cf. Luke i. 1–3), and really contains the continuation. It is not, as the title, *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, added by a later hand, leads us to expect, the history of all or even of the two chief Apostles, but of the *rise, growth, and extension of the Christian community*, for which, as chiefly instrumental thereto, the careers of these two Apostles offer the most materials (Peter, chap. ii.–xii. ; Paul, chap. xiii.–xxviii.). That the author meant to give such a history of the Church appears as well from the passages and narratives<sup>a</sup> referring to the progress of the Gospel and the development of the Church, as from the whole structure of the work.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> i. 8, 15–26, ii. 1, ff., 41, ff., iv. 32, ff., v. 12, ff., vi. 1–7, viii. 4, f., 25, ix. 15, 31, 35, 42, xi. 19, ff., 26, xii. 24, xiii. 48, f., xiv. 21, ff., xv. 1–35, xvi. 5, xviii. 11, xix. 10, 20, xxii. 21, xxiii. 11, xxviii. 17–31.

<sup>b</sup> The words of the Lord : λίγψεσθε δύναμις ἐπελθόντος τοῦ δι. πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθε μοι μάρτυρες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαϊκῇ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, i. 8, contain both the life-problem of the Apostles, and the subject of the work. After the completion of the number of the Apostles, i. 15 – 26, the fulfilment of that promise takes place in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the beginning of the Apostles' ministry in the first preaching and conversion by Peter, through which the little knot of believers in Christ grew to a “community,” chap. ii. How the Apostles, in the power of the Spirit, bear farther testimony in Jerusalem despite the commencing persecution, and what form the community took, iii. 1 – vi. 7. The martyr-testimony of Stephen brings honor to Christ's cause, vi. 8 – viii. 3, and becomes the occasion of the spread of the Gospel to Samaria and elsewhere, viii. 4 – 40. The conversion of Saul, the “chosen instrument” for the proclamation of Christ's name, ix. 1 – 31, paves the way for the chief part of the apostolic work, the conversion of the heathen, which Peter, after having worked in various parts of Judea, ix. 32 – 43, begins by converting the centurion Cornelius and his family. He justifies this step before the Apostles in Jerusalem, x. 1 – xi. 18. Exiles preach the Gospel to the heathen at Antioch also, and Barnabas brings Paul upon the stage of his ministry, xi. 19 – 30. After a narrative of miracles, which, so far as this book is concerned, closes the ministry of Peter, and throws a glory on the cause of the Gospel, xii. 1 – 23 (vs. 24, f. serve as a connection), Paul is introduced, at first in connection with Barnabas, as missionary to the heathen, xiii., xiv. The admission of the heathen is again justified by the Apostles in Jerusalem, xv. 1 – 35. Paul now, without Barnabas, pushes his ministry among the heathen yet farther, to Macedonia and Greece, and founds several communities. He designs, and is promised permission, to preach at Rome (xix. 21, xxiii. 11), but is arrested in Jerusalem, and after a protracted trial carried a prisoner to Rome; and thus his design and promise are fulfilled, though not as he expected, and he is permitted to preach in Rome (xvi. – xxviii.). The word of the Lord (i. 8) being thus fulfilled, the history closes. Were Paul but the second of the chief subjects of the history, it must necessarily have told his farther fate. Cf. the similar views of Ziegler, Ueber den Zweck, die Quellen u. Interpolationen d. AG. in Gabler's Journ. 1801. I. 2. Heinrichs, Prolegg. in Acta App. p. 10, sqq. Kuinoel, Prolegg. in Acta App. p. xvii. Eichhorn, Einl. II. 19, ff. Schott, Isag. § 45. Credner, p. 268, ff. Neudecker, p. 344. The error of finding too little plan in the work is committed chiefly by Hug, § 80. Bertholdt, III. 1334, ff. It is also a mistake to limit the scope of the work by the measure of the materials at command of the author.

### § 113 b.

The work falls very naturally, though without any obvious design of the author, into two parts, chap. i.–xii. and xiii.–

xxviii. Resting-points and transitions, dividing these into sections, also occur, especially in the first part: ii. 42–47; iv. 32–37; v. 12–16; v. 42; vi. 7; viii. 1–3; ix. 31; xii. 24, f.; xiv. 27; xv. 35. In the second part, the narrative is generally continuous, because its subject is the Apostle Paul. As regards the chronology of this part, whose historical matter was more at hand, the author has done no more than arrange it nearly in the order of time, giving here and there days and years (xviii. 11, xix. 10, xx. 6, xxiv. 27, xxvii. 9, xxviii. 11). Points from which to reckon the time are accidentally and undesignedly given in facts whose chronology is otherwise determinable (xii. 23, xviii. 1, xxiv. 27, xxv. 1). Cf. § 118.

## § 113 c.

One, although a secondary, pragmatic point from which the historic narrative may be regarded, is that of an apology for the Pauline Christianity; i. e. to justify, in opposition to the narrow views of the Jewish Christians, on the one hand, the proclamation of the Gospel to the Gentiles, and their reception, without being bound by the Mosaic law as commanded by God and approved by the collective Apostles; and, on the other, the calling, ministry, doctrine, and course of conduct pursued by Paul, the Apostle to the heathen. To regard the whole work as an apology for the Apostle Paul, so that even the first part shall have the same design, and, by placing all Peter's work here in parallelism with Paul's in the second part, aim to justify the latter by the former, is a one-sided view.\*

\* So, after the example of *Michaël*. Einl. II. 1176, *Paul. De consilio, quo scriptor in Act. App. concinnandis ductus fuerit* (Jen. 1798, and in Select. capp. introd. in N. T.). *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 172. *Eckermann*, Erkl. aller dunkeln St. d. N. T. II. Thl. Einl. z. AG., especially following the hint of *Baur* (Urspr. d. Episkopats, 1838. p. 142), from the latter's (Ueb. Zweck u. Veranlass. d. Römerbr. in Tüb. Zeitschr. 1836. III.) stand-point, that Judaism predominated in the Romish Church. *Schneckenburger*, Ueb. d. Zweck d. AG. 1841. *Baur*, Paul. d. Ap. J. Chr. 1845. p. 6, ff. *Schoegler*, Nachap. Zeitalt. 1846. II. p. 73, ff. See, against this, *Exeg. Hdb.* I. 4. p. 9.

*The Author.*

## § 114.

The work was written by the author of the third Gospel, according to tradition, *Luke*, the assistant of the Apostle Paul (§ 101 *a*), whom he is said to have accompanied after Paul left Troas, and, on this account, to speak in xvi. 10–17, xx. 5–15, xxi. 1–18, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16, also as an eyewitness.<sup>a</sup> But such an origin is disproved in part by the statements which contradict Paul's Epistles (ix. 19, 23, 25–28, cf. Gal. i. 17–19; xvii. 16, f., xviii. 5, cf. 1 Thess. iii. 1, f.), and those which are unsatisfactory (xvi. 6, cf. the Epistle to the Galatians, Acts xviii. 22, f.; especially xxviii. 30, f.), as well as by the omission of several facts and circumstances (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32, 2 Cor. i. 8, xi. 25, f., Rom. xv. 19, xvi. 3, f.);<sup>b</sup> partly by the accounts in the first part, which (especially ii. 5–11, cf. x. 46, xix. 6, 1 Cor. xiv. 2, ff.), by their unhistoric character, betray an author distant from the history,<sup>c</sup> and seem, from the analogy of the Gospel and from certain indications (§ 115 *c*), to have been drawn from written sources. But even the accounts given by an eyewitness are, on various grounds, inconsistent with Luke's being author of the whole work.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> At xvi. 10, where "we" begins to be used, Luke is supposed to have joined company with the Apostle; at xvi. 18, where the "we" ceases, to have left him, and remained in Philippi; and in xx. 5, with the "we," to make his appearance again.

<sup>b</sup> The silence in regard to the Jewish-Christian and other opponents of the Apostle in Galatia and Corinth, is explained by the apologetic aim of the author, and by his slight attention to the internal development of Christianity.

<sup>c</sup> According to *Credner*, Luke incorporated oral statements of John Mark, according to *Feilmoser* and *Schneckenburger*, of the Evangelist Philip.

<sup>d</sup> 1. The companions of the Apostle are named elsewhere (xiii. 2, 5, xv. 2, 40, xvi. 3, xviii. 18, xx. 4), but Luke neither in chap. xvi. nor later. 2. The close connection between xvi. 10 and the preceding, and the circumstance that the unknown person included in the "we" is represented as acting with Paul, are inconsistent with the supposition that he makes his first appearance in xvi. 10. 3. The hypothesis that Luke was at that time

assistant to the Apostle, and remained behind in Philippi, is without proof from the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Philippians; and, as he is first mentioned in the Roman Epistles, he probably joined the Apostle first at Rome. 4. Not only does the narrator included in the "we," but also Timothy, disappear in xvi. 17, and we must suppose a double negligence on the part of the author. Cf. Schwanbeck, Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Luc. (1847.) p. 125, ff.

*Sources, and the Use made of them.*

§ 115 a.

We must, therefore, suppose that those sections in which an eyewitness speaks came from a memoir by another writer, one of those written documents which the author, according to a pretty general opinion,<sup>a</sup> used in this work as in the Gospel. It is indeed a matter of question who the author of this memoir is, where it begins, and whether and how it is used where the eyewitness does not speak as such. A great difficulty is, that the style of the writing throughout the whole work is very uniform and closely related to that of the Gospel;<sup>b</sup> the Old Testament is used in the same way;<sup>c</sup> and, with few exceptions, the parts of the work are connected and mutually dependent,<sup>d</sup> and consequently the sources have been freely worked over.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Bollen, Vorber. z. AG. Ziegler, Ueb. d. Zweck, etc. Heinrichs, Prolegg. in Act. App. p. 19. Kuinoel, Prolegg. p. xiii. Bertholdt, III. 1351. Schott, § 46. Königsmann, De fontibus comment. qui Lucae nomen præferunt, in Pott, Sylloge III. Riehm, De fontibus A. App. Traj. 1821. Bleek, Stud. u. Kr. 1838. p. 1039, ff. Schneckenburger, p. 155, ff. Schleiermacher, Einl. p. 351, ff. Schwanbeck (previous §). Against this, Credner, p. 282.

<sup>b</sup> 1. In the grammatical arrangement and formation of the sentences: the optative, rare in the New Testament, nine times, cf. Luke i. 29, iii. 15, &c.; the connection of sentences by *τε*, more than twenty times before xvi. 12, almost unknown in the other Evangelists; *μέν οὖτις* twenty-four times; *διό* ten times; *καὶ τὰ νῦν*, iv. 29, v. 38, xvii. 30, xx. 32, xxvii. 23; *κακεῖθεν*, vii. 4, xiii. 21, xiv. 26, xvi. 12, xx. 15, xxi. 1, xxvii. 4, 12, xxviii. 15; *καὶ ἐγένετο*, *ἐγένετο δέ*, with accusative and infinitive, iv. 5, ix. 32, 37, x. 25, xi. 26, xiv. 1, xvi. 16, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 5, (xxii. 6, 17 with dative, accusative, and infinitive,) xxviii. 8, 17. 2. In characteristic words: *ὑπάρχειν* in the Gospel seven, in Acts twenty-six times; *ἀρνίζειν*, i. 10, xxiii. 1, and eight times more, in the Gospel twice, elsewhere only in Paul; *ἐπλαυσάσθαι*

seven times, in the Gospel five times; διαμαρτύρεσθαι nine times, in the Gospel once; διέρχεσθαι twenty-one times, in the Gospel eleven times; ἀποδέχεσθαι five times, in the Gospel twice, nowhere else in the New Testament; καταλαμβάνεσθαι, iv. 13, x. 34, xxv. 25; ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τ. ὄνομα, ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16, and elsewhere as to *call on*, seven times; ἐπιπίπτειν, viii. 16, xix. 17, and four times more, as in Luke i. 12; διατρίβειν, xii. 19, xxv. 6, 14, and five times more; μαρτυρεῖσθαι, *to have a good repute*, vi. 3, x. 29, xvi. 2, xxii. 12; ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, ii. 4, 14, xxvi. 25 (nowhere else); μεγαλύνειν, v. 13, x. 46, xix. 17, Luke i. 46; ἀνακρίνειν, iv. 9, xii. 19, xvii. 11, xxiv. 8, xxviii. 18, Luke xxiii. 14; κατασείειν τῇ χειρὶ, xii. 17, xiii. 16, xix. 33, xxi. 40; προσέχειν, viii. 6, 10, 11, xvi. 14; συγχέειν, συγχύνειν, ii. 6, xix. 32, xxi. 27, 31; σύγχυσις, xix. 29; διαπονεῖσθαι, iv. 2, xvi. 18; βουλὴ τ. θεοῦ, ii. 23, iv. 28, xiii. 36, xx. 27, Luke viii. 27; σημεῖα κ. τέρατα eight times, elsewhere rarely; ἅξιον θανάτου, xxiii. 29, and three times more, Luke xxiii. 15; ἵκανός, *numerous*, very often; διαθυμαδόν eleven times before xix. 29; καθεξῆς, iii. 24, xi. 4, xviii. 23, Luke i. 3, viii. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Habitual quotation after the Alexandrian version sometimes literal, ii. 34, f., iv. 25, f., viii. 32, f., xiii. 33, 35; sometimes free, from memory, i. 20, ii. 17, ff., 25, ff., iii. 22, f., 25, vii. 3, 6, f., 32, 42, f., 49, f.; xiii. 34, 41, 47, xv. 16, f., xxviii., 26, f.; even when it does not correctly represent the Hebrew text, ii. 25, 28, vii. 42, f., xiii. 41, xv. 16, f.

<sup>d</sup> xi. 16 refers back to i. 5; ix. 1, ff., xi. 19, connects with viii. 1, and prepares the latter for xiii.; ix. 15 for xxvi.; xi. 25 presupposes ix. 30; xii. 25 refers back to xi. 30; xv. 8 to xi. 47; xv. 38 to xiii. 13; xvi. 4 to xv. 23, ff.; xviii. 5 to xvii. 15; xix. 1 to xviii. 23; xxi. 8 to viii. 40, vi. 5; xxi. 25 to xv. 20; xxi. 29 to xx. 4; xxii. 20 to vii. 58, viii. 1; xxiv. 15 to xxiii. 6. Similar reviews and resting-points: ii. 42, iv. 32, v. 12, ff., vi. 7, ix. 31, xi. 19, ff., xii. 24, xiv. 21, ff., xviii. 11, xix. 10, 20, xxviii. 30, f.

<sup>e</sup> All the more striking is the ἡμεῖς, which is here and there retained. But Schwanbeck, as above, p. 188, ff., adduces examples from mediæval chronicles and old Saxon annalists, pp. 991, 995, where a "we" from the original source has remained standing.

### § 115 b.

Some writers have with great probability regarded Timothy as one of the eyewitnesses included in the "we," in xvi. 10.<sup>a</sup> The Silas hypothesis has less probability.<sup>b</sup> This source begins, at least, in the extract xvi. 1,<sup>c</sup> is also traceable where the "we" does not occur, in the minuteness of the narrative,<sup>d</sup> and probably is continued (even though not unchanged) to the end of the work.

<sup>a</sup> Mayerhoff, Einl. in d. petrin. Schr. p. 6, f. (he makes Timothy alone author of the whole work). Bleek, St. u. Kr. 1836, p. 1026, ff. Ulrich,

St. u. Kr. 1837. p. 369, ff., 1840. p. 1003, ff. Reasons: 1. Timothy, from his introduction in xvi. 3, is demonstrably in Paul's company; so also from xx. 5 forth. That he accompanied Paul to Rome is indeed not presupposed by the spurious Second Epistle to Timothy, but agrees with Col. i. 1, Phil. i. 1. 2. In chap. xvi. 18 the "we" is silent, but Timothy also had no share in these transactions, which is not contradicted by the "we" in 1 Thess. ii. 2. On the supposition that the editor omitted what concerned him, Timothy may have written xvi. 18–40; so also xvii. 1–13. Perhaps he came to Thessalonica and also to Berea at a later period. In xvii. 14 a "we" or an "I" was probably altered. The Apostle's speech, xvii. 21, ff., we owe to his recording. His arrival at Athens, and his mission thence (1 Thess. iii. 2), the editor omitted. After his and Silas's arrival at Corinth (xviii. 5), the narrative becomes more vivid. He followed the Apostle to Ephesus also, xviii. 18 (subsequently, at least), whence he was sent, xix. 22; and hence a good deal of vividness and definiteness comes into the narrative, xviii. 18–xix. 40. (After ver. 22 Timothy may have soon returned.) 3. Into the list of names in xx. 4 the editor introduced Timothy's, who in ver. 5 (where *οὗτοι* applies to only the last-mentioned two) again speaks in the first person, and, with Trophimus (xxi. 29), accompanies the Apostle to Jerusalem (for *ἀχρι τ. δοιας*, xx. 4, is only the first terminus of the journey, xx. 15).

<sup>b</sup> Schwanbeck, as above, p. 168, ff. Silas is supposed to continue the narrative from chap. xv. on. This, however, makes the introduction of the "we," xvi. 10, more singular. In xvi. 19, the editor, forgetting Timothy, is supposed to have changed the "us" into Silas. This improbable assumption is required, not by the participation of the former in the imprisonment, — this cannot be shown from 1 Thess. ii. 2, — but by the difficulty of understanding the silence in regard to him. After xvii. 16, Silas simply forgot to mention Timothy's arrival at Athens and his mission thence. He did not give the address in xvii. 21, ff. as an ear-witness. In xviii. 18 he tarried in Corinth, and narrated what follows, ver. 24, ff., from hearsay, out of a special interest in the Corinthian community. In xx. 4, ff. this hypothesis has freer play, and admits of setting *οὗτοι*, in ver. 5, in contrast with all those mentioned in ver. 4. Thenceforward Silas is included in the "we," and regarded as a companion of the Apostle, not only to Jerusalem but even to Rome. The abruptness of the conclusion, xxviii. 30, f., may be explained on the theory that he had himself departed immediately, and therefore is not mentioned even in the Epistles from Rome. However, the mention of Timothy in these allows us to suppose that his departure was only a little later.

## § 115 c.

Besides the narrative of an eyewitness in the second part, from xvi. 10 forth, other traces of the use of various sources

appear;<sup>a</sup> just as, on the other hand, the first part has peculiarities<sup>b</sup> indicating certain sources peculiar to it. The prominent account of Peter, and the twelfth chapter, which does not clearly fall into the pragmatical connection, seem to have come from a work on this Apostle.<sup>c</sup> Chapters xiii. and xiv. are perhaps from a special missionary narrative, and chap. vii. from a memoir of Stephen.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> After xii. 25 : Βαρνάβας δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν, κ. τ. λ., one and the same hand could not have written xiii. 1: Ἡσαν δέ τινες ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ .... προφῆταις καὶ διδάσκαλοι ὅ, τε Βαρν. κ. Συμεὼν . . . κ. Σαῦλος. The same applies to Ἡρόδον τ. τετράρχου and chap. xxv., xxvi. Ἀγρίππας δὲ βασιλέντς, after Ἡρ. δὲ βασιλεύς, xii. 1, ff.—xix. 16, Lachm.'s reading refers to something that is omitted. — xxi. 10 does not presuppose xi. 28. Peculiarities in the language of the second part: διαλέγεσθαι ten times; ἐπίστασθαι nine times, elsewhere only x. 28, not in the Gospel; ἔγκαλειν six times; ἔγκλημα twice; καταντᾶν, from xvi. 1 forth, nine times; ἐπί, expressing continuance of time, twelve times, elsewhere only in x. 16, xi. 10; ὁδός, of the Christian religion, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22, elsewhere only ix. 2. In general, fewer Hebraisms, although phrases with χεῖρ, xv. 23, xxi. 27, and often; with στόρα, xv. 7, xviii. 14; with αἷμα, xviii. 6, xx. 26, and often; with μέσον, xvii. 33, xxiii. 10, xxvii. 21; with πρόσωπον, xvii. 26; with φόβος, xix. 17. Precise, although only comparative, chronology. Little miracle, no angels except in dreaming.

<sup>b</sup> More Hebraism (although this is in itself the appropriate mode of speech for miracle histories and apostolic discourses): νιὸι Ἰσραὴλ, v. 21; νιὸι τῶν προφήτων καὶ τῆς διαθήκης, iii. 25; νιὸι διαβόλον, xiii. 10; ἐνόπιον, in the metaphoric sense, iv. 19, vi. 5, and often; βαστάζειν ἐνόπιον, ix. 15; ὑπὸ τ. οὐρανού, ii. 5, iv. 12; τὰ πετενὰ τ. οὐρ., x. 12, xi. 6. Other kinds of peculiarities: παῖς θεοῦ, iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30; δὲ λεπέρις, v. 24; ἡ γερουσία, v. 21; ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, i. 15, and four more times; προσκαρπεῖν six times; ἔξιστάναι, ἔξιστασθαι, six times; ὅσος, in the first ten chapters, thirteen times, less often in chap. xiii.—xv., afterwards not at all. Mistakes in translation, ii. 24, 33, v. 31, miracles, appearances of angels; chap. ix. 39—42, like Mark v. 38—43.

<sup>c</sup> We may not, with many, assume the κίρυγμα Πέτρου (Clem. Alex. Strom. VI. 636), for this was an apocryphal work. Euseb. H. E. III. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Schwanbeck, p. 211, ff., observes, in addition to the Petrine source:—1. Fragments of a biography of Barnabas, iv. 36, f., ix. 1—30 (or rather ver. 8—30, for the first verses must be formed upon Paul's two speeches in chap. xxii. and xxvi.), xi. 19—30, xii. 25, xiii. 1—xiv. 27 (originally a missionary narrative), xv. 1—4 (where Silas's memoirs have probably been introduced). But the main reason for supposing such a biography of Barnabas that Paul, ix. 27, xi. 25, appears in a measure dependent on him, is not apparent. The chief interest still centres in Paul, who, according to

the history and plan of the Acts, only by degrees arrives at apostolic independence. 2. *Schw.* draws chap. vi. 8–vii. 59, viii. 2, from a work on Stephen. But the phrase ἐπιστάτες συνῆρπασαν αὐτόν, vi. 12, recalls iv. 1, xix. 29, xxiii. 27; verse 10, Luke xxi. 10; vii. 1 recalls xvii. 11; the verb παύεσθαι, vi. 13, is found in Luke alone, of all the New Testament historians; ἀτενίζειν, ver. 15, is one of his favorite words; the verbs διαπρίεσθαι in vii. 54 (cf. v. 33), ὑπάρχειν in ver. 55, and δροῦνμαδόν in ver. 57, are characteristic of him.

## § 115 d.

If Luke used written sources, it is probable that the letters and discourses of the Apostles and others are not a free composition of his own;<sup>a</sup> although it must be acknowledged that the use of the Old Testament,<sup>b</sup> and the style of the writing,<sup>c</sup> are throughout the same, and that similar thoughts and turns occur in the discourses of different persons.<sup>d</sup> It is likely, too, that while not only detached thoughts (xx. 33, ff.), but in a measure also the drift and structure (vii. 2, ff., xvii. 22, ff.), are peculiar and appropriate to the persons and circumstances,<sup>e</sup> infelicities also occur (i. 18, f., v. 36, x. 28, 37, xiii. 39, xxvi. 20).

<sup>a</sup> Eichhorn, Einl. II. 28, f. Frisch, Diss. utrumque Luc. comment. .... non tam hist. simplicitatis quam artificiosae tractationis indeolem habere, (Frib. 1817.) p. 20, sqq.

<sup>b</sup> The citation of Am. ix. 12, in the speech of James, xv. 16, f., according to the incorrect translation of the LXX., befits neither the speaker nor the hearers.

<sup>c</sup> Besides the passages mentioned in § 115, a, note b, observe προχειρίζεσθαι, iii. 20, xxii. 14, xxvi. 16; μωῆμα, ii. 29, vii. 16, like Luke viii. 27, xxiii. 35, xxiv. 1; ἐν' ἀγηθεῖας, iv. 27, x. 34, like Luke iv. 25, xx. 21, 59.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. ii. 25, ff. with xiii. 34, ff.; ii. 39, iii. 25, with xiii. 26; iii. 18 with xiii. 27; iii. 22 with vii. 37; iii. 17, ff. with xvii. 30; x. 40, ff. with xiii. 30, ff. The solemn addresses: i. 10, 16, ii. 14, 22, iii. 12, v. 35, vii. 2, xiii. 16, 26, xv. 13, xvii. 22, xix. 35, xxii. 1.

<sup>e</sup> According to Ebrard, Krit. d. ev. Gesch. p. 899, both the Petrine and the Pauline discourses have many resemblances both to each other and to the Epistles of these Apostles; but his proofs require a close sifting. Supposed peculiarities of the Petrine addressees: ἀλληλοερ δ θέος, ii. 31, iii. 21 (not 24, not xi. 14), cf. however Hebr. i. 1, iv. 8, v. 5; μετανοήσατε καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε, iii. 19, viii. 22 (only μετανόησον); διὰ στόματος θεοῦ (erroneously for Δαβὶδ), τῶν προφητῶν, i. 16, iii. 18 (also 21), iv. 25; ἀσφαλῶς γινώσκετε, ii. 36 (δη. λεγ.); καὶ νῦν οἴδα ἀληθῶς, iii. 17 (only καὶ νῦν οἴδα), x.

34 (ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι); xii. 11, τῇ δρισμένῃ βουλῇ is peculiar to Luke, see § 115 a, note b, Luke xxii. 22; πρόγνωσις, ii. 23 (also 1 Pet. i. 2; προγνώσκειν, 1 Pet. i. 20), cannot be regarded as peculiar to Peter, cf. Rom. viii. 29, xi. 2. The antithesis of Jesus's execution and resurrection, ii. 23, ff., iii. 13, ff., iv. 10, v. 30, (not vi. 10,) x. 39, is essentially the same as xiii. 27, ff. *Ebrard* finds it also in 1 Pet. i. 19, ff., again (?). πᾶς θεοῦ, iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30. θεὸς ἔχριστεν Ἰησοῦν, iv. 27, x. 38. The turn in ii. 38, f., iii. 19, v. 31, is similar to that in xvii. 30, f. The passage, Psalms cxviii. 22, is cited in Acts iv. 11 and 1 Pet. ii. 7, and by Christ himself. Faith through Jesus Christ, iii. 16, (not v. 31,) 1 Pet. i. 21, unto repentance, blessedness from repentance, iii. 19, v. 31, 1 Pet. ii. 21 (?), iv. 1, ff. (?). πίστις τ. ὄντος Ἰησοῦ, iii. 16, iv. 12 (only δύομα), 30 (the same), x. 43 (the same), cf. ix. 15, f., 21, 27, xxii. 16, xxvi. 9. ἀποκατάστασις, iii. 21, is, when compared with i. 6, διάρθρωσις, Heb. ix. 11, nothing peculiar. Cf. besides, *Seyler*, Ueber die Reden u. Briefe des Ap. Petr. in Stud. u. Krit. 1832. p. 53, ff.: "Paul's discourses are given more in Luke's than in Paul's language" (*Tholuck*, Reden des Ap. Paul. in d. AG. ib. 1839. p. 306, ff.); and therefore the lingual peculiarities adduced by *Ebrard* are for the most part not sustained: as, ἄνδρες ἱεραπλῖται κ. οἱ φοβούμενοι τ. θεόν, xiii. 16, 26, cf. x. 2, 22; γενέα, *an age*, xiii. 36, xiv. 16, cf. xv. 21; δ θεὸς δε ἐπούστε τ. οὐρανον, κ. τ. λ., xiv. 15, xvii. 24 (?); πάντως, xviii. 21, xxviii. 4, cf. xxi. 22, Luke iv. 23; ἐγώ γὰρ οἶδα, xx. 25 (ἰδοὺ ἐγώ οἶδα), 29 (ACD. 15. all. Vulg. all. ἐγώ οἶδα); μετὰ δακρύων, xx. 19 (μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης κ. δακρύων κ. πειρασμῶν), 31, cf. Mark ix. 24; πεπολίτευμαι τῷ θεῷ, xxiii. 1, cf. Phil. i. 27; δόδος, *religion*, xiv. 16 (ταῦς δόδοις αὐτῶν is different), xxii. 4, xxiv. 14, cf. ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22. Introduction of short, pregnant, established expressions of Paul by ὅτι, xiv. 22, xvii. 3 (orat. var., as i. 4). The frequent καὶ νῦν, καὶ ταῦν, xiii. 11, xvii. 30 (merely ταῦν), xx. 22, 25, 32, (also xxii. 16, xxvi. 6,) xxvii. 22. The simple ταῦν without καὶ in Peter only, iv. 29 (καὶ ταῦν). But καὶ νῦν also iii. 17, x. 5, xvi. 37, xxiii. 21; καὶ ταῦν also v. 38. καθαρός ἐγώ — post-position of ἐγώ without copula (?) — xx. 26 (ὅτι καθαρός — BCDE εἰμι). That some accordance with Paul is to be expected from the Paulinian Luke is manifest. Much, however, that is adduced is erroneous, or proves nothing, e. g. χαρίζεσθαι, *to compassionate*, in God's relation to man, xxv. (not xxvi.) 16 (also 11), xxvii. 24 (not 23), cf. Rom. viii. 32, 2 Cor. ii. 7, 10 (not 12), xii. 13, Gal. iii. 18, &c.; for there it is used exactly like iii. 14 (in xv. 16 it does not occur). ἀνθρώποις ψυχῆσ, xxvii. 22, and Rom. xi. 15 (only ἀποθλή). ἀπρόσκοπος, xxiv. 16, and 1 Cor. x. 33 (different), Phil. i. 10. The use of πᾶς in xiii. 10, xx. 19, xxiii. 1, but also in xvii. 11, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 31, Jas. i. 2, 1 Pet. ii. 18. τὸ σπέρμα καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν (these do not belong together) xiii. 23, also 32 (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν), is a purely Pauline thought (Rom. ix.). The time before Christ a time of ἀγνοία, xiii. 27 (is parallel with iii. 17), xvii. 30, Rom. ii. 4 (?), x. 3 (?), and many others.

*Credibility.*

## § 115 e.

If it be correct to derive the chief part of the historic matter of the book from written sources, its credibility is secured from the suspicion of one-sided arbitrariness.\* However, the demonstrable mistakes (§ 114) show that examination is not superfluous ; and, as regards the narratives of miracles, suspicion cannot fail of being excited by the circumstance that some contain what is inconceivable (ii. 5, ff.), some what shocks our moral sense (v. 1, ff.), and some vary on being repeated (cf. ix. 7 with xxii. 9 ; ver. 29, f. with xxii. 17, f.). Ignorance of Jewish history and customs appears in v. 36, f., x. 28.

\* *Baur's* suspicions, expressed in his *Abh. üb. Zweck u. Veranlassung des Röm. Br.* (cf. *Kling*, in *Stud. u. Kr.* 1837. p. 290, ff.), detailed more fully in his work, *Paulus der Ap. J. Chr.* 1845, have little critical worth, for he pays no regard to the sources used, even where the eyewitness speaks, *Acts* xvi. 16, ff., and leaves his readers in the dark on this point. “ . . . By this, however, the possibility (?) must not be excluded of its being based on previous works, collections, narratives, journals, as for instance that from Luke's hand of Paul's last journey. That it (the *Acts*) bears on its front the name of Luke (!) presupposes, first, merely the opinion that . . . (it) can have originated only in the Apostle's vicinity. But it must also be considered that the author himself, to whom we ascribe the *Acts* in its present form, must have shared this opinion, for only thus can we explain why, in passages in whose connection Luke is mentioned by name, (where are these passages?) he used the communicative form of address.” *Paulus*, etc., p. 12. The assertion, that the Paul of the *Acts* is another than that of the Pauline Epistles (p. 10, cf. *Schneckenb.* p. 150), is an exaggeration, and it is too bold to doubt the truth of facts attested by an eyewitness, xxi. 20, ff. Paul himself attests his high regard for the Jewish nation and law, Rom. ix. 3, ff. ; that he would not do away the essence of the law, Rom. iii. 31 ; the priority of the Jews in respect of the Gospel, Rom. i. 16, iii. 1, ff. ; his spirit of accommodation, 1 Cor. ix. 20.

*Date of Composition.*

## § 116.

As the narrative closes in the second year of Paul's imprisonment (xxviii. 30), and makes no mention of his death,

the composition is usually supposed to have taken place in that year, and the work to be incomplete. Both are incorrect. The Gospel was probably written after the destruction of Jerusalem (§ 101 c); the Acts still later;\* and therefore the farther history of the Apostle cannot have been unknown to the author. The ground of his silence lay in the work from which he drew, which, while it extended only so far, yet led him to the end that he had in view (§ 113 a). That the author designed adding yet a third part is an arbitrary assumption (*Heinrichs, Credner*).

\* The passage viii. 26, even if it refer to the destruction of Gaza shortly before the Jewish war, mentioned by *Josephus*, B. J. II. 18. 1 (*Hug, Einl. I. 23*), does not serve to fix the date of the composition. The silence regarding the destruction of Jerusalem can also prove nothing.

### *Acceptance in the Church.*

#### § 117 a.

Before *Irenaeus* we find, at the utmost, allusions to Acts, but no distinct quotation from it.\* But in this Father (after 177) the proofs of its acceptance are numerous and certain enough.<sup>b</sup> The book seems to have been less read than the Gospels, and therefore less known.<sup>c</sup>

\* *Ignat. Ad Smyrn. c. 3*: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν. Cf. *Acts x. 41*: Οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. *Polycarp, Ad. Philipp. c. 1*: Ὁν ἔγειρεν ὁ θεός, λύσας τὰς ὡδίνας τοῦ ἄδου. Cf. *Acts ii. 24*: Ὁν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησε, λύσας τὰς ὡδίνας τοῦ θανάτου. *Justin, Dial. c. Tryph. p. 302*: Παθῆτός γενησάμενος δὲ Χριστός. Cf. *Acts xxvi. 23*: Εἰ παθῆτός δὲ Χριστός. *Apol. II. p. 85*: Ιονδαῖοι . . . ἡγύνοσαν (τὸν Χριστόν). Cf. *Acts xiii. 27*: Οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες . . . *Tatian, Or. c. Graec. p. 144*: Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἀνωμάσαστον θέον δωροδοκητέον· δὲ γὰρ πάντων ἀνενθέησε οὐδὲ διαβλητέος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς ἐνδέήσ. Cf. *Acts xvii. 25*: Οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενος τινός. Other allusions in *Lardner, Credibility of the Gospel History*, II. 1, pp. 13, 45, f., 86, are less likely.

<sup>b</sup> *Iren. Adv. Hæres. III. 14. 1*: Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paullo, et cooperarius ejus in Evangelio, ipse fecit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsa productus veritate. Separatis enim, inquit, a Paullo et Barnaba et Joanne, qui vocabatur Marcus, et quum navigassent Cyprum, nos venimus in Troadem (Act. xv. 39): et quum vidisset Paullus per som-

nium virum Macedonem, dicentem : *Veniens in Macedoniam opitulare nobis, Paulle, statim, ait, quae sivimus proficisci in Macedoniam, intelligentes, quoniam provocavit nos Dominus evangelizare eis. Navigantes igitur a Troade, direximus navigium in Samothracen* (Act. xvi. 8, sqq.) : et deinceps reliquum omnem ipsorum usque ad Philippos adventum diligentur significat, et quemadmodum primum sermonem loquuti sunt : *Sedentes enim, inquit, loquuti sumus mulieribus quae convenerant (ver. 13) ; et quinam crediderunt, et quam multi. Et iterum ait : Nos autem navigavimus post dies azymorum a Philippis, et venimus Troadem, ubi et commorari sumus diebus septem* (Act. xx. 6). Et reliqua omnia ex ordine cum Paullo refert, etc. Ibid. § 2. .... In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso . . . multa testificans eis et dicens quae oportet ei Hierosolymis evenire, adjecit (Paulus) : scio quoniam jam non videbitis faciem meam, etc. (Act. xx. 17, sqq.). — Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to those in Asia and Phrygia, in Euseb. H. E. V. 2 : .... Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατεθέντων ηὔχοντο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλεος μάρτυς· Κύριε, μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ταύτην (Acts vii. 60). Clem. Alex. Strom. V. 588 : Καθὼς καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα · ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κ. τ. λ. (Acts xvii. 22). Tertull. De baptismo, c. 10 : Adeo postea in Actis Apostolorum invenimus, quoniam qui Joannis baptismum habebant, non accepissent Spiritum sanctum, quem ne auditu quidem noverant. De jejuni. c. 10 : Porro cum in eodem commentario Lucae et tertia hora orationis demonstretur, sub qua Spiritu s. iniciati pro ebriis habebantur, et sexta, qua Petrus ascendit in superiora, etc.

<sup>c</sup> Chrysost. Hom. I. in Acta Apost. : Πολλοῖς τούτῳ τὸ βιβλίον οὐδὲ ὅτι ἔστι, γνώριμόν ἔστιν, οὐτε δὲ γράψας αὐτὸν καὶ συνθείσ.

## § 117 b.

Some heretics rejected the Acts, but on arbitrary and dogmatic grounds.<sup>a</sup> By the Catholic Church it has never been doubted, and it therefore belongs to the universally accepted books.<sup>b</sup> There appears, however, a slight difference of opinion regarding the author.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Augustin. De util. cred. c. 2. n. 7 : Nostri autem, quod auctoris sui Manichaei personam in apostolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum s., quem Dominus discipulis suis se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum ad nos venisse. Itaque si illos Actus Apostolorum acciperent, in quibus adventus s. Spiritus prædicatur, non invenirent, quomodo id immisum esse dicerent. Augustin. Ep. 237. (al. 253.) n. 2 : Nam quidam Manichaei canonicum librum, cuius titulus est Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Timent enim evidentissimam veritatem, ubi appetit s. Spiritus missus, qui est a Domino Iesu Christo in evangelica veritate promissus. Sub ejus quippe Spiritus nomine, a quo penitus alieni sunt, indocta hominum corda

decipliunt, mira caecitate asserentes, eandem Domini promissionem in suo haeresiarcha Manichaeo esse completam. Quod et illi haeretici faciunt, qui vocantur Cataphryges, dicentes per nescio quos insanos, Montanum scilicet et Priscillam, quos et proprios suos prophetas habent, venisse Spiritum s., quem Dominus missurum se esse promisit. — *Euseb.* H. E. IV. 29, on the Severians: Χρῶνται μὲν οὖν οὐτοὶ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ εὐαγγελίοις, ιδίοις ἔρμηνεύοντες τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νοήματα γραφῶν· βλασφημοῦντες δὲ Παῦλον τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἀθετοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, μηδὲ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀπόστολων καταδεχόμενοι.

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. III. 25, see Part I. § 24.

<sup>c</sup> *Photius*, *Amphiloch.* quaest. 145, in *Galland*, *Bibl. patr.* XIII. 722: Τὸν δὲ συγγραφέα τῶν πράξεων οἱ μὲν Κλήμεντα λέγουσι τὸν Ἐρώμηνον, ἄλλοι δὲ Βαρνάβαν, καὶ ἄλλοι Λουκᾶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν. *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, I. 15.

Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles among the Ebionites. *Epiphan.* *Haeres.* XXX. § 16. *Fabric.* *Cod. apocr.* N. T. II. 762.

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF PAUL AND HIS WRITINGS IN GENERAL.

#### *Chronology of his Life.*

##### § 118.

ONLY towards the end of his life do we find pretty well-established points for determining the chronology. From these we must go backwards, but without always expecting entire accuracy.

#### *Chronological Table.*

##### A. D.

64. In the middle of this year the persecution of the Christians broke out under Nero. Paul must therefore have gone to Rome not later than A. D. 62; otherwise he could not have lived and preached there two years. Therefore,
- 61 or 62, in the Spring, he arrived at Rome (*Acts xxviii. 11–16*), and
- 60–61, in the Autumn, began his journey towards Rome (*Acts xxvii. 1, 9*). Porcius Festus entered on the government of Judea. *Joseph. Ap-*

## A. D.

tiqq. XX. 8. 9 : Πορκίον δὲ Φήστου διαδόχον Φήλικι πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τὴν Καισάρειαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβαίνουσι, Φήλικος κατηγοροῦντες· καὶ πάντως ἀν ἔθεδώκει τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν δὲ Νέρων τῷ ἀδελφῷ Πάλλαντι παρακαλέσατο: συνεχώρησε, μᾶλιστα δὲ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἔχων ἐκείνον. Tacit. Ann. XIV. 65 : Eodem anno (p. C. 62.\* P. Mario, L. Asino Coss.) libertorum potissimos veneno interfecisse creditus est . . . Pallantem, quod immensam pecuniam longa senectute detineret. Felix must, therefore, before this year have been recalled and tried, and Festus put in his place. Pallas, indeed, had long before lost Nero's favor and been removed from affairs. Tacit. Ann. XIII. 2. 14. On this account Süskind, in *Bengel's Arch.* I. 2. p. 317, and *Rettig*, *Quaest. Philipp.* (Giess. 1831) p. 43, sqq., date Festus's succession some years earlier. Probably P. had become reinstated in N.'s favor. J. F. Wurm, in the Tüb. Zeitschr. 1833. I. 12, ff. *Rud. Anger*, *De tempp. in Act. App. ratione* (L. 1833) p. 96 sqq.—Josephus's journey to Rome in his twenty-sixth year, about A. D. 62 or 63, points to about the same time. *De vita*, § 3.

58 or 59. Two years before P. Festus's induction Paul was imprisoned at Jerusalem (Acts xxiv. 27). At that time Felix had already been procurator many years (Acts xxiv. 10); he entered upon his office, however, A. D. 53 (*Joseph. Antiqq.* XX. 7. 1. B. Jud. II. 12. 8, in opposition to which *Tacitus*, Ann. XII. 54, . . . jam pridem Judaeae impositus . . . , is in error), about the same time with Agrippa's transference from Chalcis to the tetrarchate of Philip, after the twelfth year of Claudius.

— —. After Easter of this year Paul departs from Philippi and arrives at Jerusalem, at Pentecost (Acts xx. 6, 16, xxi. 17).

He had previously tarried three months in Achaea (Acts xx. 8).

57 or 58. Journey from Ephesus to Macedonia (Acts xx. 1), probably at the close of the year.

He had previously dwelt about three years at Ephesus (Acts xix. 8, 10, xx. 31); therefore,

54 – 55. Arrived at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1).

Before this, a journey through Galatia and Phrygia (Acts xviii. 23), and

Stay in Antioch (Acts xviii. 22), which must have consumed about a year.

53 – 54. *Fourth journey to Jerusalem* from Corinth, by way of Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18, 22). This journey, according to *Kuinöel*, *Ad Act. App.*, and *Schott*, *Erörterungg. ein. wicht. chronol. Punkte in d.*

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\* Cf., against the year 63, borrowed from the current editions of *Tacitus*, *Güschlen*, *Bemerkk. z. Chronolog. d. N. T. in Stud. u. Krit.* 1831. IV. 728. f.

## A.D.

*Lebensgesch. d. Ap. P.* (Jena, 1832), p. 35, ff., was not made, but Paul went to Cæsarea merely. Opposed to this, see *Rückert*, Comm. üb. d. Br. a. d. Gal. p. 334.

Before this, a stay of a year and a half at Corinth (*Acts xviii. 11*); hence,

52–53. Arrival at Corinth about contemporaneously with the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (*Sueton. In Claud. c. 25, Acts xviii. 1*), which took place in the period from A. D. 48 to 54. *Wurm*, as above, p. 49. *Anger*, l. c. 116, sqq.

Before this,

51–52. The second missionary journey (*Acts xv. 36 – xviii. 1*).

50–51. The third journey to Jerusalem, to the assembly of the Apostles (*Acts xv. 2, ff.*)

Previously : —

(?) The first missionary journey (*Acts xiii. and xiv.*).

Before this, at the time

44. Of Agrippa's death (*Acts xii. 23*, cf. *Joseph.*, *Antiqq. XIX. 8. 2*).

44–45. The second journey to Jerusalem (*Acts xi. 30*), after

43 or 44. A stay of one year at Antioch (*Acts xi. 25, ff.*), and,

41–42 (or 42–43). An undetermined, perhaps two years' stay at Tarsus (*Acts ix. 30*).

40 or 41 (41 or 42). First journey to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion (*Gal. i. 18, Acts ix. 26*).

37 or 38 (38 or 39). His conversion, fourteen years (*Gal. ii. 1*) before his journey to Jerusalem, A. D. 50 or 51 (*Acts xv.*).

But the interval between the last two events is too great. That especially between A. D. 44 or 45 and 51 or 52 is not sufficiently filled up. Hence, the change in the reading of *Gal. ii. 1* from διὰ δεκατοσάπους to διὰ τεσσάρους, proposed by *Grotius*, *Copellus*, &c., and lately adopted by *Guerike* (Beitr. p. 85), *Küchler* (De anno quo P. conversus est L. 1828), *Wurm* (as above, p. 59, ff.), may appear probable. We must then, however, set the data in *Acts xv. 2, xv. 36 – xviii. 1*, farther back, and reckon the four years from the first journey to Jerusalem (*Gal. i. 18*), so that the conversion would fall about A. D. 40, and the journey in *Acts xv. 2* about A. D. 47. But this calculation is again disturbed by the journey in *Acts xi. 30*, A. D. 44 or 45, because the time between the first journey to Jerusalem (which took place A. D. 43) and the second (A. D. 44 or 45) is too short to include Paul's stay at Tarsus and Antioch (*Küchler* considers the stay in Tarsus as of several years' duration; while *Schrader* [Der Ap. Paulus, 1 Th. L. 1830, p. 60] considers it quite short). According to *Keil* (De defin. temp. itineris P. Hierosolym. *Gal. ii. 1.* commemorati in *Pott*, *Syllog. III. 68*), *Hänlein*, *Bertholdi*, *Heinrichs*, *Kuinoel*, *Fritzsche* (*Fritsch. Opuscc. p. 224, sqq.*), *Böttger* (Beitr. III. 12, ff.), and others, the journey in *Acts xi. 30* is one and the same with that mentioned in *Gal. ii. 1*. They reckon it, however,

differently: *Hünlein* fourteen years after the conversion, *Bertholdt* and *Kuinöel* four years after the same (manifestly too early), *Heinrichs* four years after the first journey. *J. E. Chr. Schmidt* (*Chronol. d. AG. in Keil's and Tzschirner's Anal. III. 137*) sets this journey wholly aside, regarding it as identical with that in Gal. i. 18. *Schrader*, I. 72, ff., 120, II. 299, ff., places the journey in Gal. ii. 1 before Acts xx. 2.

If we retain the reading διὰ δεκατεσσάρων, we must assume a pretty early date for the conversion; that above given, A. D. 37 or 38 (or, if the year of the journey be included in the fourteen years, A. D. 38 or 39), the fourth or fifth after Jesus's death, would be the earliest possible. The circumstance, that when Paul escaped from Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 32, *Acts ix. 25*) the ethnarch of Aretas, king of Arabia, was in command at Damascus, contributes very little to the determination of the year of Paul's conversion, as it is not yet proved that this resulted from an invasion (*Wurm*, p. 27, *Anger*, p. 180; on the other side, *Win. Art. Aret.*, *Guerike*, Einl. 336, who considers this invasion as a fact, about the time of the Roman expedition against A. in A. D. 37, and finds in it a settled point for the calculation of the Apostle's chronology). The passage 2 Cor. xii. 2 can also contribute nothing to the determination of the year of Paul's conversion, for it is not likely that Paul meant here the vision narrated in *Acts ix.*

The different determinations of the year of Paul's conversion given by chronologists are: *Eusebius*, A. D. 33, the year of Christ's death; *Baronius*, A. D. 34, two years after Jesus's death; *Usserius*, *Pearson*, *Hug*, A. D. 35, two years after; *Calvisius*, A. D. 34, one year after; *Spanheim*, A. D. 39 or 40; *Bengel*, A. D. 31, one year after; *Vogel* (*Vers. über chronol. Standpunkte, &c.*, in *Gabler's Journ. f. auserl. theolog. Litt. I. 2*), A. D. 33, two years after; *Süskind*, as above, A. D. 32, that of Jesus's death; *Eichhorn*, A. D. 37 or 38, five years after; *Schmidt*, A. D. 41; *Hänlein*, between 36 and 38 (Jesus's death A. D. 33); *Bertholdt*, A. D. 40; *Heinrichs*, A. D. 37, four years after; *Kuinöel*, A. D. 40, seven years after; *Schrader*, A. D. 39, four years after; *Hensen* (*D. Ap. Paulus, Gött. 1830*), A. D. 35; *Schott* (*Isag.*), A. D. 40 or 41; (*Erörterungg.*), A. D. 37–39 (year of Jesus's death, 33). *Meyer* (*Comm. üb. d. AG.*), A. D. 35 (Jesus's death, A. D. 31). Cf. the tables drawn up by *Göschen*, *Anger*, as above, *Olshausen*, *Comm. II.* 550, ff.

Several dissenting and paradoxical views presented by *Köhler* (*Vers. üb. d. Abfassungsz. d. epistol. Schriften im N. T. u. d. Apokal. L. 1830*) and *Schrader*, are examined by *Schott* (*Erörterungg.*, &c.), *Wurm*, *Anger*, as above.

### *History of Paul's Life.—His Descent and Culture.*

#### § 119 a.

*Paul*—so called as missionary of the faith to the heathen (Acts xiii. 9–xxviii., 1 Thess. i. 1, and often), his original

name being *Saul* (Acts vii. 58 – xiii. 9<sup>a</sup>) — was born<sup>b</sup> at Tarsus in Cilicia (Acts ix. 11, xxi. 39, xxii. 3), of Jewish parents of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. iii. 5), and with the rights of a Roman citizen (Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 27, f.).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Jerome*, Catal. c. 5 : Quumque primum ad praedicationem ejus Sergius Paulus proconsul Cypri credidisset, ab eo, quod eum Christi fidei subegerat, sortitus est nomen Paulus (?). This double nomenclature is best explained by the custom of the Jews, especially of such as were Roman citizens, to bear double (Roman) names (cf. Acts xii. 12, 25, xiii. 1, Col. iv. 11). That in the Acts he is at first called Saul, and afterwards Paul, comes from his being known by the latter name as Apostle among the heathen Christians ; and the introducing it in xiii. 9 is occasioned by the first act of apostolic power on the part of him who had hitherto been but a missionary. *Win. RWB.* II. 350. *Neand. Gesch.* d. Pflanzung, etc., I. 135. For other opinions, see *Wits. Meletem. Leid.* p. 47. *Kuinoel, Ad Acta*, xiii. 9.

<sup>b</sup> The statement in *Jerome*, l. c. : . . . de tribu Benjamin et oppido Iudeae Giscalis fuit, quo a Romanis capto, cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciae commigravit, — contradicts the Apostle's own statement, *Acts* xxii. 3.

<sup>c</sup> On the origin of this right of citizenship, see *Cellar. De Pauli Ap. Rom. civit.* (Dissertat. P. II., *Ugolini, Thesaur.* T. XXII.), and other writings, adduced by *Wolf, Cur. philol. Ad Acta* xxii. 28. *Kuinoel, Ad Acta* xvi. 37. That all inhabitants of Tarsus were Roman citizens cannot be proved from *Dio Chrysost.* in *Tarsica poster.* II. 36. ed. Reiske (cf. *Eichhorn*, III. 3), and is improbable from *Acts* xxi. 39, xxii. 24.

### § 119 b.

Paul in his youth did not profit by the Greek culture which flourished at Tarsus. He went early to Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 3),<sup>a</sup> where he received, under Gamaliel, a pharisaico-rabbinic training, the stamp of which his writings bear. He seems, however, to have subsequently, perhaps during his stay at Tarsus (Acts ix. 30), become acquainted with Græco-Jewish learning.<sup>b</sup> Although destined, as it seems, for a scholar, he acquired, according to the Jewish custom, a trade, that of tent-maker (*σκηνοποιός*).<sup>c</sup> He was never married (1 Cor. vii. 7).<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Against *Eichhorn*, II. 9, *Hemsen*, p. 6, see *Tholuck*, Einl. Bemerkk. in d. Stud. d. paul. Br., Stud. u. Krit. 1835. p. 365, f.

<sup>b</sup> *Thalemann, De eruditione Pauli jud., non Graeca.* Lips. 1769. 4to., against the exaggerated opinions of the older writers, e. g. *Strobach, De eruditione Pauli Apostoli.* Lips. 1708. 8vo. *Schramm, De stupenda eruditione*

Pauli Apostoli. Herb. 1710. 4to, and many others. But compare *Henke*, on *Paley*, *Horae Paulin.* p. 449, ff. *Schrader*, *Der Ap. Paulus*, II. 15, ff., 50, ff. Traces of Greek reading: 1 Cor. xv. 33 (?), Tit. i. 12 (?), Acts xvii. 28.

\* Cf. *Hug*, *Einl.* II. 328, *Eichhorn*, III. 8, who, however, erroneously limit his trade to Cilician haircloth.

<sup>a</sup> On the other hand, the opinion that he was married, based on Phil. iv. 3, 1 Cor. ix. 5. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* III. 448. *Euseb. H. E.* III. 20.

### *Paul's Entrance into Christian History.*

#### § 120.

In consequence of his pharisaic culture, he appeared on the stage as a zealot for the law of his fathers and as a persecutor of the young Christian Church (Acts vii. 58 – viii. 3, ix. 2). But a mysterious occurrence on the road to Damascus (Acts ix. 3, ff., xxii. 6, ff., xxvi. 13, ff., 1 Cor. xv. 8, ix. 1),<sup>a</sup> in conjunction with an internal revelation (Gal. i. 15, f.), converted him into a confessor and proclaimer of Christ; so that when, after spending some time in Arabia, he returned to Damascus (Gal. i. 17), he drew persecution on himself (Acts ix. 23 – 25, 2 Cor. xi. 32, f.). After a brief interview with two Apostles in Jerusalem he withdrew to Cilicia (Acts ix. 26 – 30, Gal. i. 18 – 21),<sup>b</sup> where Barnabas sought him out and took him to Antioch, there to work in company with himself (Acts xi. 25).

The sudden revolution in his mode of thinking is at first view the more remarkable, as the formerly strict Pharisee apprehended Christianity with a freer spirit than almost any other disciple, and loosed it from all the bands of Judaism excepting the rabbinic mode of using Scripture, and the eschatology. However, many psychologic reasons may be shown;<sup>c</sup> and the passionate aberration to which his zeal for the Law drove him explains how, when he once acknowledged the truth, he acknowledged the whole truth, and placed himself in the distinctest opposition to Judaism.

<sup>a</sup> Natural explanations given by *Ammon*, *De repentina Sauli ad doctrinam Christi conversione* (*Opusc. theol.* p. 1), cf. *Eichhorn*, *Ueb. d. Bekehrung d. Ap. Paul.*, *Allg. Bibl.* VI. 1, ff.; *Greiling*, *Hist. psychol. Versuch*, &c.

(*Henke's Theol. Arch.* III. 2); *Heinrichs, Exc. V. ad Act. Apost.*; *Schrader*, II. 93, ff. Others are adduced by *Kuinoel, Ad Act. ix.* Opposed to these, *Bengel, Die Bekehr. d. Ap. Paul.* Tüb. 1827. *Neand. Gesch. d. Pflanz.*, &c., I. 147, ff. The objective representation of the conversion given in Acts has, no doubt, its truth in a subjective occurrence, as *Acts xxii. 17, 2 Cor. xii. 1, ff.*

<sup>b</sup> *Schrader*, II. 161, f., and others, suppose that he preached in Cilicia. Cf. *Acts xv. 23, 41.*

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Neand. I. 103, f.*, and *Tholuck's* (as above, p. 377) reference to Gamaliel's liberal style of thought.

### *Paul's Missionary Journeys.*

#### § 121 a.

The church at Antioch, where he labored with other Hellenistic teachers, became the mother-church of that Christianity which was to embrace the world and comprehend all men. She sent him and Barnabas forth on a missionary journey to Cyprus, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia. At first they addressed the Jews, but on being rejected by them, turned to the heathen. They established mixed churches of Jews and Gentiles (*Acts xiii., xiv.*). As a counter action subsequently arose on the part of the Judaistic Christians in Judæa, some of whom excited opposition to Paul and Barnabas in Antioch, they went to Jerusalem to obtain the countenance of the church there. Their mission was successful (*Acts xv., Gal. ii. 1 – 10*).\*

Hereupon Paul, without Barnabas, took his *second* missionary journey, through Syria, Cilicia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia. In Achaia he made a lengthened stay, thence journeyed to Jerusalem, to a festival, and returned to Antioch (*Acts xv. 36 – xviii. 22*). During this journey he established churches in Galatia (*Acts xvi. 6*),<sup>b</sup> Thessalonica, Philippi, and Corinth; and in the last-mentioned city wrote his *Epistles to the Thessalonians*.

\* *Keil* (p. 214) and others regard this journey as the one mentioned in *Acts xi. 30*. The majority, however, accept the above theory (see *Winer, Exc. II. ad ep. ad Gal.*, *Meyer, on Gal. ii. 1*, my *Exeg. Hdb. ib.*), and either suppose the Apostle to pass over that journey in silence, or regard it as not having taken place.

<sup>b</sup> Luke is silent on this point; however, the words, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ (Asia proconsulari) do not contradict it.

## § 121 b.

After a stay in Antioch, Paul took a *third* journey, to Galatia and Phrygia, to strengthen the churches which he had founded there (Acts xviii. 23), and then took up his abode at Ephesus, where he remained more than two years (Acts xix.).<sup>a</sup> Here probably he wrote his *Epistle to the Galatians*, and, towards the close of his residence, the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Hereupon he went to Macedonia and Achaia, and remained three months at Corinth (Acts xx. 1, 2). Before his arrival there he wrote the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, and at Corinth the *Epistle to the Romans*. During this period he exerted himself greatly to raise a contribution in aid of the Christians at Jerusalem (Acts xxiv. 17, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, ff., 2 Cor. viii. f., Rom. xv. 25, ff.).

<sup>a</sup> In regard to the journey to Corinth, which the Acts has not mentioned, and some writers have supplied, see § 132 a, note a.

*Paul's Arrest.*

## § 121 c.

In the spring of this year he went from Philippi by way of Troas to Miletus, and thence through Tyre, Ptolemais, and Cæsarea to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 3–xxi. 16), where, in spite of a precautionary measure and of his defence before his countrymen, he incurred the hatred of the Jews, and was imprisoned (Acts xxi. 17–xxii. 29). In vain he defended himself before the Sanhedrim and the procurator Felix, who kept him in prison two years at Cæsarea (Acts xxii. 30–xxiv. 27). Receiving no justice even from Festus, the successor of Felix, he found himself compelled to appeal to the Emperor, and was accordingly carried a prisoner to Rome, where he remained two years before his case was decided (Acts xxv.–xxviii.). Here he wrote his *Epistles to Philemon*, the *Colossians*, and the *Philippians*, and it is commonly supposed also the *Epistle to the Ephesians*.

*Paul's Second Imprisonment at Rome, and Execution.*

## § 122 a.

Several Church Fathers, and even *Eusebius*, represent the Apostle as suffering martyrdom in Nero's persecution of the Christians.<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* asserts, on the authority of a Church tradition, that before this time he was liberated from the imprisonment at Rome, mentioned in Acts,<sup>b</sup> under Nero.

\* *Euseb.* H. E. II. 25 : Κραταουμένης δ' ἦδη τῷ Νέρων τῆς ἀρχῆς .... κατ' αὐτῆς ὡπλίζετο τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεόν εὐσεβείας ..... Τούτου δὲ πάλιν δὲ Ρωμαῖος Τερτυλλιανὸς .... μνημονεύει. .... Ταῦτη γοῦν οὗτος θεο-μάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρώτως ἀνακηρυχθείς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγάς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς 'Ρώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτιμθῆναι, καὶ Πέτρος ὁσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ιστοροῦνται. Καὶ πιστοῦνται γε τὴν ιστορίαν ἡ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεύτερο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτόθι κα-μητηρίων πρόσρησις. Οὐδέν δ' ἡττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ Γάϊος ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον 'Ρωμαίων γεγονὼς ἐπίσκοπον (about A. D. 196), δε δὴ Πρό-κλωφ τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προϊσταμένῳ γράμμῃ ἔγγράφως διαλεχθείς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων ἔνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατέθειται, φησίν. "Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐάν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανόν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄδον τὴν Ὀστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ιδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν." ("Strictly speaking, this is only a proof that the Apostle suffered here during this persecution ; the place of martyrdom is the Christian's token of victory, even although it was not his burial-place." Description of Rome by *Platner, Bunsen*, etc., II. 1. 52. "This is the more probable, as, according to other accounts, the bones of the Apostle, pretended to have been found in the Catacombs, were first transferred to his grave between A. D. 260 and 330, when the Constantinian Basilica enclosed it. Eusebius, however, manifestly understood the words of Caius to refer to the graves of the Apostles." *Baur, Paul.* etc., p. 237.) 'Ως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος (about A. D. 170) ἔγγραφως 'Ρωμαῖοις δημιλῶν, δόδε πως παρίστη-σιν. "Ταῦτα (ταῦτη) καὶ ὑμεῖς, διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν 'Ρωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνυκεράσατε. Καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς, δημόσιας ἐδίδα-ξαν · δημόσιας δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν δηδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν." *Tertull. Scorpiae*, c. 15 : Orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, quum illic martyrii renascitur generositate. De praescript. c. 36 : Habes Romam .... ubi Pe- trus passioni dominicae adaequatur, Paulus Johannis exitu coronatur. *Euseb. Chron. ed. Maj. et Zohrab.* p. 375 : Nero ad cetera scelera persecu-

tionem quoque Christianorum primus adjunxit, sub quo videlicet Petrus et Paulus Apostoli martyrium Romae consummaverunt. *Lactant.* De mort. persecut. c. 2: Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romanum advenit . . . convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Qua re ad Neronem delata cum animadverteret . . . magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum . . . ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosiliuit ad excidendum coeleste templum . . . et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos Petrum cruci affixit et Paulum interfecit. *Sulpit. Sever. Hist. s. II. 29:* Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati, quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus crucem sublatus est (Tum refers back to initio, as *Wurm*, in the Tüb. Ztschr. 1833. I. 83, correctly remarks, contrary to *Schott*, Erört. p. 120). *Euthalius*, in *Millii N. T. ed. Küster*, p. 252: Μετέπειτα δὲ καθολικὸν ἐκίνησε διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, καὶ σῦντος κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγάς. *Syncell. Chron.* p. 339: Νέρων πρώτος κατὰ χριστιανῶν κινήσας διωγμόν . . . — καθ' ὃν Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησαν οἱ θεῖοι ἀπόστολοι, πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους χριστιανῶν ἀνέδει, πλείονας ἐκδιώξας. Also *Ps. Abdias* (*Hist. Apost. in Fabric. Cod. apost. N. T. II. 454*) represents the Apostle as dying in the first and only imprisonment.

¶ *H. E. II. 22:* Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον· δεύτερον δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν (Νέρωνα) τελειωθῆνα μαρτυρίῳ· ἐν φεδρῷ δεσμῷ ἔχόμενος τὴν πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάπτει, διμοῦ σημαίνων τὴν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν παραπόδας τελείωσιν. Δέχον δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας. “Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου,” φησίν, “ἀπολογίᾳ οὐδεὶς μοι συμπαρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον· μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθεί· ὁ δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέ με, ἵνα δὲ ἐμοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῇ καὶ ἀκούσωσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος.” Σαφῶς δὲ παρίστησι διὰ τούτων, ὅτι δὲ τὸ πρότερον, ὡς ἀν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πληρωθείη, ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτη ὡς ἔσικε διὰ τὸ ώμόθυμον προσειπὼν· οὐκοῦν ἔχῆς προσέθεικε παραπλήσιών τι, τὸ ρύσεται με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος. ‘Εώρα γάρ τῷ πνεύματι τὴν δύσοι οὕτω μέλλουσσαν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. Διό φησιν ἐπιλέγων τῷ “καὶ ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος,” τὸ “ρύσεται με δέ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον,” σημαίνων τὸ παραντίκα μαρτύριον . . . . Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν εἴρηται, παρισταμένοις ὅτι μὴ καθ' ἥν δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Παύλου, τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη. So also *Hieron. De script. eccles. c. 5*, and *Euthalius*, l. c.

## § 122 b.

But if the Apostle perished in the persecution under Nero, the chronology (§ 118) allows no interval for his re-

lease from the first imprisonment and for a second. As we find, before the time of Eusebius, but one, and that a very uncertain, support, in *Clement of Rome*, for this supposed tradition ;<sup>a</sup> as *Origen* is totally ignorant of it ;<sup>b</sup> as, moreover, Eusebius, in support of his statement, appeals quite too emphatically to *2 Timothy*, — we seem constrained to regard it as a supposition of his own, made after the example of some other Father.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 1. ad Corinth. c. 5 : Πέτρος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ' ἔνα σύνδε δίο, ἀλλὰ πλείους ὑπέμεινεν πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὁφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. Διὰ ζῆλον δὲ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἀπέσχεν, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, ράβδισθείς, λιθασθείς· κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ τῷ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τῷ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν. δικαιοσύνην διδάξας δὲν τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν θυγον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός. By τέρμα τ. δ. Spain is understood, and by ἡγουμένων the administrators of the empire, Helios and Polycletos, appointed during Nero's absence ; and thus Paul's death is fixed in the latest part of Nero's reign (*Heidenreich, Pastoral. Br. II. 15*). The latter expression is understood more correctly by *Neander*, AG. I. 390, *Schott, Erörterung*. p. 129, as a general expression for the mighty of the earth (Matt. x. 18) ; and that τὸ τέρμα τ. δ. cannot refer to Spain is shown by the connection ; for the three clauses, ὑπομονῆς . . . . ἀπέσχεν, τὸ γεν. . . . ἔλαβεν, ἀπηλλάγη, κ. τ. λ., are co-ordinated, and the participles belonging to them all refer to the same factum. Consequently, ἐν τῇ δύσει and ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθώ indicate the same thing, while the relative τέρμα may without difficulty be regarded as a strong rhetorical expression for the far-east terminus of the Apostle's course (cf. Rom. xv. 19). See *Schenkel, Ueb. d. zweite Gesangensch. d. Ap. Paul. in Stud. u. Krit. 1841. p. 77* (with whom I cannot quite agree in taking the expression in its subjective sense), cf. *Schrader, I. 235. Baur, Tüb. Zeitschr. 1831. IV. 148, ff.* Clement wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem (*Schenkel*, p. 65), and cannot, therefore, mention Paul's martyrdom as later than in Nero's persecution ; but for that very reason it is not probable that he, like later writers (*Athanas. ad Dracont. ep. T. I. p. 956. Cyrill. Hieros. catech. XVII. 3*), refers to and rests on Rom. xv. 24, because of the Apostle's journey to Spain. On the other hand, Dionysius's assertion, that Peter preached in Corinth, may well have originated in 1 Cor. i. 12. — In *Muratori's Fragm. on the Canon* (Part I. § 21), another trace of the journey to Spain is found : “Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt Lucas optime Theophile comprehendit, qui sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed profecitionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis. Cf. *Hug, I. 124*.

<sup>b</sup> In *Euseb.* III. 1: Τί δεῖ περὶ Παύλου λέγειν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εὐαγγελιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὑστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος;

\* And indeed, perhaps, as *Göschen*, *Schluss zu Hensen*, p. 741, and *Schrader*, I. 252, suppose, for the purpose of harmonizing his false chronology — according to which he places the carrying away of the Apostle from Cæsarea in the fourteenth year of Claudius, and his arrival at Rome in the first of Nero — with Acts and with the fact that Paul suffered martyrdom under Nero. Something, however, yet remains unexplained. Cf. *Wurm*, as above, p. 94. It is worthy of note that the apocryphal *Acta App.* know nothing of a second imprisonment. See *Fabric.* *Cod. apocr.* II. 452, sqq. *Acta Petr. et Paul. ed. Thilo*, Hal. 1837, 1838. Against the theory of a second imprisonment there are, besides *Baur*, *Göschen*, *Schenkel*, *Schrader*: *Schmidt* and *Eichhorn* in their *Einl.* *E. F. R. Wolf*, *De altera Pauli captivitate*. Lips. 1819–21. *Hensen*, p. 707, ff. *Winer*, *RWB.* II. 260, f. *Reuss*, *Gesch. d. Schr. d. N. T.* § 64. *Matthiä*, *Pastoralbr.* p. 185, ff., 593, f.; of the older writers, *Petavius*, *Lardner*. In favor of it: *Bertholdt*, *Einl.* V. 2746, f. *Mynster*, *Kl. theolog. Schr.* p. 291, f. *Heidenreich*, *Pastoralbr.* II. 6, ff. *Guerike*, *Beitr.* p. 121. *Böhl*, *Absfass. d. Br. an Tim. u. Tit.* p. 91, ff. *Köhler*, *Absfassungsz. d. epist. Schr.* p. 109, ff. *Wurm*, as above. *Kling*, *Anh. z. Flatt's Vorless. üb. d. Br. P. an Tim. u. Tit.* p. 545, f., 590, ff., cf. however p. 615. *Neander*, as above, p. 528, ff. *Schott*, *Isag.* p. 198, f., *Erört.* p. 116, ff. *Credner*, p. 317. *Neudecker*, p. 397, ff.

### *Paul's Epistles.*

#### § 123 a.

The letters of the Apostle are the most important monuments of the early Christian times, although almost all refer to subjects of special, and in part ephemeral, interest. They are the true expression of a great mind, and both in their contents and style of writing bear a distinct literary stamp; hence the theory of *Bolten* and *Bertholdt*, that they were composed in Aramaic, has not the slightest likelihood. The genuineness of the most important of them is beyond all dispute, and they form the solid kernel of the collected writings of the New Testament. Antiquity, with one consent, accepted thirteen Epistles of Paul as genuine; only the fourteenth, that to the Hebrews, was disputed.<sup>b</sup> Modern criticism has started doubts against but a few of them, the strongest against the so-called pastoral letters and that to

the Ephesians. Their arrangement in the manuscripts and editions of the New Testament rests on an arbitrary disposition of the rank of the communities and persons to whom they are addressed. We prefer to arrange them according to the chronology of their composition.

\* Wholly, or in the main, peculiar ideas, words, and idioms : ἀγαθωσύνη, δικαιώσις, δικαιόμα, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦσθαι, καταλλάσσειν, καταλλαγή, μεσίτης, νιοθεσία, ἄνθρωπος παλαιός, ἄνθρ. καινός, κτίσις καινή, χάρισμα, contrast of πίστις and νόμος, of σάρξ and πνεῦμα, ἐνδύεσθαι, ἐκδύεσθαι in the tropical sense, κεφαλὴ of Christ, κλῆσις, οἰκοδομή, μυστήριον, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, θέλω ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, γνώσκειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, τοῦτο δέ φημι, οἶδα γάρ, τί ἔροῦμεν; ἀλλ' ἔρει τις, ή ἀγνοεῖτε; μὴ γένοτο, οἴον; τί γάρ; Cf. § 161 a, note b. The style of the Apostle is distinguished by parentheses, anacolutha, and rapid turns.

See the testimony of *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Clement of Alex.*, and *Eusebius*, in Part I. §§ 21, 23, 24.

### § 123 b.

Probably one of Paul's Epistles is lost, that which preceded our First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. v. 9).<sup>a</sup> We have in Armenian a pretended *Third Epistle* following the other two to the Corinthians, and an earlier letter from the Corinthians to Paul. Both, however, are spurious.<sup>b</sup> Col. iv. 16<sup>c</sup> refers to a lost letter to the Laodiceans. On the other hand, we have a spurious interchange of letters between Seneca and Paul.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> But *Chrysost.* and others understand ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ to mean the First Ep. to the Corinthians itself. They do not admit that letters have been lost. So also *J. G. Müller*, *De tribus Pauli itineribus Corinthum susceptis de epistolisque ad eosdem non deperditis*. Bas. 1831. p. 23, sqq. *Stosch*, *De epistolis App. non deperditis*. Gron. 1753. *Bleek's theory* of a letter to the Corinthians written between our two canonical epistles, see § 133, note a.

<sup>b</sup> *Epistolae S. Pauli ad Corinth. et Corinthiorum ad S. Paul. Armenice ex Museo Viri Clar. Philipp. Massonii, versionem Lat. accurante Dav. Wilkins, Amat. 1715. 4to, copied by Fabric. Cod. apocr. N. T. III. 666, sqq.* Published in more complete form by *Wm. and George Whiston* as an appendix to their edition of *Moses Chorenensis*: Appendix literaturae Armeniacae, quae continet epistolas duas, primam, Corinthiorum ad Paulum, alteram, Pauli Apostoli ad Corinth., nunc primum ex cod. ms. Armen. integre pleneque editus et Graece Latineque versus. — *Epistolae duae apocryphae, altera, Corinthiorum ad Paulum Apostolum, altera, Pauli Ap. ad Corin-*

thios, quae dicitur periisse, ex cod. ms. Armen. nunc primum editae separatis, Graeceque et Latine versae, et additis Guil. atque Geo. Whistoniorum notis, praefat. et animadversa. auctae a Joh. Bened. Carpzov. Lips. 1776. 8vo. Complete according to several Armenian MSS. in *Pasqual Aucher*, Grammar Armenian and English. Venice, 1819. p. 117. W. F. Rink, Das Sendschreiben der Corinther an den Ap. Paulus und das dritte Sendschr. Pauli an die Corinth. in armen. Uebers. erhalten, und verdeutscht u. mit einer Einl. üb. d. Aechth. begleitet. Heidelb. 1823. Against the genuineness maintained by him, see *Ullmann*, in the Heidelb. Jahrb. 1823. No. 34.

\* Erroneous explanation of *Theodoret* and others, that a letter from the Laodiceans to Paul is meant. Many vainly try to prove the Epistle to the Ephesians to be this (§ 145). *Stein* (Anh. z. s. Comm. z. Ev. Luc.), resting on an ambiguous passage in *Philastr. Haeres. LXXXVIII.*, considers it the Epistle to the Hebrews. Cf. *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. z. Einl. ins N. T. p. 153, ff. Following several older writers (*Eglin*, *Affelmann*, *Zeltner*), *Wieseler* (Progr. de ep. Laodicena. Gott. 1844) seeks it in the Epistle to Philemon (cf. § 141 b). Traces of a spurious letter to the Laodiceans in *Jerome*, De vir. ill. c. 5: Legunt quidam et (epistolam) ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur. *Theodoret*, Comm. ad Coloss. iv. 16: Ταῦτα ὑπέλαθον καὶ πρὸς Λαοδικέας αὐτὸν γεγραφέντας, αὐτίκα τοίνυν καὶ προσφέροντι πεπλασμένην ἐπιστολήν. 'Ο δὲ θεος ἀπόστολος οὐν ἔφη καὶ τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικέας δῆλλα καὶ τὴν ἐξ Λαοδικείας ἔκεινοι γάρ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τινων ἔγραψαν. Εἰκὼς γάρ αὐτοὺς ἡ τὰ ἐν Κολοσσαῖς γενόμενα αἰτιάσασθαι, ἡ τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις νεοστηκέναι. Διὸ καὶ ταῦτη εἴπε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν κάκείνοις ἀναγνωσθῆναι. Cf. *Fabric.* Cod. apocr. N. T. II. 860, sqq., where, and in p. 873, sqq., the letter itself is translated into Latin and Greek (according to *Hutter*, in his N. T. XII. Lingg. Norimb. 1699), and printed. It is found also in *Reinecc.* Polygl. Lips. 1747, f. p. 957. *Michaëlis*, Einl. II. 1281. *Henke* on *Paley*, Hor. Paul. p. 371, ff.

\* *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 12: Lucius Annaeus Seneca Cordubensis . . . . quem non ponerem in catalogo Sanctorum, nisi me illae epistolae provocarent, quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum. *Augustin.* Ep. 153 (al. 54) ad Macedonium, § 14: Merito ait Seneca, qui temporibus Apostolorum fuit, cuius etiam quaedam ad Paulum Apost. leguntur epistolae: omnes odit, qui malos odit. The letters are found in Latin in *Fabric.* l. c. p. 892, sqq.

#### *Aids to the Exegesis of the Epistles of Paul.*

Cf. §§ 9, 62. *Primasii* in omnes P. epp. comm. Col. 1538. — *Thom. Aquin.* Comm. in epp. Paul. Bas. 1475. fol., &c. — *Guil. Estii* in omnes Paul. et al. App. epp. comm. Duac. 1614. Mogunt. 1841. — *Calvin*, Comm. see p. 85. — *Jo. Bugenhagen*, Adnotatt. in epp. ad Gal. Eph. etc. Argent. 1524. 8vo. — *Henr. Bullinger*, Comm. in omnes epp. apost. Tig. 1537. fol. — *Wolfg. Musculi* Comm. in epp. ad Rom. (Bas. 1555. fol.), ad Corinth. (1559),

ad Gal. Eph. (1561), ad Philipp. etc. (1565). — *Andr. Hyperii* Comm. in Paul. epp. Tig. 1583. fol. — *F. Balduini* Comm. in omnes epp. Pauli. Fref. 1644. 4to; 7th ed. 1710. fol. — *J. Quistorpii* Comment. in epp. Pauli. Rost. 1652. 4to. — *Jo. Crocii* Comm. in epp. P. minores (ad Gal. Eph. Philipp. Thess. Tim. Tit. Philem.). Marp. 1663. Cass. 1680. 2 tom. fol. — *Seb. Schmidii* Comment. in epp. Paul. ad Rom. Gal. et Col. una cum paraphrasi ep. 1. ad Cor., utriusque ad Thess., 1. ad Tim., ep. ad Philem. et Cantici Mariae. Hamb. 1704. 4to. — See *J. Baumgarten's* Ausleg. d. Br. a. d. Röm. Halle, 1747. Ausleg. d. Br. Pauli an die Eph. Gal. Phil. Col. Philem. und Thess., mit einigen Beiträgen von *J. S. Semler*. Halle, 1767. 4to. — *J. D. Michaelis*, Paraphr. u. Anmerkk. üb. d. Brr. P. an d. Gal. Eph. Phil. Col. Thess. Tim. Tit. u. Phil. (Gött. 1750.) Brem. 1769. 4to. — *J. Locke's* Paraphr. Erkl. und Anmerkk. üb. P. Br. an d. Gal. Kor. Röm. u. Eph. Aus d. Engl. von *J. G. Hofmann*. Fref. 1768, 1769. 2 vols. 4to.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### PAUL'S EPISTLES WRITTEN BEFORE HIS IMPRISONMENT.

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#### I. *Epistles to the Thessalonians.*

*Zanchii* Comm. in epp. ad Eph. Phil. Col. Thess. Neost. 1591, ff. (Opp. T. VI.). — N. T. ed. *Koppe*, Vol. VI. *Olshausen*, Vol. IV. *Ereg. Hdb.* II. 3. — *J. A. Turretin*, Comment. in epp. P. ad Thess. Basil. 1739. 8vo. — *J. Fr. v. Flatt*, Vorless. üb. d. Br. P. an d. Phil. Kol. Thess. u. Philem., herausgeg. v. *Kling*. Tüb. 1829. 8vo. — *Lud. Pelt*, Epp. Pauli Ap. ad Thessal. perp. illustr. comm. Gryph. 1830. — *H. A. Schott*, Epp. P. ad Thess. et Gal. comm. perp. illustr. Lips. 1834.

*Founding of the Church at Thessalonica.*

#### § 124.

THESSALONICA (*Θεσσαλονίκη*), formerly Thermæ, situated on the Bay of Thermæ, newly built by Cassander and named in honor of his wife Thessalonica, daughter of Philip the Elder, in the time of the Romans capital of the second district of Macedonia, and a very populous commer-

cial city, was visited by Paul in company with Silas,<sup>a</sup> on his second missionary journey. He soon gained adherents there, especially among the Proselytes, but was compelled in a short time to leave the city on account of a tumult raised by the Jews (Acts xvii. 1–9). His preaching of the Gospel, which, on account of the shortness of the time, was incomplete (1 Thess. iii. 10, iv. 13), seems to have had a prevailingly apocalyptic tendency (hence the political charges of the Jews, Acts xvii. 7), and to have made a profound impression on the susceptible minds of the Thessalonians. — Thence he went to Bercea, whence also he was driven, and compelled to go to Athens; but he left his companions behind with instructions soon to follow him (Acts xvii. 10–15). Meanwhile he went to Corinth, where they rejoined him (Acts xviii. 5).

<sup>a</sup> According to Acts xvii. 1, Timothy seems to have remained at Philippi, and subsequently to have followed him. Acts xvii. 14 shows him at Bercea. According to 1 Thess. i. 1, ii. 1, Timothy also stood in close connection with the church at Thessalonica, although this may rest on his journey thither, iii. 1, f. It is, however, possible that he went from Philippi to Thessalonica.

*First Epistle.*

§ 125 a.

According to the indications contained in the Epistle, Paul wrote it in the company of Silvanus (Silas) and Timothy (i. 1), while yet full of the recollection of his visit to Thessalonica (i. 9, ii. 1, ff.); he longed to see the Christians there once more (iii. 10), and was filled with anxiety about them (iii. 5). On this account he had twice purposed to revisit them (ii. 17, f.), and had sent Timothy to them (iii. 1, ff.). In their depressed condition they needed strengthening (iii. 2, f., 13, cf. ii. 14) and further improvement (iii. 10). The accounts brought by Timothy were quieting; the community was firm in faith and active in its love (iii. 6–9, iv. 10). It suffered, however, from some immoralities, which the Apostle had already orally rebuked (iv. 3–6, 11, f., v. 14), and needed, in general, moral admonition. Instruc-

tion regarding the fate of the dead at Christ's coming was also necessary (iv. 13 – v. 11). — The whole burden of the Epistle thus indicates that it was composed soon after the founding of the Church, in the first part of Paul's residence at Corinth, after the return of Silas and Timothy from Macedonia, about A. D. 52 or 53.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> So *Baron. Corn. a Lap. Est. Bez. Grot. Mill.*, and most modern critics.

### § 125 b.

The supposition of a later origin is in no wise required by the fact that overseers are presupposed (v. 12, f.), that disorders had crept in (iv. 11, f., cf. 2 Thess. iii. 10), that deaths had occurred (iv. 13), in Thessalonica, nor by the warning in 2 Thess. ii. 2, and the precautionary statement in 2 Thess. iii. 17.<sup>b</sup> Nor does i. 8 constrain us to suppose that the Apostle in the mean time went beyond Macedonia and Achaia.<sup>b</sup> The greatest difficulty lies in the impossibility of harmonizing the mission of Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica and his return thence (iii. 1, f.) with Acts xvii. 15, xviii. 5.<sup>c</sup> This can be removed only by an hypothesis which shall fill out and correct the account in Acts, namely, that Timothy had returned to Athens alone,<sup>d</sup> or with Silas,<sup>e</sup> and, sent thence to Thessalonica, met Paul in Corinth.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On these and other grounds, *Schrader*, I. 90, f., 164, places the Epistles to the Thessalonians during Paul's stay in Greece, and especially in Athens, Acts xx. 2; at the same time he supposes a visit of the Apostle to Thessalonica before Acts xx. 2, which is not mentioned in Acts, during a journey to Macedonia, that must be inserted before Acts xix. 21. See *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. z. Einl. ins N. T. p. 165, ff., who, among other objections to this theory, forcibly adduces 1 Thess. iv. 10, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 1. *Anger*, De tempp. in Actis App. ratione, p. 67, sqq. *Schott*, Prolegg. p. 6, sq., 14, sqq.

<sup>b</sup> As *Calov.* and *Büttger*, Beitr. II. 22, suppose, he took a journey from Corinth to Athens. *Michaelis*, Einl. p. 1206, dated the composition later on this account, and *Köhler*, Vers. üb. d. Abfass. Zeit., &c., p. 68, f., 112, ff., places it, on this account and because of ii. 14–16, in the time of the Jewish war.

<sup>c</sup> For this reason *Wurm*, Tüb. Zeitschr. 1833. I. 78, dates the composition during the Apostle's residence at Athens, after a supposed journey from Antioch (Acts xviii. 22) to Macedonia and Greece.

<sup>d</sup> So *Eichhorn*, *Bertholdt*, *Schneckenburger*, and others.

<sup>e</sup> So *Michaelis* and *Schott*, who sends Silas to Berea. *Hug* and *Hemsen*

suppose that neither Silas nor Timothy went to Athens, but that the latter went from Berea to Thessalonica, contrary to iii. 1, f.

<sup>f</sup> This supposition is far easier than that of a journey of the Apostle not mentioned in Acts. — Cf. *Burgerhoudt, De coetus Christianorum Thessalon. ortu fatusque et prioris Pauli iis scriptae ep. consilio atque argum.* L. B. 1825.

### § 125 c.

The contents of the Epistle are in two parts. I. Outpourings of the Apostle's heart to the church at Thessalonica; its condition, its circumstances, his reception there, his anxieties on its behalf, and the consolation he had received (chap. i. – iii.). II. Moral warnings (iv. 1–12); consolation in regard to the fate of the dead at the expected speedy return of Christ (iv. 13–17); admonition to be constantly prepared for that event (v. 1–11); other admonitions and conclusion (v. 12–28).

### *Second Epistle.*

#### § 126.

After sending his First Epistle, the Apostle must have again received intelligence from Thessalonica. He learned that the community had remained steadfast under fresh persecutions (i. 4), but, at the same time, that it was disturbed by its impatient expectation of Christ's coming (ii. 1, ff.), and that the immoralities gently rebuked in 1 Thess. iv. 11 continued (iii. 6–15). To remove these errors is the aim of the Second Epistle, which, in other respects, presupposes the same circumstances as the First (i. 1), save that iii. 2 perhaps contains a reference to the complaints urged by the Jews against the Apostle (Acts xviii. 12, ff.). Accordingly, the date of the Epistle falls in perhaps the latest period of Paul's stay at Corinth (about A. D. 53 or 54).\*

Contents: — Commendation, promises, and benedictions in view of the sufferings of the community (i. 3–12). Instruction with reference to the coming of the Lord, not extremely near, since it must be preceded by the appearance of Antichrist (ii. 1–12); to this a warning is appended (ii. 13

– 17). Repeated exhortations, especially to an orderly, industrious life, and conclusion (iii.).

\* So *Eichhorn*; *Grotius* supposes that this is the First Epistle.

*Genuineness of these Epistles.*

§ 127 a.

Before *Irenaeus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, and *Tertullian*, the references to these Epistles are in the highest degree uncertain.\* By these Fathers, however, they are distinctly quoted,<sup>b</sup> and both belong to the universally accepted writings.

\* *Clem. Rom.* Ep. 1. ad Corinth. c. 38: 'Οφειλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 18: 'Εν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε (!). *Ignat.* Ad Polycarp. c. 1: Προσευχαίς σχόλαις ἀδιαλείπτοις. *Polycarp*, Ad Philipp. c. 4: 'Ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 17: 'Αδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε (!). *Polycarp*, c. 2: 'Απεχάμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 22: 'Απὸ παντὸς εἰδούς πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε (!). *Polycarp*, c. 11: Et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia et ignorantia membra revocate. Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 15: Καὶ μὴ ὡς ἔχθρον ἡγείσθε, ἀλλὰ νοοθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν (!). *Justin. Mart. Dial.* c. Tryph. p. 836: "Οταν καὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἀνθρώπος, δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑψιστὸν ἔξαλλα λαλῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνομα τολμήσῃ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς χριστιανούς, κ. τ. λ. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3: .... 'Εάν μὴ ἀληθὴ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον, καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ δὲ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>b</sup> *Irenaeus*, Cont. haeres. V. 6. 1: Et propter hoc Apostolus se ipsum expensis . . . in prima epist. ad Thess. dicens sic: Deus autem pacis sanctificet vos perfectos, et integer vester spiritus et anima et corpus sine querela in adventum Domini Iesu Christi servetur. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23. Ib. iii. 7, 2: Et iterum in secunda ad Thess. de Antichristo dicens, ait: Et tunc revelabitur iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 8. — *Clemens Alex. Paedag.* I. p. 88, sq. ed. Sylb.: Τοῦτό τοι σαφίστατα δικάριος Παῦλος ἵπεσημάντο εἰπών, "δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἴναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι ἐγενήθημεν ἥπιοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, ὡς δὲ τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ έαυτῆς τέκνα." Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 7. *Strom.* V. 554: Οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι, φησίν δὲ ἀπόστολος, ἡ γνῶσις προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα ρύσθωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων· οὐ γάρ πάντων ἡ πίστις. Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 2. — *Tertullian*, De resurrect. carn. c. 24: Et ideo majestas Spiritus sancti perapicax ejusmodi sensuum et in ipsa ad Thess. epistola suggerit: "De temporibus autem et temporum spatiis, fratres, non est necessitas scribendi vobis," etc. (cf. 1 Thess. v. 1), et in secunda, pleniore sollicitudine ad eosdem: "Observebro autem vos, fratres, per adventum D. N. Ies. Christi et congregationem nostram ad illum, ne cito commoveamini animo," etc. (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 1, ff.).

## § 127 b.

The genuineness of both Epistles, especially of the Second, has however, in modern times, been disputed, chiefly on account of ii. 1–12, where the coming of Jesus is postponed yet farther by the doctrine of Antichrist,—a doctrine nowhere shown to be Pauline,—in opposition to the expectation of his speedy return expressed in 1 Thess. iv. 15, 1 Cor. xv. 52. This is said to contradict the First Epistle, and to betray a time of composition when this coming had been long expected in vain. Moreover, by the caution against false epistles (ii. 2), and the token of genuineness at the end (iii. 17), suspicion is thrown on the genuineness of the First Epistle. Further, in the Second Epistle various special allusions are copied from the First, while the Second itself is not in harmony with historically ascertained relations.<sup>a</sup> But it is no contradiction of the First Epistle, that Paul, after exhorting them (1 Thess. iv. 15) to steadfastly await the second coming of Christ, felt himself bound to moderate their too excited expectation; and 2 Thess. ii. 1, ff. is written completely in the spirit of primitive Christianity (cf. v. 1). The measure of precaution, iii. 17, could raise no suspicion against the First Epistle, if the latter, as is probable, was sufficiently authenticated by the manner of its sending. Against the last objection, see § 126.<sup>b</sup>—The doubt of the genuineness of the Second Epistle raised by *Kern*, on his explanation, from a later historical stand-point,<sup>c</sup> of the prophecy in iii. 3, ff., falls with this to the ground.

<sup>a</sup> *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, *Vermuth. üb. d. beiden Briefe an d. Thessal.* in his *Bibl. f. Krit. Exeg. u. KG.* II. 380, ff. Einl. ins N. T. II. 256, ff. (In the earlier editions of this work, these doubts were strengthened.) *Baur*, *Paul. etc.* p. 485, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Guerike*, *Beitr.* p. 93, ff. *J. G. Reiche*, *Authent. poster. ad Thess. ep. vindiciae.* Gott. 1829. 4to. *Exeg. Hdb.* II. 3. 124, 132, ff.

<sup>c</sup> *Tübing. Ztschr.* 1839. II. Heft. Other grounds: the Second Epistle imitates the First Epistle in many passages, and its style of writing is not Pauline. See, against this, *Exeg. Hdb.* II. 3. Einl. z. 2 Thess. No. 3.

## § 127 c.

Against the genuineness of the First Epistle, it has been urged,<sup>a</sup>— 1. that it contains in the main merely a detailed account of the historic course of the conversion of the Thessalonians, given in Acts, with allusions to other Epistles, especially those to the Corinthians; 2. that ii. 14–16 is not by Paul, because of its sweeping attack on the Jews and of the Apostle's mode of connecting his sufferings with those of Christ and the Prophets, but, as appears from the conclusion, was written after the destruction of Jerusalem; 3. that the language of i. 7, f., 17, ii. 10, iv. 9, 11, f., does not consist with the alleged early date of the composition; 4. that such a thorough apocalypticism as appears in iv. 13, ff., 2 Thess. ii. 1, ff., is not Pauline. But the first objection is invalidated by the contradiction in iii. 1, f. to the Acts; and the rest, although in part based on actual exegetical difficulties, spring from subjective opinions, which may be counterbalanced by others.

<sup>a</sup> *Baur*, as above, p. 481, ff.

II. *Epistle to the Galatians.*

*Hieron.* Comm. in ep. ad Gal. Opp. VII. ed. Vallars.—*Luther*, In ep. ad Gal. Comm. de anno 1519. a. 1523. ab auctore recogn. Opp. Jen. Tom. I. III. Hall. IX. Comm. ex praelectt. D. *Mart. Luth.* Viteb. 1532. Jen. IV. Hall. VIII.—*Balth. Stolberg*, Lectiones publ. in ep. ad Gal. Vitemb. 1667. 4to.—N. T. ed. Koppe, Vol. VI.—*Olshausen*, Comm. Vol. IV.—*Meyer*, Comm. VII.—*Exeg. Handb.* II. 3.—*Baumgarten-Crus.* II. 2.—*Schott*, Comm., see above.—*Mori*, Acroases in epp. Paul. ad Gal. et Eph. (ed. Eichstaedt). Lips. 1795. *Morus*, Erkl. d. Br. a. d. Gal. Görl. 1798.—*E. A. Berger*, Interpret. L. Bat. 1808.—*G. B. Winer*, Pauli ad Gal. ep. Latine vertit et perp. annotat. illustravit. Lips. 1821. 8vo. 3d ed. 1829.—*J. Chr. v. Flatt*, Vorless. üb. d. Br. P. a. d. Gal. u. Eph., herausgeg. v. Kling, Tüb. 1828.—*H. E. G. Paulus*, Des Ap. Paulus Lehrbr. an d. Gal. u. Römer-Christen. Heidelb. 1831.—*L. J. Rückert*, Comm. Leipz. 1833.—*Leonh. Usteri*, Comm. Zür. 1833.—*C. Steph. Matthies*, Erkl. Greifsw. 1833.—*C. F. A. Fritzsche*, De nonn. P. ad Gal. ep. locis comment. I. – III. in *Fritschiorum* Opp. p. 158, sqq.—*Sardinoux*, Commentaire. Valence, 1837.—*Windischmann*, Erkl. Mainz, 1843.

*Founding of Christian Churches in Galatia.*

## § 128 a.

Galatia, or Gallograecia, a region of Lesser Asia, bounded on the north by Bithynia and Paphlagonia, east by Pontus and Cappadocia (the boundary stream was the Halys), south by Cappadocia (Lycaonia) and Phrygia, west by Phrygia and Bithynia, was seized about 250 B. C. by Celtic and Germanic immigrants (among whom were also Tectosages) and called after them, but 189 B. C. was conquered by the Romans, and 26 B. C. changed into a Roman province.<sup>a</sup> In the cities, especially the flourishing commercial city of Pessinus, many Jews dwelt, whom Augustus had taken under his protection.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Gottl. Wernsdorf*, *De republica Galatarum*. Norimb. 1742. 4to. *Schulze*, *De Galatis*. Fref. 1754–57. 4to. *Hofmann*, *De Galatia antiqua*. Lips. 1726. 4to. *Mynster*, Einl. in d. Br. an d. Gal., kl. theolog. Schriften. No. II. p. 49, ff. *Win. RWB. art. Gal.* *Rosenm. Alt. K. I. 2.* p. 210, ff. *Hieron. Prol. ad comment. in ep. ad Gal.*: *Unum est quod inferimus .... Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnia Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem paene habere, quam Trebiros, nec referre, si aliqua inde corruerint, etc.* Cf., on the contrary, *A. W. v. Schlegel*, *Ind. Bibl. II.* 182, ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Monument. Ancyran.*, in *Edm. Chishull, Antiq. Asiat.* p. 165. *Joseph. Antiqq. XVI. 6, 2.* Contrary to this passage, to 1 Peter i. 1, and to our Epistle itself, *Schneckenb. AG.* p. 104, asserts that there were no Jews in Galatia.

## § 128 b.

Paul was unquestionably founder of the churches there (Gal. i. 8, iv. 13, 19). He came thither for the first time on his second missionary journey, Acts xvi. 6; the second time, Acts xviii. 23, when he only *strengthened* the Christians there. He had, therefore, preached the Gospel there on his first journey.<sup>a</sup> The churches there, as elsewhere, consisted in part of Jewish (Gal. iii. 2, 13, iv. 3, 21), in part, and perhaps chiefly, of heathen Christians (Gal. iv. 8, v. 2, vi. 12).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Acts xvi. 6 does not say that Paul had not preached in Galatia*, cf. *Schmidt*, *Einl. II. 244.* From Gal. ii. 13, where Paul mentions Barnabas,

it does not follow that Barnabas was personally known to the Galatians; nor can *eis τὴν περιχώρον*, Acts xiv. 6, mean a journey to Galatia; hence the conversion of the Galatians cannot be placed in this period. (This is opposed to *Koppe*, Prolegg. in ep. ad Gal., and *Keil*, Ueb. d. Zeit. d. Abfass. d. Brief an d. Gal., in *Keil* and *Tzschirn.* Anal. III. 66. *Ulrich*, in Theol. St. u. Kr. 1836. p. 456.) *Mynster*, p. 60, tries to show that, according to a broader idiom, Galatia includes Lycaonia and Pisidia. He supposes that the Epistle to the Galatians was addressed to the Christians in these provinces also, and consequently places the conversion of the Galatians in the time of Acts xiii. 14–xiv. 23. (See, on the contrary, *Winer*, Prolegg. in ep. ad Galat. p. 6. *RWB.*) According to *C. W. Niemeyer* (*De temp. quo ep. ad Galat. conscripta sit*. Gott. 1827), *Paulus* (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1827, and in appendix to his translation), *Bütlger* (Beitr. z. Einl. in d. paul. Br. III. 1, ff.), the Galatians whom Paul addressed are the inhabitants of the region around Derbe and Lystra. But Luke, Acts xiv. 6, xvi. 1, 6, expressly distinguishes these cities from Galatia, and places them in Lycaonia; indeed, all the writers of that time separate the latter region from Galatia, e. g. *Plin.* V. 25. See *Rückert*, p. 297. *Magaz. f. Exeg., &c.*, I. No. III. *Usteri*, p. 219, f. According to *Schneckenburger* (previous δ, note δ), cf. *Baur*, p. 252, f., merely heathen Christians.

*Occasion, Date, and Contents of the Epistle.*

§ 129 a.

After Paul's departure, Judaizing teachers (cf. Acts xv. 1, 5, Gal. ii. 12)<sup>a</sup> came to Galatia, who sought to diminish his authority (i. 1, 11, ff.), condemned his doctrine, and asserted the necessity of circumcision (v. 2, f., 11, f.), so that a portion of the Galatians went astray, and inclined to abandon Paul (i. 6, iii. 1, 3, iv. 9, ff., 21, v. 2, ff., 7), while others remained true to him (v. 13, vi. 1). Our Epistle is intended to counteract these hostile agencies. It is, however, a question when these hostile agencies made their appearance, and whether the Epistle was written after Paul's first or his second journey.<sup>aa</sup> On the first supposition, it was written either at Troas (Acts xvi. 8),<sup>b</sup> or at Corinth (Acts xviii. 11).<sup>c</sup> In neither of these cases, however, would the false teachers have had time enough to effect anything against the Apostle, or the Galatian church to develop so far as is assumed in iii. 2–5, v. 7, vi. 6. The date of the composition, therefore, is necessarily subsequent to the second journey, to which also

iv. 16, v. 21, vi. 13 (?), seem to refer. The appearance of the false teachers must be placed in this period, and not, with *Rückert, Hensen, Schott, Credner, Neudecker*, before the second journey.<sup>d</sup> After this journey the Apostle resided at Ephesus for a long time, during which the above-mentioned events might take place in Galatia, and the tidings of them reach Paul. Here also he wrote this letter with his own hand,<sup>e</sup> probably not very long after his return thence (cf. i. 6), about A. D. 55 or 56.

<sup>a</sup> But they seem not to have been born Jews, vi. 13, cf. v. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Quite outside of this circle is *Keil's* theory, which places the conversion of the Galatians (Acts xiv. 6), and the composition of the Epistle, which took place soon after, before Acts xv., on the ground that he regards the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. ii. as the same with that in Acts xi. 30.

<sup>c</sup> This *Schmidt* supposes, Einl. I. 245. *Michaelis*, II. 1195, has a similar view.

<sup>d</sup> This is *Mynster's* theory, p. 72, *Koppe's* also, pretty nearly. Both, however, assume an earlier journey to Galatia.

<sup>e</sup> That Paul had nothing to do with these opponents on the occasion of a second stay appears from the surprise attested by i. 6, iii. 1 (hence also *Credner* and *Neudecker* suppose they had found new acceptance after the second journey), from the indefinite way in which Paul apprehends them (see remarks on v. 7), and, finally, from iv. 19, f. rightly understood (see remarks on the passage). Cf. *Neander*, AG. I. 356, f.

<sup>f</sup> So *Hönlein, Hug, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Schott, Credner, Winer, Rückert, Neander*, and others; of the older writers, *Claud. Antissiod.*: ἐγράφη ἀπ' Ἐφέσου. The prevailing opinion among the ancients (*Hieron., Ps. Athan., Oecum.*, and others) since *Theodoret*, and accepted even by *Baron., Calov., Hamm., Schrad., Köhler*, is expressed in the subscription: ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Πόμης.

### § 129 b.

The Epistle falls naturally into two parts, of which the first (chap. i., ii.) aims to defend the Apostle's authority. The second refutes the doctrine that the Mosaic Law is necessary, by the great truth of the saving power of faith, and that of the spiritual freedom of Christians (chap. iii. – v. 12), and contains a warning not to abuse this freedom (v. 13 – 25), with other moral admonitions and precepts (v. 26 – vi. 10). Finally, the conclusion (vi. 11 – 18).

*Genuineness of the Epistle.*

## § 130.

This Epistle agrees so closely with the Apostle's history (certain variations from the Acts excepted), and bears so distinctly the impress of his spirit, that not the least doubt can be raised against the church tradition which ascribes it to him, although this tradition is first attested by those Fathers who flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century.\* The allusions found by *Lardner* in the Apostolic and other very early Fathers, are too uncertain.<sup>b</sup>

\* *Irenaeus*, Cont. haeres. III. 7, 2 : Sed et in ea, quae est ad Galatas, sic ait (Apostolus) : Quid ergo lex factorum ? Posita est, usque quo veniat semen, cui promissum est, etc. Cf. Gal. III. 19. *Clemens Alex.* Strom. III. 468 : Διὸ καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάται ἐπιστέλλων, φησί· τεκνία μου, σὺν πᾶλιν ὀδίνω, κ. τ. λ. Cf. Gal. iv. 19. *Tertullian*, De praescript. c. 6 : Nec diutius de isto, si idem est Paulus, qui et alibi haereses inter carnalia crimina numerat, scribens ad Galatas.

<sup>b</sup> *Clemens Rom.* in Ep. I. ad Corinth. c. 49 : Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δὲ Χριστὸς δέ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. Cf. Gal. i. 4 : .... Τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν .... κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. *Ignat.* in Ep. ad Philadelph. § 1 : .... ἔγραν ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων ἡξιώθη τὴν διακονίαν .... ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐν νεκρῷ (of the bishop there). Cf. Gal. i. 1 : .... ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐν νεκρῷ. *Ad Magnesianos*, § 8 : Εἰ γάρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ περιτομὴν σαρκὸς ἔσ- μεν, ἀρνούμεθα τὴν χάριν εἰληφέναι. Cf. Gal. v. 4 : Κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιούσθε τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε. *Justin. Martyr.* Orat. ad Graecos, p. 40 : Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ· ὅτι καὶ γὼ ήμην ὡς ὑμεῖς. Cf. Gal. iv. 12 : Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ γὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς.

III. *Epistles to the Corinthians.*

N. T. ed. Kopp. Vol. V. Part. I. compl. 1 Cor. c. i. — x. cont. *Pott.* — *Olshausen*, III. 1. — *Meyer*, V. VI. — *Baumg. Crus.* II. 2. — *Exeg. Handb.* II. 2. — *Phil. Melanchthonis* Adnotatt. in epp. P. ad Romanos et Corinth. 1523. 4to. &c. — *J. L. v. Mosheim*, Erkl. d. 1. Br. 1741. 4to. Neue Ausg. mit d. Erkl. d. 2. Br. aus d. mosheim. Nachlass von *Windheim*, ib. 1762. 4to. — *J. Chr. Fr. Schulz*, Erkl. des 1. u. 2. Br. Halle, 1784. 2 Theile. — *Morus*, Erkl. der beiden Brr. Leipz. 1794. — *F. A. W. Krause*, Perp. annot. Vol. I. 1. ep. compl. Fr. ad M. 1790. — *Chr. A. Godofr. Emmerling*, Ep. post. perp. comm. ill. Lips. 1823. — *C. F. A. Fritzsche*, De non-nullis post. ep. locis diss. duae. Lips. 1824. — *A. L. Chr. Heydenreich*, Comment. in priorem ep. 3 vols. Marb. 1825—28. — *J. F. v. Flatt*, Vorless. üb. d. beiden Brr. herausgeg. von *Hoffmann*. Tüb. 1827. 8vo. — *Gust. Billroth*, Comm. Leipz. 1833. — Die Brr. P. an d. Cor. bearb. v. *L. J. Rückert*. 1836—37. — *C. A. Scharling*, Ep. P. ad Cor. post. illustr. Havn. 1840. — *J. E. Osiander*, Comm. üb. d. 1. Br. Stuttg. 1847.

*Founding and State of the Church at Corinth.*

## § 131 a.

Corinth, the capital of the province of Achaia, a wealthy commercial city, seat of the worship of Venus and of luxury, but also of learning and eloquence,\* was visited by Paul on his second missionary journey (about A. D. 52 or 53). He dwelt there a year and a half, and subsequently, under the mild rule of the Proconsul Gallio, perhaps longer (Acts xviii. 12—17), actively propagating the Gospel, while working at his trade with Aquila and Priscilla (ib. ver. 3, 11). Although he soon met with opposition from the Jews (Acts xviii. 6), while the Gentiles, corrupted by the sophists and orators, took offence at the artless simplicity of the Gospel (1 Cor. i. 22), he gained many adherents to the faith (Acts xviii. 8),—among the Gentiles, however, chiefly of the humbler and uneducated sort (ver. 26, ff.),—and, at his departure with Aquila and Priscilla, left behind him a large church.

\* *J. E. J. Walch*, Antiquitt. Corinthiaceae. Jen. 1761. 4to. *Wilkens*, Spec. antiquitatt. Corinth. select. ad illustrationem utriusque ep. Paulinae. Brem. 1747. *Wagner*, Spec. rer. Corinth. Darmst. 1824.

## § 131 b.

As he subsequently took a missionary journey through Phrygia and Galatia (about A. D. 54 or 55), Apollos (Apollonius), an Alexandrian scholar whom Aquila and Priscilla had instructed more fully in Christianity at Ephesus, came to Corinth, and labored for the Gospel with much acceptance (Acts xviii. 24–28). As he probably shared Paul's views, he simply carried on Paul's work (1 Cor. iii. 6). Certain teachers of Jewish origin, on the other hand (2 Cor. xi. 22), came to Corinth furnished with letters of introduction (2 Cor. iii. 1), who, boastfully claiming apostolic authority (2 Cor. v. 12, xi. 18, 22, xii. 11), forced themselves into Paul's sphere of labor (2 Cor. x. 13, ff.), detracted from his authority (1 Cor. ix. 2), placed themselves above him (2 Cor. xi. 5), and led to disobedience towards him (2 Cor. x. 5, f.). Their doctrine was different from that of the Apostle (2 Cor. xi. 4), and indeed they seem, in the presumption of an arrogant pride (1 Cor. iv. 6–8), to have perverted the essence of historic Christianity in the service of a false philosophy (1 Cor. i. 17–ii. 5).

## § 131 c.

These "false apostles" (2 Cor. xi. 13), who sought to undermine Paul's authority, probably occasioned the formation of four different parties in Corinth (1 Cor. i. 12), which named themselves respectively after *Paul*, *Apollos*, *Peter*, and *Christ*. The first was undoubtedly composed of those who owed their conversion to Paul, and acknowledged his authority. Apollos's adherents are commonly supposed to be they who preferred him to Paul, on account of his greater knowledge and eloquence; but the attack on worldly wisdom in 1 Cor. i. 17, ff., on which this opinion rests, cannot be aimed at the method of a teacher who certainly used no such wisdom. The most natural theory is, that they who had been converted and instructed by Apollos took his name. Equally common and equally erroneous is it to regard the Petrinians as Christians who held Judaizing, anti-Pauline doctrines.

In no part of the Epistles is a trace of this opposition perceptible, not even in 2 Cor. v. 16. We have no option, therefore, save to regard those Christians as members of the Petrine party, who, in the vexed question concerning the partaking of meat offered to idols (cf. 1 Cor. viii. – x.), accepted the authority and the decision of the first of the twelve Apostles (Acts xv. 29). Some have attempted to show that the fourth, the Christine, party, as well as the above opponents of Paul, was composed of Jewish Christians;<sup>b</sup> but the most probable hypothesis is, that they professed (like the Apostle Paul himself) to stand in immediate connection with Christ (through visions and inspiration), and therefore rejected the authority of all Apostles.<sup>c</sup> This view alone makes certain polemical and apologetic passages in the Epistles (1 Cor. ix. 2, 2 Cor. x. 5, ff., xii. 1, ff.) clear. The separation of the parties was by no means so complete, as *Eichhorn* supposed, as to prevent their assembling in the same place (cf. 1 Cor. xi. 18, xiv. 23). — Besides these divisions, the church suffered also from the licentiousness prevailing at Corinth (1 Cor. v. 1, 9, vi. 12, ff., x. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 21).<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Not three, as *Chrysost.* and others, *Rügiger*, Krit. Unters. üb. den Inhalt d. beiden Brr. an d. Cor. (1847) p. 37, ff., erroneously explain 1 Cor. i. 12.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Storr* (*Notitiae histor. epistolarum P. ad Cor. interpretationi servientes*, § 4, Opusc. II. 552, sqq.), the latter were disciples of James, the brother of the Lord, and therefore boasted of being in nearer connection with him; according to *Baur* (*Tüb. Ztschr.* 1831. IV. 61, ff., Paul. etc. p. 261, ff.), they named themselves after Christ, as disciples of Peter, one of the genuine disciples of Christ. But no trace appears of an appeal to the authority of either James or Peter. According to *Fr. Becker* (*Die Parteien in d. Gemeinde zu Corinth.* Alt. 1842. p. 45, f.), the Petrinians were foreign Christians, who had emigrated to Corinth (?). The Jewish Christians there adopted their doctrine and tendency, but were unwilling to oppose with them the disciples of Paul and Apollos, having been themselves converted by these Apostles. They therefore adopted a higher and middle position, and called themselves after Christ.

<sup>c</sup> Thus *Schenkel*, *Diss. de eccles. Corinth. primaeva factionibus turbata.* Bas. 1838. Before *Schenkel*, *H. Jäger* (Erkl. d. beiden Brr. d. Ap. Paul. nach Corinth aus dem Gesichtspunkte der vier Parteien das. Tüb. 1838) regarded them, in a similar way, as those who opposed the other three parties, which over-estimated the apostolic authority, and rejected both

the apostolic authority and the κίρρυγμα. Schenkel's hypothesis was adopted, in the main, also by D. H. Goldhorn in *Ilogen's Ztschr.* 1840. II. 121, ff., although he contradicts both in some points, and differs in his apprehension of various passages; by Dühne (Die Christus-Partei in der apostol. Kirche z. Korinth. Halle, 1841); also by Kniewel (Eccles. Corinth. vetust. dissesiones et turbae. Danz. 1841. 4to), according to whom the Christianians rejected the authority of all the Apostles, and professed to know and be united to Christ through their own insight (p. 46). Neander, AG. L 388, ff., adopts the negative part of the hypothesis, namely, that the Christianians professed to be independent of the Apostles, but thinks that some among them were philosophizing Christians. — Our former theory, that the Christine party asserted a neutral position (with Eichhorn, Pott, Schott, Rückert, Meyer), is unsatisfactory.

<sup>a</sup> *Hesych. κορινθιάς ειν, μαστρωπεύειν, ἐταρεύειν. Dio Chrys. Orat. Corinth. II. 119. ed. Reisk. : . . . καὶ τοι πόλιν οἰκεῖτε τῶν οὐσῶν τε καὶ γεγηγένεων ἐπαφροδιτογάτην.*

### *First Epistle.*

#### § 132 a.

Such may have been the position of Corinthian affairs<sup>a</sup> when Paul came from Galatia to Ephesus (about A. D. 55 or 56). Here probably he heard, for the first time, of the irregularities there prevailing, and warned them against these in a letter now lost (1 Cor. v. 9).

Subsequently receiving through Chloë's servants (1 Cor. i. 11) still more disquieting accounts, especially of the divisions in Corinth, he sent Timothy thither (1 Cor. iv. 17), who, however, first went through Macedonia with Erastus (Acts xix. 22, cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 10). About this time, also, messengers came from Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 17, f.) with a letter containing certain questions (1 Cor. vii. 1, cf. viii. 1, xii. 1, xvi. 1), perhaps in answer to his letter. Besides these divisions, and the tendency to licentiousness which had come to light in one melancholy instance, the church at Corinth suffered from several other disorders and improper practices, and was on some points undecided or divided in opinion.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On account of certain passages in the Second Epistle, especially xii. 14, xiii. 1, xii. 21, ii. 1, Bleek (Theol. St. u. Kr. 1830. III. 614, ff.), follow-

ing *Chrysost.* on 2 Cor. xii. 14, *Michaelis, J. E. Chr. Schmidt,* and others, and in accord with *Schrader* (I. 95, ff.), *Köhler* (p. 74, ff.), — who reached the same point independently of him, — *Müller*, in his Diss. p. 6, sqq., adduced in § 123 b, note a, *Neander* (p. 413), *Schott* (Erör. p. 51, ff.), *Wurm* (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1833. I. 67), *Anger*, De tempp. in Act. App. rat. p. 71, ff., *Billroth, Credner*, and others, assumes an intervening journey of the Apostle to Corinth. But although the passages cited may be more naturally explained in this way, this theory is open to great objection. If the position of the Corinthian church at the time of this journey caused anxiety to the Apostle (as we conclude from 2 Cor. xii. 21, ii. 1), it is incomprehensible how he can so speak of it in the First Epistle as to pass over in silence his visit there, and what without doubt he had said and done against the abuses that had crept in (cf. *Neander*, p. 416). If the condition of the church was not yet disordered, the explanation of these passages fails, and we cannot comprehend how, as the journey of the Apostle cannot be supposed to have taken place long before the First Epistle, the church could in so short a time have fallen into so bad a condition. We have left unnoticed the difficulty of establishing the period of this journey. If we assume, with *Michaelis, Schott, Anger*, and others, that this journey was only a return from an excursion during his first residence at Corinth, the theory loses all historic meaning.

<sup>b</sup> It is not probable that all these disorders and doubts are to be referred to one source, namely, party feeling, as is done by *Storr* and others, and recently also by *Rübgger*. Under this theory, it was the Apollonians who excused licentiousness (vi. 12), the Paulinians who despised marriage (chap. vii.), the Petrinians who overestimated speaking with tongues, the Apollo-nians who denied the resurrection.

## § 132 b.

To remove these evils and restore his authority, to instruct on disputed points, and also to promote the collection of a contribution for the Christians at Jerusalem, the Apostle wrote our First Epistle. Its contents, according to their various occasions, fall into several larger and smaller sections.

I. Against party spirit and to restore the personal authority of the Apostle (i. – iv.), especially also to defend his un-studied preaching (i. 17 – iii. 2). II. Against the scandal of forbidden intercourse with one's step-mother (v. 1–8), and in correction of a previous warning against intercourse with the unchaste (v. 9–13). III. Against the abuse of seeking justice in the Roman courts (vi. 1–11), and renewed warning against licentiousness (vi. 12–20). IV. Reply to

the question, whether it is better to remain unmarried (vii.). V. Instruction as to the proper course in regard to eating meat offered to idols (viii. – xi. 1), with a digression on his own disinterested, self-denying conduct (ix.). VI. Rebuke of an impropriety, prevalent among the Corinthian female Christians, in regard to the covering of the head (xi. 2–16). VII. Rebuke of the far more important disorders of the celebration of the Lord's Supper (xi. 17–34). VIII. Instruction regarding spiritual gifts, to which love alone lends worth (xii., xiii.), and that prophesying is preferable to speaking with tongues (xiv.). IX. Instruction concerning the resurrection of the dead, a doctrine which some denied (xv.).<sup>a</sup> X. Finally, directions regarding the contribution of alms to be made, together with matters of personal interest and greetings (xvi.).

<sup>a</sup> On the character of those who denied the resurrection, see *Exeget. Hdb.* chap. xv. They could hardly have been Sadducees (*Storr* and others), or heathen Christians of philosophic culture (*Neander*), or Apollonians (*Mey.*, *Röhig.*), but were tainted with Greek prejudices against this doctrine (cf. *Acts xvii. 32*).

### § 132 c.

This Epistle was written in the last part of Paul's residence at Ephesus (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 19), after he had sent away Timothy and Erastus (Acts xix. 22, cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17), and decided on going to Achaia (Acts xix. 21, cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 3, ff.), some time before Pentecost (xvi. 8) of A. D. 57 or 58, about one year before his journey from Philippi to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6), begun after Easter A. D. 58 or 59. Probably Paul dictated (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 21) it to Sosthenes (1 Cor. i. 1, cf. Acts xviii. 17 ?), and sent it by the above three messengers. It is, according to its greeting and contents, addressed to the whole church, and not (as *Eichhorn* asserts) exclusively to one party.

*Second Epistle.*

## § 133 a.

When Paul wrote this letter, he was with Timothy (i. 1) in Macedonia (ii. 13, vii. 5, ix. 2, cf. Acts xx. 1), after having narrowly escaped death in Asia Minor (i. 8, not Acts xix. 23, ff.). Here he met Titus (vii. 6), who was returning from Corinth, and whom he had in vain looked for at Troas (ii. 12). The Apostle had probably sent this assistant thither, on account of his anxiety to know the impression made on the Corinthians by his First Epistle (ii. 4, vii. 5, ff.).<sup>a</sup> The accounts brought by Titus, and his solicitude about the alms to be collected, occasioned this letter, to carry which and collect the contribution he commissioned Titus and two other brethren (viii. 6–23, ix. 3, 5). The Apostle intended soon to follow (ix. 4, x. 11, xiii. 1), as he also did (Acts xx. 2). The place of its composition was in Macedonia (according to the subscription Philippi), and the time probably the autumn after the composition of the First Epistle.

<sup>a</sup> On the contrary, no result appears from the sending of Timothy to Corinth, and therefore Schmidt, Einl. I. 240, Bertholdt, VI. 3358, and Neander, AG. I. 332, each in his own way, suppose he did not go at all. Bleek, on the other hand (Theol. Stud. u. Kr. 1830. III. 625, ff.), supposes that, before Paul's departure, he had returned to Ephesus, and Paul, on account of the tidings brought by him, had sent Titus to Corinth with a letter now lost. He understands 2 Cor. ii. 3, f., vii. 12, cf. ii. 5; i. 15, f., ii. 1, ff., x. 9, ff.; iii. 14, v. 15, xi. 16, to refer to this Epistle. See, in opposition to him, J. G. Müller, *De tribus Pauli itineribus*, etc., p. 34, sqq. Neander, as above, p. 333. Wurm, Tüb. Ztschr. 1833. I. 68, ff. Baur, *Paulus*, p. 328. — Schrader, I. 135, f., supposes, and Müller and Billroth support him, that Titus had already gone to Corinth, on account of the collection, some time previous, before the sending of the First Epistle, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 6, 10. This has but one difficulty, that in 1 Cor. xvi. 1, ff. he is not spoken of.

## § 133 b.

In the first part of the Epistle (chap. i.–vii.), Paul pours out his heart in regard to what he had experienced and felt

during the interval between the sending of his First Epistle and the return of Titus, and especially on receiving the intelligence brought by the latter. The effect of his First Epistle had been in part what he had desired (ii. 6, f., vii. 8, ff.). Paul, however, still found cause for warnings and threatenings (vi. 14, ff., xii. 20, f., xiii. 2, 7), even for self-defence against objections and misapprehensions (i. 15, ff., iii. 1, v. 12), and for apologetic or polemic references to opponents (ii. 17, iii. 1, v. 12). Even the expressions of the apostolic consciousness (iii. 4 – v. 12) take an apologetic turn (v. 11 – vi. 10), and elsewhere, also, misgivings are indicated (vi. 11 – vii. 1, f.). In the second part, chap. viii., ix., concerning the contribution in aid of the Jerusalem Christians, the Apostle rests, as it were, from the excitement of his mind. But in the third part, chap. x. – xiii., where he asserts his apostolic power in threats against rebellion and disobedience, speaks against arrogant intermeddlers, false apostles, and deceitful laborers, and is constrained to set forth his merits and superiority as an Apostle, he falls into a somewhat irritated tone. We must, hence, conclude that a portion of the community, and especially the Christine party (according to others, that of Peter), stimulated by their embittered leaders, still opposed the Apostle.

*Style of this Epistle.*

§ 134.

The unusual roughness, embarrassment, and irregularity of style in this Epistle are explained by the Apostle's apparent excitement and want of composure during its composition.<sup>a</sup> The same explains the very different tone of the section chap. x. – xiii., and forbids our dividing the Epistle into several.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> H. J. Royaards, *De altera Pauli ad Corinth. ep. et observanda in illa Apostoli indole et oratione.* Traj. 1818. 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> As Semler has done, *Diss. de duplice appendice ep. ad Rom.* Hal. 1784. 4to : also in his *Paraphr. ep. ad Rom.* p. 277, cf. his *Paraphr. ep. post. ad Corinth.* preface, and on chap. ix. and xii. Refuted by Gabler, *Diss. crit.*

de capitibus ultimis ix. – xiii. posterioris ep. ad Corinth. ab eadem haud separandis. Gott. 1782. 8vo. On *Weber's hypothesis*, De numero epistolarum ad Corinth. rectius constituendo (Wittemb. 1798. 4to), see *Bertholdt*, p. 3386, ff. — *Emmerling* supposes that chap. x. ff. were written by Paul's own hand, because of the *aὐτὸς ἔγω*, x. 1.

*Genuineness of both Epistles.*

§ 135.

Their tenor and spirit attest their genuineness beyond dispute. This is also sustained by early external evidence,<sup>a</sup> although tradition first begins to be quite certain in Irenaeus.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens Rom.* In 1. ep. ad Corinth. c. 47, f. Part I. § 18, note b. *Ignat.* Ad Ephes. c. 2. *Polycarp.* Ad Phil. c. 5, see ib. note c; c. 11: Αν nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt, sicut Paulus docet! cf. 1 Cor. vi. 2. The allusions in *Justin Martyr* are uncertain, Dial. p. 253: Καὶ (εἴπε ό Χριστός) ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἱρέσεις, cf. 1 Cor. xi. 19; p. 338: Ὡν γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ό Χριστός, ό τυθεὶς ὑστεροψ, cf. 1 Cor. v. 7; p. 258, cf. 1 Cor. xii. 8–10.

<sup>b</sup> *Irenaeus*, Cont. haeres. IV. 27. 3: Et hoc autem Apostolum in epistola, quae est ad Corinthios, manifestissime ostendisse, dicentem: “Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt,” etc., cf. 1 Cor. x. 1, ff. Id. III. 7. 1: Quod autem dicunt, aperte Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios dixisse: “In quibus Deus saeculi hujus excoecavit mentes infidelium,” cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4. *Athenagoras* (about A. D. 177), De resurrect. p. 61: Εὖδηλον πατή, ὅτι δέ, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸ φωτιστὸν τοῦτο καὶ διασκεδαστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 54), ἵνα . . . ἔκαστος κομίσηται δικαίως ἢ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐπράξεν εἴτε ἀγαθά, εἴτε κακά (cf. 2 Cor. v. 10). Ep. ad Dioguetum in opp. Justin. p. 502: Ο ἀπόστολος . . . λέγει· Ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ (cf. 1 Cor. viii. 1). *Clemens Alex.* Paedag. I. 96: Σαφέστατα γοῦν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἀπίλλαξεν ἡμᾶς τῆς ζητήσεως ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ, ὥδε πως γράφων· “Ἄδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν,” κ. τ. λ. (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 20). Id. Strom. IV. 514: Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς γνώσεως ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν δὲ κοινὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς πίστεως δισμὴν γνώσεως ἐιρήκεν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους (2 Cor. ii. 14). Αχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸν καλυμμα, κ. τ. λ. (2 Cor. iii. 14). Ib. III. p. 456, cf. 2 Cor. vii. 1. *Tertullian*, De praescript. c. 33: Paulus in prima ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis. De pudicitia, c. 13: Revera enim suspicantur, Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori veniam dedisse, quem in prima dedendum Satanae in interitum carnis pronuntiarit.

*IV. Epistle to the Romans.*

*Koppe*, N. T. Vol. IV. *Olshausen*, III. 1. *Meyer*, IV. *Baumg. Crus.* II. 1. Exeg. Hdb. II. 1. — *Melanchthon*, Annott. see p. 253. Comm. in ep. ad Rom. Argent. 1540. Ep. ad Rom. enarratio. Viteb. 1556. 8vo. (Opp. Tom. III. IV.). — *Bugenhagen*, Interpr. 1523. — *Petr. Martyr*. Comm. 1558. — *Jo. Brent*. Comm. 1571. — *Aegid. Hunn*. Exposit. 1587. — *Jo. Gerhard*. Adnott. posth. 1666. — *Phil. a Limborch*, see p. 215. — *Baumgarten*, Ausleg. 1747. — *J. B. Carpzov*, Stricturæ in ep. S. Pauli ad Rom., adspersi subinde sunt flores ex Philone Alex. ed. 2. 1758. — *Cfr. Fr. Schmidt*, Annotatt. Lips. 1777. — *Mori Praelectt*. ed. Holzapfel. Lips. 1794. — Erklär. d. Br. P. an d. Röm. u. des Br. Judä, nach den Vorless. von *Morus*. Leipz. 1794. — Epist. Pauli ad Rom. Graece c. comment. perpet. a *Ch. F. Boehme*. Lips. 1806. — *F. A. G. Tholuck*, Ausleg. nebst fortlauf. Auszügen a. d. exeg. Schr. d. Kirchenv. u. Reformatoren. Berl. 1824; 4th revised ed. 1842. — *J. Fr. v. Flatt*, Vorless. herausgeg. v. *Hoffmann*. Tüb. 1825. — *H. E. G. Paulus*, see p. 248. — *L. J. Rückert*, Comm. Lpz. 1831. 2d revised ed. 1839. 2 vols. — *W. Beneke*, Der Br. an d. R. erläut. 1831. — *J. G. Reiche*, Ausführl. Erkl. 1833—34. — *Conr. Glöckler*, Der Br. d. Ap. P. an d. R. erkl. 1834. — *Ed. Käßner*, Comment. 1834. — *C. F. A. Fritzsche*, P. comm. perp. Tom. I. 1836. Tom. II. 1839. — *Rasm. Nielsen*, Der Br. P. an d. Röm. entwickelt, deutsch von *Michelsen*. 1843. — *Krehl*, Der Br. an d. Röm. ausgel. 1845. — Catholic Commentators: *Klee*, 1830. *Stengel*, 1836. *Reithmayr*, 1845. *A. Maier*, 1847.

*Origin of the Church at Rome.*

§ 136 a.

The church at Rome had no proper founder. Christianity was probably carried thither by the intercourse that necessarily arose between the numerous Jewish population there<sup>a</sup> and the churches in Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Palestine. The expulsion of the Jews from Rome<sup>b</sup> must especially have served to make them acquainted with Christianity. This was the case with Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 2, f., 18, f., 26), who returned to Rome, and a church assembled in their house (Rom. xvi. 3, f.). To them, therefore, is chiefly due the merit of having carried Christianity to Rome. The persons mentioned in xvi. 7, 9, 12, may also have shared in the work.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Philo, Legat. ad Cajum*, p. 785, ed. Col.: Πώς οὖν ἀπεδέχετο (Augustus) τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ρώμης ἀποτομήν, ἢν οὐκ ἡγνίει κιτεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων; Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἡσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερωθεῖτες. Αἰχμάλωτοι γάρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἡλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιασθέντες. Ἡπίστατο οὖν καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας καὶ συνιώντας εἰς αὐτάς, καὶ μᾶλιστα τὰς λεπάντες ἐβδόματις, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν πάτριον παιδεύοντα φιλοσοφίαν· Ἡπίστατο καὶ χρήματα συναγαγόντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν λεπάντας, καὶ πέμποντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τὰς θυσίας ἀναζόντων. 'Αλλ' ὅμως οὗτε ἔξικισε τῆς Ρώμης ἔκεινους οὗτε τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν αὐτῶν ἀφείλατο πολιτείαν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐφρόντιζεν, οὗτε ἐνεωτέρισεν εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, οὗτε ἐκώλυσε συνάγεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων ὑφηγήσεις, οὗτε ἡναυτιώθη τοῖς ἀπαρχομένοις, ἀλλ οὕτως ὡσίωτο περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥστε μονονοῦ πανοίκιος ἀναθημάτων πολυτελείας τὸ λεπάντον ἡμῶν ἐκόσμησε, προστάξας καὶ δι' αἰώνος ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχεῖς ὀλοκαύτους καθ' ἕκαστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων προσόδων, ἀπαρχὴν τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>b</sup> *Judei impulsore Chreste (Christo?) adsidus tumultuantes Roma expulit. Sueton. in Claudio, c. 25. Cf. Hug, Einl. II. 391. Ammon, Super loc. Sueton. de vita Claudi, c. 25. Göttingen. 1803. 4to.*

<sup>c</sup> Others (*Michaëlis, Bertholdt*) place the beginning of Christianity in Rome much earlier. If Peter ever preached there, he certainly did not before this Epistle was composed, as Paul was not in the habit of intruding on a sphere of labor belonging to another (Rom. xv. 20, 2 Cor. x. 16, Gal. ii. 7, 8). Cf. § 170.

### § 136 b.

When once Christianity became known to Roman Jews, it attracted also, without doubt, the attention of their numerous countrymen and friends in Rome.<sup>a</sup> Hence the church there was, like others, mixed, being composed of Jews and Gentiles (xv. 7, ff.). The majority (cf. i. 6, 13, vi. 14) was probably not composed of Jews, who are addressed but once (vii. 1–6), and in common with the former proselytes, but of Gentiles, who are more frequently addressed (vi. 17, ff., xi. 13, 25, 28, 30), and in xiv. 1, ff. are enjoined forbearance towards Jewish-Christian prejudices. As Paul feels drawn towards the Roman Christians, seeks a sphere of labor among them, is in general content with their Christian life (i. 8, xv. 14), regards his gospel as theirs (ii. 16, vi. 17, xvi. 17, 25), has among them many friends, and does not oppose Jewish-Christian false teachers, it is not probable that Judaism had the upper hand among

them.<sup>b</sup> The majority seem rather to have shared the Apostle's tendencies, as was certainly the case with Aquila and Priscilla. Whether the church was formally organized is exceedingly uncertain, as Luke scarcely mentions its existence.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Juvenal*, Sat. XIV. ver. 96, sqq.: —

Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbatha patrem,  
Nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant,  
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,  
Qua pater abstinuit, mox et praeputia ponunt.  
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,  
Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt jus,  
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.

*Tacit. Hist. V. 5*: Pessimus quisque, spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et stipes illuc gerebant, unde auctae Judaeorum res.

<sup>b</sup> As *Baur*, Ueb. Zweck u. Veranlass. des Röm. Br., Tüb. Ztschr. 1836. III. 114, ff., Paulus, etc., p. 337, ff., asserts, opposed by *Rückert*, II. 361, ff. *Olshausen*, in St. u. Kr. 1838. p. 926, ff. *Neand. AG. I.* 452, ff.

<sup>c</sup> *Acts xxviii. 15*. How ver. 17, ff. are to be understood, which record the ignorance manifested by the Roman Jews regarding Paul, and their but distant acquaintance with the Christian sect, is a disputed exegetical question. See my Exeg. Hdb. on the passage. *Tholuck*, Einl. z. Röm. Br. p. 12, ff.

#### *Date of the Epistle.*

#### § 137.

When Paul wrote this Epistle, he was about going to Jerusalem with a contribution that he had gathered in Macedonia and Achaia (xv. 25, f.). He feared danger from the Jews there (xv. 30, f.). This indicates his last residence at Corinth (cf. *Acts xxiv. 17*, *1 Cor. xvi. 1*, ff., *2 Cor. viii., ix.*, *Acts xx. 22*, f.). He desired at that time to visit Rome (i. 13, xv. 23, cf. *Acts xix. 21*). The persons whose greetings he sends (*xvi. 21*) are, at least in part, mentioned as his then companions (*Acts xx. 4*). His host at that time (*xvi. 23*) was a Corinthian (*1 Cor. i. 14*), and Erastus (*xvi. 23*) also seems to belong to Corinth (*2 Tim. iv. 20*). Finally, the recommendation of a Christian woman of Cenchreæ (*xvi. 1*) indicates his stay in that city. That Aquila and Priscilla (*xvi. 3*) were at that time living in Rome again is possible,

from Acts xviii. 19–26, 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Accordingly, the date of the composition falls about A. D. 58 or 59.<sup>a</sup>

\* *J. F. Flatt*, *De tempore, quo Pauli ad Rom. ep. scripta sit*, in *Pott, Sylloge*, Vol. II., chiefly against *Tobler's* (*Theol. Aufsätze*, p. 41, f.) opinion, who dates the Epistle later. *H. E. G. Paulus*, *De originibus ep. Paul. ad Rom. Jen. 1801. 4to*, places it somewhat earlier. Cf. *Bertholdt*, p. 3285, f.—*Tertius* wrote the Epistle from the Apostle's dictation (xvi. 22).

*Occasion, Design, Contents.*

§ 138 a.

The Apostle might easily be induced to write to the church in the chief city in the Roman world, whose establishment was mediately at least and in part his work, and to preach to which was part of his great missionary plan, by the tidings he received, perhaps in Corinth or Ephesus, of their circumstances (perhaps from letters of Aquila and Priscilla), especially as an opportunity presented itself in Phœbe's journey to Rome (xvi. 1).

He aimed to contribute by a letter, before he could in person, to the triumph of Christianity in Rome over Judaism and heathenism.<sup>a</sup> A secondary object was to counteract the influence which the turbulent spirit of the Roman Jews might or did exert on the Christians, and to prevent dissension between the scrupulous and the free-minded Christians in regard to abstinence from meat and the observing of days.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Eichhorn* (Einl. III. 217) is correct in not finding in this Epistle, as in that to the Galatians, the dogmatical antagonism to Jewish Christians. A certain regard to their dogmatic prejudices is supposed, on the other hand, by *Schmid* (Tüb. Progr. 1830) and *Tholuck* (Röm. Br. p. 19, 4th ed.), on account of chap. xiv.–xvi. In consequence of his supposition of a prevailing Judaizing tendency in the Roman church, *Baur* misapprehends the whole bearing of the Epistle, and sees in chap. ix.–xi. its proper nucleus. Cf. *Exeg. Hdb.* II. 1. p. 3. *Kling* agrees, to a certain extent, with him (St. u. Kr. 1837. p. 297, ff., 314). *Olshausen* strongly opposes him (ib. 1838. p. 922, ff.).

<sup>b</sup> Neither the theory of merely ascetic abstinence (*Koppe, Eichhorn, Meyer*), nor that of abstinence merely from meat offered to idols (*Neander*), meet the exegetical requirements of chap. xiv.; but we must combine the latter kind of abstinence with the observance of the Levitical prohibitions in regard to food. *Exeg. Hdb.* on chap. xiv.

## § 138 b.

The contents of the Epistle fall into two main divisions, a *didactic* and a *hortatory*. I. A representation of the Gospel as the revelation which brings to all believers blessedness and righteousness. These the Jews need, as well as the Gentiles, because all — and the Jews according to their very Law — are liable to punishment before God (i. 16–iii. 30). Faith in Christ alone brings righteousness before God, as even Abraham and David were justified through faith (iii. 21 – iv. 25). The result of this justification is peace and joy; through Christ, the reconciler, a new life is begun for mankind (v.). But sanctification, also, must be connected with reconciliation, a living morality independent of the Law, because the Law could not inspire to goodness, but rather excited to sin (vi., vii.). In the spirit of Christ we overcome sin and the flesh, and thus, also, all earthly sufferings through a blessed hope. The reconciled man is blessed even here (viii.). Complaint and comfort regarding the obstinacy of a large part of the Jews, and their exclusion from salvation (ix.–xi.). II. Moral exhortations of various kinds, among others even to civil obedience (xii., xiii.), to patience with those weak in the faith (xiv., xv. 1–13), together with an epilogue (xv. 14–33), and an appendix (xvi.).

*On Chapters XV., XVI.*

## § 139 a.

The opinion, that chap. xvi. is not addressed to the Roman Christians,\* is supported by the improbability that all the persons whom the Apostle greets, some of them near acquaintances and friends, were living at Rome. We should rather expect to find them at Ephesus (xvi. 3, 4, cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 19; ver. 5). It is, however, easier to suppose that the intercourse of the Eastern provinces with Rome had, for the time being, drawn all these Christians thither, than that this chapter does not belong to our Epistle.

<sup>a</sup> *Semler*, Diss. de dupli appendix ep. P. ad Rom. Hal. 1767, in his Paraphr. epist. ad Rom. Hal. 1769. (On the contrary, *J. Fr. Schulz*, in his translation of *Wm. Bouyer*, Conjecturen über das N. T. I. 385. *Koppe*, Excurs. II. ad comm. in ep. ad Rom. *Flatt*, Comm. p. 455, f.) *Dav. Schulz*, in Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1829. p. 609, ff., cf. *Eichhorn*, III. 243, ff. *Schott*, Isag. § 59.

<sup>b</sup> *Narcissus*, ver. 11, seems to belong to Rome. *Sueton.* in Claud. 28. *Tacit.* Ann. XII. 57.

### § 139 b.

*Semler* would detach chap. xv. also from our Epistle, and *Paulus* regards it as an appendix,<sup>a</sup> for xv. 1–13 belongs to chap. xiv., and xv. 14–33 forms the conclusion. It is unnecessary, on account of the various benedictions and of the different position of the doxology, xvi. 25, ff., in the MSS., to suppose that chap. xv., xvi. were written on supplementary sheets.<sup>b</sup> The genuineness of both chapters has recently been questioned,<sup>c</sup> but on grounds which rest in part on a mistaken view of the Epistle, in part on an erroneous interpretation of various passages.

<sup>a</sup> *Semler*, as above. *Paul. Uebers. u. Erkl. des Röm. u. Gal. Br. Einheit.*

<sup>b</sup> *Griesbach*, Cur. in hist. text. Gr., Opusc. II. 63, sqq. (cf. *Gabl. Praef.* II. p. xxiv.). *Eichhorn*, III. p. 232, ff. *Flatt*, Comm.

<sup>c</sup> *Baur*, in Tüb. Zeitschr. 1836. III. p. 144, ff., 97, ff.; *Paul.* p. 399, ff.; in the main satisfactorily refuted by *Kling*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1837. p. 308, ff. Cf. Exeg. Hdb. II. 1. p. 205.

### *Genuineness of the Epistle.*

### § 140.

The genuineness of the Epistle is beyond all doubt. The testimonies of the ancient Fathers also support it.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens Rom.* I. ep. ad Corinth. c. 35, cf. Part I. § 18, note c. *Polycarp*, Ad Philipp. c. 6: Καὶ πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔκαστον ὑπέρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι. Cf. Rom. xiv. 10: Πάντες γὰρ παραστηθέμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ver. 12: Ἀρα οὖν ἔκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει θεῷ. *Theophilus* (cir. 168), Ad Autolyc. I. II. p. 79: . . . τοῖς καθ' ὑπομονὴν διὰ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ζητοῦντι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, δωρήσεται ζωὴν αἰώνιον, χαρὰν . . . τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις καὶ καταφρονηταῖς καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδύκιᾳ . . . ζῆσαι ὁργὴ καὶ θυμός, θλίψις καὶ στε-

*ποχωρίαν* (cf. Rom. ii. 6 – 9). L. III. p. 126 : .... τῷ τὴν τιμήν, τὴν τιμήν· τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν φόβον· τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον· μηδενὶ μηδέν ὀφεῖται η μάστις τὸ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας (cf. Rom. xiii. 7, 8). Epist. eccl. Vienn. et Lugd. in Euseb. H. E. V. 1 : .... ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μελλοντανὴν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς (cf. Rom. viii. 18). Iren. I. III. c. 16, § 3 : Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus scribens ad Romanos : "Paulus Apostolus Jesu Christi, praedestinatus ad Evangelium Dei, quod promisit per prophetas suos," etc. (cf. Rom. i. 1, ff.). Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israel dicit : "quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem," etc. (cf. Rom. ix. 5). Clemens Alex. Paedag. I. p. 117 : "Ιδε οὖν, φησὶν δὲ Παῦλος, χρηστότητα καὶ ἀπογομίαν θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ. (cf. Rom. xi. 29). Strom. III. p. 457 : 'Ομοίως δὲ καὶ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ γράφει· "οἵτινες ἀπεβάνομεν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ;" κ. τ. λ. (cf. Rom. vi. 2). Tertull. Adv. Prax. c. 13 : Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem Apostolus : "Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in aetum omne" (cf. Rom. ix. 5). De corona, c. 6 : .... ut cum ad Romanos natura facere dicens nationes ea, quae sunt legis.

Regarding the omission of *ἐν Ρώμῃ*, chap. i. 7, 15, see § 145 c, note c.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### PAUL'S EPISTLES DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT.

#### *Which Imprisonment?*

#### § 141 a.

THE three Epistles to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians, were written by the Apostle during his imprisonment (Philem. 9; Col. iv. 3, 10, 19; Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1, vi. 20). This is commonly understood as the imprisonment at Rome. No distinct trace of this, however, appears. The friends mentioned — Timothy, Aristarchus, Luke, Mark, Demas, Epaphras, Tychicus, Onesimus, Jesus Justus — may certainly have been with Paul at Rome (on the first three, see Acts xxvii. 2, Phil. i. 1), but also at Cæsarea (Acts

xx. 4), where several writers suppose these letters to have been written.<sup>a</sup> It is more probable that the others were with him there than at Rome, especially, that Onesimus fled thither to him. It seems, also, more natural that the Apostle should manifest his anxiety from this place for the near communities at Colossæ and in Asia Minor by written exhortation.<sup>b</sup> Paul's writing about his labors in behalf of the Gospel (Col. iv. 3, 11, Eph. vi. 19, f.) is in favor of Rome, where he had opportunity for such labors (Acts xxviii. 31), which in Cæsarea does not seem to have been the case (Acts xxiv. 23).

<sup>a</sup> *D. Schulz*, Stud. u. Kr. 1829. p. 612, ff. *Schott*, Isag. § 66. (Cf. *Graul*, De *Schulzii et Schotti* sententia scripsisse Paulum ep. ad Eph. etc. in Caesariensi captivitate. Lips. 1838.) *Wiggers*, St. u. Kr. 1841. p. 448, ff. *Böttger*, Beitr. II. 47, ff.

<sup>b</sup> The ground adduced by *Schulz*, that, on the common supposition, Philem. 22 does not accord with Rom. xv. 24, is not valid, as we may suppose that in Cæsarea the Apostle adhered to his plan of the Spanish journey more firmly than at Rome, where he perhaps found reasons for giving it up. According to *Schrader* (as above), Acts xxiii. 11 does not accord with Philem. 22. "While in Cæsarea he was looking towards Rome." The reason found by *Wiggers*, in the non-mention of Onesimus in the Epistle to the Ephesians and in Eph. vi. 22, that Tychicus, the bearer of the three Epistles, did not come from Rome, and hence of course through Ephesus, but from Cæsarea, by the land-route, to Colossæ, rests on his mistaken view of the Epistle to the Ephesians (§ 145).

### I. *Epistle to Philemon.*

Older commentaries of *Lamb. Danaeus* (Geneva, 1579), *Andr. Hyperius* (with, at the same time, the pastoral Epistles. Geneva, 1582), *Scipio Gentilis* (Nürnb. 1618), *Jo. Himmel* (Jen. 1641), *Jo. Quistorp* (Rost. 1644), *Seb. Schmid* (see above, p. 242), *Jo. Fecht* (Rost. 1696), *L. Chr. G. Schmid* (Leipz. 1786). — *Storr*, In ep. ad Coloss. partem alt. et epistolium ad Philem. Opusc. acad. II. 176, sqq. — *A. H. Niemeyer*, Progr. Hal. 1802. — *D. H. Wildschut*, De vi dictionis et sermonis elegantia in ep. P. ad Philem. conspicuis. Traj. 1809. — *C. R. Hagenbach*, P. ep. ad Philem. interpretatus est. Basil. 1829. 4to. — *Maurit. Rothe*, P. ad Philem. epae. interpret. hist. exeg. Brem. 1844. — *J. Fr. Ign. Demme*, Erkl. d. Br. a. Phil. 1844. — *J. H. Petermann*, P. ep. ad Ph. ad fid. versa. orient. vet. una cum earum textu originali Graec. ed. 1844. — *Aug. Koch*, Comm. üb. d. Br. P. an Philem. Zür. 1846.

## § 141 b.

Philemon, a convert of Paul (ver. 19), — perhaps while at Ephesus, — was a respected and worthy man among the Christians at Colossæ, in Phrygia (Philem. 1, 2, 4–7, cf. Col. iv. 9).<sup>a</sup> Paul, at that time a prisoner (ver. 9), sends to him, by the hands of his assistant Tychicus (Col. iv. 7–9), his escaped or disobedient slave, converted by Paul in his captivity, with this letter written by his own hand (Philem. 19), in which he begs Philemon to pardon and give a fraternal Christian reception to Onesimus, and announces at the same time his visit (ver. 22). The letter is wholly a letter of friendship, not at all doctrinal, written with a genial delicacy, and even with a spice of pleasantry (ver. 11, 19). Its spirit, however, is thoroughly religious. Its genuineness is not to be doubted.<sup>b</sup> Though *Tertullian* first mentions it, he testifies that *Marcion's* collection contained it.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> According to *Wieseler* and others (§ 132 b, note c), he was a Laodicean, because Archippus belonged to Laodicea, for Col. iv. 17 speaks of him in connection with the community there, and is supported by the church tradition (Constitut. App. VII. 46). From the fact that his slave Onesimus was of Colossæ (Col. iv. 9), *Wieseler* thinks we are not authorized to deduce the dwelling-place of the master. But Onesimus must certainly be sent to the dwelling-place of his master.

<sup>b</sup> *Baur* (*Paulus*, p. 476), however, has done so; but only to show the possibility of the letter being the embryo of a Christian romance, after the fashion of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies.

<sup>c</sup> *Tertull.* Cont. Marc. V. 21: *Soli huic epistolas brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet.*

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## II. Epistle to the Colossians.

*Melanchthon*, Enarratio, 1559. — *Zanchius*, see p. 242. — *Davenant*, Exp. ep. ad Col. Genev. 1655. 4to. — *J. H. Suicer*, In ep. ad Col. comm. crit. exeg. Tig. 1699. 4to. — *N. T. ed. Kopp*. Vol. VII. P. 2. contin. *Heinrichs*. — *Olshausen*, Vol. IV. — *Baumg.-Crus.* III. 1. — *Storr*, Diss. in ep. Pauli ad Col. Tüb. 1786–87. 4to, in his Opusc. acad. II. 120, sqq. — *Fr. Junker*, Hist. krit. u. phil. Comment. Mannh. 1828. — Vorless. üb. d. Br. P. au d. Phil. Col. Thess. u. an Philem. v. *J. F. v. Flatt*. Tüb. 1829. — *K. Chr.*

*W. F. Bähr*, Comment. Bas. 1833. — *Böhmer*, Theol. Ausleg. Bresl. 1835.  
— *Steiger*, Kleine paul. Briefe, Theil I. (Br. an d. Col.) 1835. — *Huther*,  
Comm. Hamb. 1841.

*Occasion.*

## § 142.

Paul sent by Tychicus (Col. iv. 7–9), together with the foregoing Epistle, a letter to the community of Christians at Colossæ, in Phrygia Pacatiana.<sup>a</sup> He had never been there (ii. 1), although he had twice travelled through Phrygia (Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23).<sup>b</sup> He was, however, acquainted with members of the church there (Epistle to Philemon), which was devoted to him (i. 7, f.); and Epaphras, their teacher, was at just that time with the Apostle (i. 7, f., iv. 12; Philem. 23).<sup>c</sup> His presence, and the tidings which he gave the Apostle concerning the church (i. 3, 8), were, beyond dispute, the occasion of the Epistle.

<sup>a</sup> On the situation and history of the city, see *Böhmer*, Isagoge in ep. ad Coloss. 1829. p. 21, sqq. Different mode of writing Κολοσσαὶ and Κολασσαὶ; the most numerous and the best critical authorities favor the latter; the former, on the other hand, is supported by the old historians and geographers and the coins of the city. *Eckhel*, Doctr. numm. vet. P. I. Vol. III. p. 147, cf. *Bertholdt*, Einl. VI. p. 3441.

<sup>b</sup> On the contrary, *Daö. Schulz*, in Stud. u. Kr. 1829. p. 535, ff. *Schott*, Isagog. p. 268. *Böttger*, Beitr. III. 62. *Neudecker*, p. 515, ff. *Wiggers*, Stud. u. Kr. 1838. p. 165. Earlier, *Lardner*, *Theodore*. The Apostle's having passed twice through Phrygia (Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23) leads one, at first sight, to suppose that he had been at Colosse, although, if he visited Galatia proper, his way lay through northern Proconsular Asia by Ephesus (cf. *Steiger*, p. 42, ff.), rather than through southern Phrygia and Colosse. The passage ii. 1, f., cf. i. 3, 7, 23, f., (if unperverted,) is decisive against it. Also in ver. 6, 7, it is not indicated that Paul himself instructed the Colossians, but, i. 7, that Epaphras was their teacher. Cf. *Böhmer*, Exc. I. p. 274, sqq.

<sup>c</sup> In what sense is he called, Philem. 23, fellow-prisoner? Cf. Col. iv. 10.

*Design and Contents.*

## § 143.

On receipt of the glad intelligence of the Christian faith and love pervading the church at Colossæ, Paul desires

to strengthen them, and especially to warn them against certain false teachers, who combined narrowness in the holding of Jewish principles and strict asceticism with a mystical philosophy (ii. 16–23).<sup>a</sup>

With this view, after an introduction expressive of his gratitude and his prayers (i. 3–12), he represents to the Colossians the high dignity of the Redeemer, and the blessings of the reconciliation effected by him (i. 13–23), and testifies to the gladness with which he suffers for their salvation (i. 24–29), in order thereby more impressively to warn them against being deceived by the human wisdom that leads away from Christ (ii.). He closes with moral admonitions and salutations (iii. iv.).

\* The different opinions of interpreters (who so often pretend to know more than lies in the text) on these false teachers are set forth and weighed by *Bertholdt*, VI. 3448, ff. *Neudecker*, p. 518, f. *Böhmer*, Isag. p. 56, sqq. *Huther*, Einl., p. 27, ff. The opinion that they were Jews — (*Eichhorn*, Einl. III. I. p. 287, ff. *Junker*, Comment. p. 43, ff. *Schneckenburger*, Anh. to his work on the *Proselytentauft*, p. 213, cf. *Beitr.* p. 146, ff., *Stud. u. Kr.* 1832. p. 840, ff., according to the last-mentioned writer, theosophic Jews, who, without directly opposing the Christian faith, placed it in a subordinate position [Col. ii. 19], brought in a higher wisdom [ver. 18], and insisted on the ascetic practices of Judaism [ver. 8, 20–23]) — is rightly rejected by *Böhmer*, p. 56, sqq., *Rheinwald*, *De Pseudodoctor. Coloss.* (Bonn, 1834), and others. There were theosophic Jewish Christians (*Neander*, AG. I. 507, ff.), but whether their theosophy was Essenic (*Storr*, *Rheinw.*, *Credner*, &c.), or Cabalistic (*Osiander*, Tüb. *Ztschr.* 1834. III.), or of some other sort, it is difficult precisely to ascertain; but there is no positive ground for regarding it as Cerinthian (*Neand.*, *Mayerhoff*).

#### *Genuineness.*

#### § 144.

The Epistle has always belonged to those universally accepted.\* Only in the most modern times has it been doubted, but on insufficient grounds.<sup>b</sup>

\* *Justin. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 310: . . . . πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων. p. 311: . . . . πρωτότοκου πάσης κτίσεως. p. 326: . . . . πρωτότοκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων. Cf. *Col. i. 15. Theophil. Ad Autolyc.* II. p. 100: Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγένυσε προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, κ. τ. λ. *Iren. III. 14. 1:* Et iterum in epistola, quae est ad Colos-

senses, ait: *salutat vos Lucas, medicus, dilectus.* Clemens Alex. Strom. I. p. 277: . . . καὶ τῇ πρὸς Κολοσσαῖς ἐπιστολῇ. Cf. IV. 499, V. 576, VI. 645.

<sup>b</sup> Mayerhoff (Der Brief an die Col. mit vornehm. Berücksichtigung d. Pastoralbriefe krit. geprüft. Berl. 1838) and Schwegler (Nachap. Zeitalt. II. 326, f.) find something un-Pauline, (1.) in the use of language and the style. Τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ is certainly singular. But the absence of favorite expressions of Paul, such as δικαιοσύνη, δικαιόω, and kindred expressions, σωτήρ, σωτηρία, and others, is a ground which may be urged against other unquestionably genuine Epistles. Δικαιοσύνη occurs only once in the long First Epistle to the Corinthians, and not at all in those to the Thessalonians; δικαιόω not once in the whole Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and those to the Thessalonians and the Philippians; nor σωτηρία in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. As little can the positive peculiarity in the selection of words prove, e. g. φανεροῦν, iii. 4 (according to the connection), applied to the return of Christ; the repeated use of ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, as πιθανολογία, ἔθελοθρησκεία, and others. On the other hand, Ἐλλην κ. Ἰουδαῖος, iii. 11, for Ἰουδ. κ. Ἐλλ., is remarkable. The omission or rare use of illative and causal particles (ἄρα, διό, γάρ), and the prevailing connection by the relative pronoun and the participle, constitute a prominent peculiarity of our Epistle. But ἄρα is wanting also in Phil., διό in Gal. and 2 Thess., διότι in Eph. and 2 Thess., which Mayerhoff considers genuine; and the generally slighter dialectic movement, as well as the want of anacolutha, is accounted for by the special object of the Epistle, and by the mood of the Apostle. (2.) The mode of treating subjects is un-Pauline; in contrast with the other Pauline Epistles, the logical arrangement is wanting in the first, dogmatic portion, while in the second part, on the contrary, the admonitions are given in groups (cf. Rom. xii. 3 – 8, xiii.). It is not (with Huther) to be denied, that there the flow of the thought is rendered somewhat heavy and difficult by various repetitions (Mayerhoff, p. 45, ff.); but how different is the manner of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians from that of the First! "Poverty of thought," at least, is not the reason. (3.) Mayerhoff finds no essential difference in the dogmatic statements, but merely variations in subordinate points, although incorrectly in i. 13, 20, f., ii. 13, f. (cf. 2 Cor. v. 18), ii. 22, and elsewhere; only the extension of the redeeming work of Christ, i. 20, is singular. This it is, moreover, which Baur, Paulus, p. 417, ff., especially urges against the Epistle. Schwegler (as above, p. 327) remarks that love is placed in the foreground, while justification through faith, and the contrast between faith and the Law, retire to the background, and the false teachers are not opposed in the well-known Pauline fashion. Much weight is laid, also, as in the pastoral Epistles, upon the ἐπίγνωσις. The Epistle indicates a first step towards Johannic Christianity. (4.) In its composition, the Epistle to the Ephesians served as a basis.—But the Epistle to the Ephesians much rather presupposes that to the Colossians (§ 146 a). (5.) The erroneous doctrine must, according to Mayerhoff, have been Corin-

thian, and therefore post-apostolic ; according to *Baur*, on the other hand, Gnostic-Ebionite. The latter also makes the Christology of the Epistle Gnostic. But there is a great difference between this and Gnosticism proper. Moreover, even *Mayerhoff* acknowledges so much that is Pauline in the language, and the style of the writing and of thought, that even striking peculiarities in their presence vanish like thin shadows. Cf. *Huther*, p. 418, ff.

### III. *Epistle to the Ephesians.*

*Mart. Bucer, Praelectt.* 1562.—*N. T. ed. Koppe, Vol. VI.—Olshausen, Vol. IV.—Meyer, Abth. 8.—Baumg. Cris.* III. 1.—*Exeg. Hdb.* II. 4.—*Th. J. Schütz, Comment.* Lips. 1778. *Auctarium comment.* 1785.—*J. A. Cramer, Uebers. nebst Ausl.* 1782. 4to.—*F. A. W. Krause, Uebers. u. Anm.* 1789.—*J. A. Holzhausen, Uebers. u. Erl.* 1833.—*L. J. Rückert, Erl. u. Vertheid.* 1834.—*C. St. Matthies, Erkl.* 1834.—*Fr. C. Meier, Comment.* 1834.—*G. Chr. Ad. Harless, Comment.* 1834.—*A. van Bemelen, Diss. de epp. ad Ephes. et Coloss. inter se collatis.* L. B. 1803.

#### *Destination.*

##### § 145 a.

The Epistle is addressed to the Ephesians, not only in the (spurious) super- and sub-scriptions, but also in the text (i. 1).<sup>a</sup> Judging from its contents, however, it is addressed to Gentile Christians (ii. 11, ff., 19, ff., iii. 1, ff., iv. 17, 22), who stood in no near relation to Paul, but of whom he and those with him had merely "heard" (i. 15, iii. 2),<sup>b</sup> and contains no reference to any such near relation (cf. vi. 21, f.). And yet the church at Ephesus was composed of Jews and Gentiles (Acts xix. 8—10, 17), and the Apostle stood in most intimate connection with it (Acts xx. 17, f.). The Epistle contains, moreover, no greeting from Timothy, from whom it might reasonably be expected, on account of his acquaintance with the church at Ephesus, and of the great probability that the Epistle was written at the same time as that to the Colossians (cf. Col. i. 1).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> i. 1 : Τοῖς δύοις τοῖς οὐσίαις ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> Rink, Sendschr. d. Korinth., &c., p. 56, ff. Wiggers, in Stud. u. Krit. 1841. p. 432, try to explain the passage so that it may apply to the Ephesians, but in vain. On the contrary, Linemann, De ep. ad Eph. au-

thent. (Gott. 1842.) p. 22. — *Neudecker* (p. 503) finds in i. 15–23, iii. 2, 13–21, on unbiased, unprejudiced (!) examination, references to the formerly intimate relation between the Apostle and the church which he had founded there. *Wurm*, Tüb. Ztschr. 1833. I. 98, supposes that the Apostle wished to avoid all allusion to their earlier relations, on account of his painful experiences at Ephesus (?).

\* The somewhat different object of the sending of Tychicus, mentioned in both Epistles (Eph. vi. 21, f., Col. iv. 7, f.), affords no satisfactory objection against this contemporaneousness. *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. p. 132, lays too much stress on it. Cf. § 147, note b.

### § 145 b.

Hence, some historical indications of a different destination of the Epistle have been welcomed by many. It has been thought, especially from an expression of *Tertullian*, that neither *Marcion*, who superscribes the Epistle *To the Laodiceans*, nor himself, who seems to ascribe to the former merely the falsification of its title, read in the text i. 1 the place of destination. Moreover, manuscripts existed in ancient times, in which the address ran: *τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χρ. Ι.*; and such still exist.<sup>b</sup> On these data, and the passage Col. iv. 16, many<sup>c</sup> suppose that the Epistle was addressed to the Laodiceans; others,<sup>d</sup> that it was a circular letter to several communities.

\* *Tertullian*, Adv. Marc. V. 11: Praetereo hic de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodiceenos. c. 17: *Ecclesiae* quidem *veritate* epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceenos; sed *Marcion* ei titulum aliquando *interpolare* gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de *titulis* interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit, dum ad quosdam. *Epiphan.* Haeres. XLII. c. 9. p. 310, erroneously: "Εχει δὲ καὶ (besides the Epistle to the Ephesians) τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικαῖς λεγομένης μέρη. Cf. Schol. I. et XL.: εἰς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, κ. τ. λ. (Eph. iv. 5, 6). Refut.: Συναδόντως μὲν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, ὡς Μαρκίων, καὶ ταύτας τὰς κατά σου μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης πρὸς Λαοδικέας συνήγαγες κατά σου μαρτυρίας.

<sup>b</sup> *Basilius M.*, c. Eunom. Opp. I. 224. ed. Garn.: . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς 'Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων ὡς γηστίως ἡμαράντοις τῷ δόντι δι' ἐπιγράψεως δύτας αὐτοὺς ἴδαιζόντως ὠνόμασεν, εἰπώ·' "Τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ·" οὗτῳ γάρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκαστι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν. *Jerome* speaks less decidedly in its favor, Comment. ad h. l.: Quidam curiosius, quam necesse est, putant ex eo, quod Mosi dictum sit: Haec dices filii Israel, qui es, misit me, etiam

*eos qui Ephesi sunt, sancti et fideles, essentiae vocabulo nuncupatos, ut .... ab eo qui est, hi qui sunt appellantur.* Alii vero simpliciter non ad eos qui sunt, sed qui Ephesi sancti et fideles sunt, scriptum arbitrantur. The Cod. Vat. has ἐν Ἐφέσῳ on the margin only, and indeed, according to Tischend., by a second hand; Cod. 47. ex emend. omits it.

\* *Jo. Mill, Pierce, Wall, Camp. Vitringa the younger, Herm. Venema, J. J. Wetstein, Paley, &c., Holzhausen*, p. xiii.

<sup>a</sup> *Usher, Annal. mund. ad. ann. 64. Garnier, ad Basil. l. c. G. Benson, Alb. Bengel, J. D. Michaelis, Einl. II. 1292. Koppe, Prolegg. in ep. ad Eph. Ziegler, Einl. in d. Br. an d. Ephes., in Henke's Mag. Vol. IV. St. 2. Justi, Verm. Abhandl. II. 81, ff. Hänlein, Schmidt, Hug, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Guerike, Credner, Reuss, Hemsen, Neander, Schneckenb. Beitr. 132, f. Böttg. Beitr. III. 35, ff., Rückert, Meier, &c.* Ephesus and Laodicea (Col. iv. 16) are usually counted among the churches to which this circular letter was addressed. *Kpp., Hänl., Eichh., Berth.*, on the contrary, excluded Ephesus. According to *Ush., Hänl., Hg., Olsh., &c.*, a blank was left in the subscription, to be filled out with the name of the church; on the contrary, *Beng., Schneckenb., Böttg., Credn., &c.*, insist on the original reading, *τοῖς δὲ τ. οὐσια κ. πιστοῖς ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.*

### § 145 c.

But *Tertullian* probably charges *Marcion*, and justly, with arbitrary alteration, not only of the title, but also of the address, i. 1, itself (cf. § 34).<sup>a</sup> Thus the historical basis of the former hypothesis vanishes. It is also at variance with Col. iv. 15, for, as the Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians are contemporaneous, Paul would not in the former send greetings to Laodicea. The second hypothesis has likewise an untenable ground in that reading, i. 1; for this, on the whole impossible,<sup>b</sup> owes its origin to arbitrary choice,<sup>c</sup> and cannot be admitted in the face of all the critical authorities and of church tradition. This hypothesis is, however, in itself invalid, as the Epistle presupposes a certain circle of readers, and vi. 21, f. is opposed to the circular character of the Epistle. They who, on the ground of the common reading i. 1, recognized as genuine, accept Ephesus as the destination of the Epistle, but combine with this the encyclical character,<sup>d</sup> load themselves with double difficulties, and quite pervert the bearing of the work. Nor

can we, without great arbitrariness, substitute for the church at Ephesus another in its neighborhood (*Lünemann*).

\* The expression *titulus* is urged; also that *Tertullian* does not speak expressly of falsification of the text, and refers, not to manuscripts, but to the “*veritas Ecclesiae*.” See, on the contrary, *Harless*, Einl. p. xxi. ff. *Lünemann*, p. 37.

♦ The supposed filling out of blanks would be an untruth, in relation to i. 15, f., ii. 11; yet, without the blank, these words have no sense.

• According to *Rink*, p. 33, and others, on the dogmatic ground alleged by *Basil.* and *Hieron.*, on which Cod. Boern. omits ἐν Ρώμῃ (Rom. i. 7), cf. Schol. cod. 47; more probably on a critical ground, namely, the perception that this address does not correspond with the contents of the Epistle, cf. in Synopsis script. in *Athanas.* Opp. III. 194. Bened.: Ταῦτην (πρὸς Ἐφεσίους) ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Ρώμης, οὗπω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἑωρακώς, ἀκούσας δὲ μόνον περὶ αὐτῶν; According to *Mill*, Proleg. § 73, *Anger*, p. 122, because the encyclical destination was guessed at.

• *Hammond*, *Flatt*, *Schott*, *Harless*, *Wiggers*, *Anger*. “The Epistle is addressed to one particular church, the Ephesian (especially to those Gentile Christians there who were unacquainted with Paul personally, but without excluding the other Ephesian Christians, *Ang.*). But while Paul addressed his words to them, he enlarges the sphere of his vision, this community becomes to him the type of many similar communities, and thus he addresses under one community all Asiatic Christendom, of which Ephesus was the starting-point and the centre.” (*Wigg.*) “If we suppose that his readers were daughter churches of that at Ephesus, or single Christians scattered over the country, who had first become acquainted with the Gospel from Ephesus, and intelligence of whom the Apostle had received through the Ephesians, it is natural that he should send the Epistle to them by means of those who had introduced them to him” (also that he should address the Epistle to the latter?). *Harless*.

#### *Doubts of its Genuineness.*

#### § 146 a.

To what does not agree with Ephesus as its destination may be added, that the Epistle has no peculiarity either of aim or relations, and stands in such dependence on the Epistle to the Colossians as to be scarcely more than a verbose amplification of the same; for the reference to false teachers alone is omitted, and thereby the keeping of the whole lost.\*

*Table of Comparison.**Epistle to the Ephesians.*

Greeting, i. 1, f., without Timothy.

*First, dogmatic Part, i.-iii.*

1.) General thanksgiving for the blessings of Christianity, i. 3 - 14.

Ver. 4 : Καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς . . . . εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀγίους κ. ἀμώμους κατενάπιον αὐτοῦ.

Ver. 7 : Ἐν φόροις μεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων.

Ver 10: . . . . ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἐν αὐτῷ.

2.) Thanksgiving in regard to his readers, and prayers that they may apprehend what God has done for their salvation, and for the glory of Christ, the highly-exalted one, how he has awakened them from the death of sin, &amp;c., i. 15 - ii. 10.

Ver. 15 - 17 : Διὰ τὸντο κάγῳ ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους οὐ παίσομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου· ὥν δὲ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι πατήρ τῆς δόξης, δόφη ὑμῶν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ.

Ver. 18: . . . . καὶ τίς δὲ πλούτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις . . . .

*Epistle to the Colossians.*

Greeting, i. 1, f., from Timothy also.

*First, dogmatic Part, i., ii.*

1.) First section. Thanksgiving for the satisfactory condition of the Colossians, of which he has heard, i. 3 - 8.

Ver. 22 : . . . . παραστῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀγίους κ. ἀμώμους κ. ἀνεγελήστους κατενάπιον αὐτοῦ.

Ver. 14 : Ἐν φόροις μεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν (διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ), τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν.

Ver. 20: . . . . καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν . . . . εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ, εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

2.) Prayers for the Colossians, i. 9 - 12.

3.) Of the high dignity of Christ and the blessing of the reconciliation, i. 13 - 23.

Ver. 3, 4 : Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντοτε, περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους . . . .

Ver. 9 : Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀφ' ἣς ἡμέρας ἡκούσαμεν, οὐ πανόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἴτούμενοι, ὥν πληρωθήτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ \* ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ συνέσει πνευματικῇ.

Ver. 27 : . . . . τί δὲ πλούτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. . . .

\* This αὐτοῦ, according to *Mayerhoff*, betrays the author of the Epistle to the Colossians as copying from the Epistle to the Ephesians. It refers, however, to τοῦ θεοῦ, ver. 6.

*Ephes.*

Ver. 21: . . . ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς  
καὶ ἔξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριό-  
τητος, καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος, κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 22, f.: . . . καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκε κε-  
φαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,  
ἥτις ἔστι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρω-  
μα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρου-  
μένου.

ii. 1: Καὶ ὑμᾶς, δύτας νεκροὺς τοῖς  
παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις  
. . .

Ver. 5: . . . καὶ δύτας ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς  
τοῖς παραπτώμασι συνεζωοποίησε τῷ  
Χριστῷ.

3.) Reminds the Gentile Christians  
of what they owe to Christ, ii. 11  
— 22.

Ver. 11: . . . τῆς . . . περιτομῆς ἐν  
σαρκὶ χειροποίητου.

Ver. 12: . . . ὅτε ἦτε . . . ἀπηλλο-  
τριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσρα-  
ὴλ . . .

Ver. 15: . . . ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν  
νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι κα-  
ταργήσας . . .

Ver. 16: . . . καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς  
ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῷ θεῷ  
διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

4.) Of Paul's apostolic office, and  
suffering for the proclamation of  
the redemption ; prayer for his  
readers, chap. iii.

Ver. 1: Τούτου χάριν ἄγε Παῦλος, δ  
δέσμως τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὑπὲρ  
ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν .

Ver. 2: Εἴγε ἡκούσατε τὴν οἰκουμέναν  
τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς δοθείσης  
μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς .

Ver. 3: "Οτι κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἄγρω-  
ρισθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον . . .

*Coloss.*

Ver. 16: "Οτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκπίσθη τὰ  
πάντα, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ  
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ δρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,  
εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρ-  
χαὶ, εἴτε ἔξουσίαι.

Ver. 18, f.: . . . καὶ αὐτός ἔστιν ἡ  
κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
. . . ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὑδάκησε πᾶν τὸ  
πλήρωμα κατοικήσαι.

Ver. 21: Καὶ ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ δύτας ἀπηλ-  
λοτριωμένους καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῇ δια-  
νοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς πονηροὺς . . .

ii. 13: Καὶ ὑμᾶς, νεκροὺς δύτας ἐν  
τοῖς παραπτώμασι . . . συνεζωοποί-  
ησεν ὑμᾶς σὺν αὐτῷ.

ii. 11: . . . περιτομῆς ὁμοιότεροι.

i. 21. See above.

ii. 14: Ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ὑμῶν χει-  
ρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασι . . .

i. 20: . . . καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλ-  
λάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποί-  
ῆσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ  
αὐτοῦ . . .

4.) Paul attests his joy in suffering  
for the salvation of his fellow-  
Christians, i. 24 — 29.

Ver. 24: Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμα-  
σιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν . . .

Ver. 25: "Ηε ἄγηνόμην ἄγῳ διάκονος  
κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμέναν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν  
δοθείσαν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς, πληρῶσαι τὸν  
λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ,

Ver. 26: Τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμ-  
μένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

*Ephes.*

Ver. 5 : Ὁ ἑτέραις γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγρω-  
ρίσθη τοῖς νιοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς  
νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀπόστο-  
λοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις ἐν πνεύ-  
ματι . . . .

Ver. 7 : Οὐ ἐγενόμην διάκονος κατὰ  
τὴν δωρεὰν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ,  
τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι . . . .

Ver. 8, f. : . . . ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγ-  
γελίσασθαι τὸν ἀνέχειχνιαστον πλού-  
τον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ φωτίσαι πάν-  
τας, τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου  
τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων  
ἐν τῷ θεῷ.

Ver. 16 reminds of

Ver. 18, f. reminds of  
Omitted.

*Second, moral Part, iv. - vi.*

1.) Exhortation to union, iv. i. - 18.

Ver. 1 : . . . ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι τῆς  
κλήσεως, ἡς ἐκλήθητε,

Ver. 2 : Μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύ-  
νης καὶ πράστητος, μετὰ μακροβυμί-  
ας· ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ.

Ver. 3 : Σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνδ-  
τητὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ  
τῆς εἰρήνης.

Ver. 4 : . . . ἐν σώμα καὶ ἐν πνεύμα,  
καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μεριδίᾳ τῆς  
κλήσεως ὑμῶν.

Ver. 15, f. : . . . ὃς ἔστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ,  
ὁ Χριστός· ἐξ οὐν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, συν-  
αρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμε-  
νον διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορη-  
γίας κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνὸς  
ἐκάστου μέρους τὴν αἰδησὺν τοῦ  
σώματος ποιεῖται, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἁν-  
τοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ.

2.) Exhortation to a renewed Chris-  
tian life, iv. 17 - v. 21.

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γενεῶν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐφανερώθη τοῖς ἀγί-  
οις αὐτοῦ.

Ver. 23 : . . . οὐ ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ Παῦ-  
λος διάκονος. Cf. ver. 25.

Ver. 27 : . . . οὐς ἡθελησεν ὁ θεὸς  
γνωρίσαι, τίς ὁ πλούτος τῆς δόξης  
τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθν-  
σιν, ὃς ἔστι Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν. Cf.  
ver. 26.

i. 11.

ii. 2, f.

Second section. Warning against er-  
roneous teachings, chap. ii.

Second, moral Part, iii., iv.

1.) Exhortation to a renewed Chris-  
tian life, iii. 1 - 17.

i. 10 : . . . περιπατῆσαι ἀξίως τοῦ κυ-  
ρίου . . . .

iii. 12, f. : Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν, ὡς ἐκλε-  
κτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγιοι καὶ ἡγαπημένοι,  
σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ, χρηστότητα,  
ταπεινοφροσύνην, πράστητα, μακρο-  
βυμίαν· ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων . . . .

Ver. 14, f. : Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν  
ἀγάπην, ἥτις ἔστι σύνδεσμος τῆς τε-  
λειότητος· καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
βραβευέτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν,  
εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.

ii. 19 : . . . καὶ οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφα-  
λὴν, ἐξ οὐν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τῶν  
ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμε-  
νων καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον, αἵρετη τὴν  
αἰδησὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.

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iv. 19 : . . . ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ.

Ver. 22, ff. : . . . ἀποθίσθαι ὑμᾶς, κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀνυπτροφήν, τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης· ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καυρὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας.

Ver. 25 : Διὸ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος, λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἔκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίου αὐτοῦ.

Ver. 26 : Ὁργίζεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε.

Ver. 29 : Πᾶς λόγος σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκπορεύεσθω, ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρείας, ἵνα δῷ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούοντοσ.

Ver. 31 : Πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὄργη καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία . . . .

Ver. 32 : Γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοῖ, εὐσπλαγχνοὶ, χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν.

Ver. 3 : Πορνεία δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἡ πλεονεξία.

Ver. 4 : Καὶ αἰσχρότης, καὶ μωρολογία ἡ εὐτραπελία . . . .

Ver. 5 : . . . ἡ ἀκάθαρτος ἡ πλεονεκτησίη, ὃς ἐστιν εἰδωλολατρία . . . .

Ver. 6 : . . . διὰ ταῦτα γάρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὄργη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας.

Ver. 15, f. : Βλέπετε οὖν, πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε, μὴ ὡς ἀσοφοί, ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί· ἔξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καυρόν, ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσι.

Ver. 19, f. : . . . λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὑμνοῖς καὶ φθαίσ πνευ-

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iii. 5 : . . . ἀκαθαρσίαν . . . . καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν . . . .

iii. 8, ff. : Νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα, ὄργην . . . . ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγυμσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

Ver. 8, f. : Νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . . μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους.

Ver. 8 : . . . ὄργην . . . .

Ver. 8 : . . . αἰσχρολογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν . . . .

iv. 6 : Ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι . . . .

iii. 8 : . . . ὄργην, θυμόν, κακίαν, βλασφημίαν . . . .

Ver. 12, f. : Ἐνδύσασθε . . . . σπλάγχνα . . . . χρηστότητα . . . . χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς . . . . καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς.

iii. 5 : . . . πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν . . . . καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία.

Ver. 8 : . . . αἰσχρολογίαν . . . .

Ver. 5. (See above.)

Ver. 6 : . . . δι' ἣ ἔρχεται ἡ ὄργη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας.

iv. 5 : Ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, τὸν καυρὸν ἔξαγοραζόμενος.

iii. 16, f. : . . . ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ πουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς

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ματικαῖς, ἔδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ· εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπέρ πάντων, ἐν ὄντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ.

## 3.) Exhortation to the performance of family duties, v. 22 – vi. 9.

v. 21 : Αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ.

Ver. 25 : Οἱ ἀνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν . . . .

vi. 1 : Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ· τοῦτο γάρ ἔστι δίκαιον.

Ver. 4 : Καὶ οἱ πατέρες, μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοοθεσίᾳ κυρίου.

Ver. 5, ff. : Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις κατὰ σάρκα, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ· μὴ κατ' ὄφθαλμοδουλείαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς, μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις· εἰδότες, ὅτι δὲ ἐάν τι ἔκαστος ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομιεῖται παρὰ κυρίου, εἴτε δοῦλος, εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.

Ver. 9 : Καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀνέντες τὴν ἀπειλὴν· εἰδότες, ὅτι καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέ κύριος ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῷ (cf. Col. iii. 25).

## 4.) Exhortation to the spiritual warfare and to prayer, vi. 10 – 20.

Ver. 18, ff. : . . . διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκατερήσει καὶ δεήσει περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα

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ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὑμνοῖς καὶ φόδαις πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ἔδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ· . . . εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ.

## 2.) Exhortation to the performance of family duties, iii. 18 – iv. 1.

Ver. 18 : Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν κυρίῳ.

Ver. 19 : Οἱ ἀνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας . . . .

Ver. 20 : Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσι κατὰ πάντα· τοῦτο γάρ ἔστιν εὐάρεστον ἐν κυρίῳ.

Ver. 21 : Οἱ πατέρες, μὴ ἐρεθίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν.

Ver. 22 : Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις, ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας, φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον· Ver.

23 : Καὶ πᾶν δὲ τι ἔαν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐν ἀνθρώποις· Ver. 24 : Εἰδότες, ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήφεσθε τὴν ἀνταποδοσίαν τῆς κληρονομίας· τῷ γάρ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε. Ver.

25 : Ό δὲ ἀδικῶν κομιεῖται δὲ ἡδηκησε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι προσωποληψία. iv. 1 : Οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἴσοτητα τοῖς δοῦλοις παρέχεσθε, εἰδότες, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε κύριον ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

## 3.) Exhortation to prayer and to Christian prudence, iv. 2 – 6.

Ver. 2, ff. : Τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρπεῖτε, γρηγοροῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ· προσευχόμενοι δῆμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα δὲ θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῶν πύραν τοῦ λόγου, λαλῆσαι τὸ ματήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' δὲ καὶ δέ-

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μοι δοθῆ λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στό-  
ματός μου, ἐν παρήρησίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ  
μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· ὑπέρ οὐ  
πρεσβύτερον ἐν διάτεσι, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ  
παρήρησιάσωμαι, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι.

## 5.) Personal, vi. 21–24.

Ver. 21, f.: Ἰνα δὲ εἰδῆτε καὶ ὑμεῖς  
τὰ κατ' ἑμέ, τι πρᾶσσω, πάντα ὑμῖν  
γνωρίσει Τυχικός, δ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελ-  
φὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος ἐν κυρίῳ ·  
διν ἔπειμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ-  
το, ἵνα γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ πα-  
ρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

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δεραι· ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτό, ὡς δεῖ  
με λαλῆσαι.

## 4.) Personal, iv. 7–17.

Ver. 7, f.: Τὰ κατ' ἑμέ πάντα γνωρί-  
σεις ὑμίν Τυχικὸς δ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελ-  
φὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδου-  
λος ἐν κυρίῳ · διν ἔπειμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦτο, ἵνα γνῷ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν  
(γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν) καὶ παρακα-  
λέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

## § 146 b.

This relation excites surprise. Such a transcription of himself is unworthy of an Apostle,<sup>a</sup> and must therefore be the work of an imitator. The style, also, compared with that of the Epistle to the Colossians and other Pauline letters, is un-Pauline, being diffuse, loaded with parenthetic and secondary clauses, somewhat disconnected (ii. 1, 5, iii. 1, 13), verbose, and wanting in new thoughts. It differs from these Epistles in single particulars,<sup>b</sup> and frequently in the thoughts, doctrines, and mode of teaching.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The passage iv. 32–v. 1 is parallel with Col. iii. 12, f., but *ταπεινοφρ.* πραότ. μακροθ. ἀνεχ. ἀλλ. is omitted, as already used in ver. 2. Only an imitator is wont to be so economical.

<sup>b</sup> Frequent ἄπαξ λεγ.: ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12 ; τὰ πνευματικά, vi. 13 ; διάβολος, iv. 27, vi. 11 (elsewhere only in First and Second Timothy) ; κοσμοκράτωρ, vi. 12 ; σωτήριον, vi. 16. Words otherwise used : οἰκονομία, i. 10, iii. 2, 9 (οἰκόνωμοι μυστήριων θεοῦ is differently used in 1 Cor. iv. 1) ; μυστήριον, v. 32 (as Rev. i. 20, xvii. 5, 7) ; πλήρωμα, i. 23 (cf. Col. i. 19, ii. 9) ; εὐλογία, i. 3 ; αἰών, ii. 2 ; περιποίησις, i. 14 ; ἀφθαρ-  
σία, vi. 24 ; μανθάνειν, iv. 20 ; φωτίζειν, iii. 9 ; πληροῦσθαι ἐν, v. 18 ; πλ. εἰς, iii. 19. The collocations βασιλεία τ. θεοῦ κ. Χριστοῦ, v. 5 ; τ. θελημα τ. κυρίου, v. 17. Interruption and resumption of the construction, iii. 2–14 ; the constructions ἴστε γινώσκοντες, v. 5 ; ἵνα φοβήσαι, v. 33 ; ἵνα with Opt., i. 17, iii. 16. The frequent omission of the article before qualifying clauses, i. 3, 15, ii. 7, 11, 15, 21, f., and often. Expansion and pleonasm, i. 19, vi. 10, iii. 18 ; ii. 6, f., 21 (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησ.), and many other passages.

<sup>c</sup> Inappropriate appeal of the Apostle to his knowledge, iii. 4 ; collocation

of the apostles and prophets, ii. 20, iii. 5 ; arbitrary use of the passage from Psalms, iv. 8 ; citation of a non-biblical passage, v. 14 ; demonological representations, ii. 2, vi. 12 ; the characteristics of God, i. 17, iii. 9, 15 ; the insisting on the Old Testament promise, vi. 2, f. ; the warning against theft, iv. 28 ; un-Pauline greeting, vi. 23, f.

### § 146 c.

Against these grounds of doubt the recognition of the Epistle by the Church has great weight,<sup>a</sup> together with the opposite judgment of most investigators.<sup>b</sup> The Epistle, if not by the Apostle himself, was at least written by a gifted disciple of his, belongs to the Apostolic age, and, unlike the spurious pastoral epistles, has no reference to later times.

<sup>a</sup> *Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. c. 12* (see Part I. § 8, note b) : . . . Παῦλον συμύνσται . . . δις ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μημονεύει ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ. *Ep. interpol. c. 6* : ὡς Π. ὑμᾶν ἔγραψεν· ἐν σώμα κ. ἐν πν., κ. τ. λ. (*Eph. iv. 4, 6*). *Polycarp. c. 12* : ut his scripturis dictum est : Irascimini et nolite peccare, et sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram, cf. *Eph. iv. 26*. *Cap. 1* : . . . εἰδότες, ὅτι χάριτί ἔστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, cf. *Eph. ii. 8*. *Irenaeus, V. 2. 3* : Καθὼς δὲ μακάριος Παῦλός φησιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῇ, ὅτι μελή ἐσμὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ., cf. *Eph. v. 30*. *Clemens Alex. Adm. ad gent. p. 54* : Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μακάριος ἀπόστολος μαρτύρομαι ἐν κυρίῳ φησίν, cf. *Eph. iv. 17*. *Strom. IV. 499* : Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους γράφει, κ. τ. λ., cf. *Eph. v. 21, 22*. *Tertull. Cont. Marc. V. 11, 17*, cf. § 145 b, note a.

<sup>b</sup> *Guerike*, Beitr. p. 108, ff. *Einl. p. 380*. *Hensen*, p. 629, ff. *Schneckenb. p. 135*, ff. *Rilckert*, p. 297, ff. *Harless*, p. lxxi. ff. *Neander, AG. I. 521*, ff. *Meyer*, p. 20, ff. *Anger*, p. 138, ff. Against the genuineness, *Schweigler*, Krit. Miscellen, in *Zeller's Jbb. 1844*. p. 378, ff. *Nachapost. Zeitalt. II. 330*, ff. *Baur*, Paulus, etc., p. 418, ff. According to their view, the Epistle contains Gnostic and Montanistic ideas and expressions, e. g. i. 23, ii. 2, 20, iv. 3–6, 9, vi. 12, cf. the remarks in my *Exeg. Hdb.*

### Date, Occasion, and Design.

### § 147.

If the Epistle be genuine, the Apostle wrote<sup>a</sup> it during his captivity (iii. 1, iv. 1), contemporaneously with the Epistle to the Colossians, but a little later, and with that in mind (whence the similarity between the two), and sent it likewise by Tychicus (vi. 21, f.).<sup>b</sup> Tychicus's journey might occasion the Apostle to write a similar letter to one or sev-

eral neighboring churches.<sup>c</sup> The peculiar design of the letter may lie in the irenic section, iv. 1–16.

<sup>a</sup> The earlier composition of the Epistle to the Colossians is advocated by *Schott*, *Neander*, *Schneckenburger* (who, p. 141, even supposes that the Apostle, in composing the Ephesian Epistle, used a copy of the earlier Epistle to the Colossians). Against this, *Wurm*, p. 97), *Harless*, *Wiggers*, *Meyer* (the last mentioned on account of the *kai*, vi. 21, referring to the Colossians). The opposite view is maintained by *Corn. a Lapide*, *Böhmer* (Isag. p. 169), *Credner* (§ 68), *Neudecker* (p. 522), *Anger* (p. 135, sq.), and others (next note). According to *Mayerhoff*, the Epistle to the Colossians is modelled after ours. It seems to me, with *Schleierm.* in Stud. u. Krit. 1832. p. 501, that the more definite character and object, and the closer connection, of the Epistle to the Colossians, prove its originality.

<sup>b</sup> The absence of a greeting from Timothy alone opposes this. On this account, *Hug*, II. 402, 410, thinks it was the earlier, both in composition and in sending; *Hensen*, p. 622, in composition only. *Eichhorn*, III. 1. 279, explains this circumstance by the supposition that Timothy wrote the Epistle to the Colossians, but not that to the Ephesians. At any rate, we cannot assume that Tychicus was sent twice.

<sup>c</sup> *Schneckenburger* supposes (p. 135, ff.) that the Epistle refers to the theosophic system of Asia Minor, by which he aims to justify much of what was adduced as singular in § 146 b, notes b, c.

#### IV. *Epistle to the Philippians.*

N. T. ed. *Koppe*, contin. *Heinrichs*, Vol. VII. Part II. — *Meyer*, 9. Abth. 1. Hist. — Exeg. Handb. II. 4. — *Storr*, Diss. in ep. Pauli ad Philipp. (Tüb. 1783.) Opusc. acad. I. 301, sqq. — *J. G. am Ende*, Nova vers. et annot. perpetua (1789, 1792) 1798. — *J. F. Krause*, Observatt. crit-exeg. (in cc. 1, 2.) Regioni. 1810., Opusc. p. 23, sqq. — *F. H. Rheinwald*, Comm. Berl. 1827. — *J. F. v. Flatt*, see p. 270. — *C. St. Matthies*, Erkl. Grfsw. 1835. — *A. G. Hölemann*, Comm. Lips. 1839. — *Van Hengel*, Comm. perp. L. B. 1838. — *A. Rilliet*, Commentaire, Gen. 1841.

#### *The Church at Philippi.*

#### § 148.

In Philippi, a city of Macedonia,\* Paul first preached the gospel in Europe (Acts xvi. 12, ff.). On his second journey he revisited it (Acts xx. 2, 6). He seems to have stood in relations of perfect harmony and friendship with this old and well-regulated church (i. 1), composed probably alto-

gether, at least chiefly, of Gentile Christians, as he praises it so highly, shows so much love for it (i. 3–8, iv. 1), and received support from it (iv. 10–18, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9). Notwithstanding, some have felt compelled to suppose that Judaizing teachers had gained a foothold there, or that Jewish Christians of their own body had led them astray (Phil. iii. 2 f.).<sup>b</sup> But it seems to have been free from faults of that kind (iv. 1); it suffered from spiritual pride and dissension (i. 27 – ii. 16, iv. 2).

<sup>a</sup> The designation *πρώτη πόλις* is understood by some as a title of honor, because it was *juris Italici* (*Hug*, Einl. II. 459. *Mynster*, Einl. in d. Br. an d. Phil., kl. theolog. Schr. p. 170. *Kuin.*), by others in a relative geographical sense (*Rettig*, Quaestt. Philipp. p. 3, sqq. *Van Heng.*, p. 4. *Win.* RWB.).

<sup>b</sup> According to *Eichhorn* and *Rheinwald*, there were two parties at Philippi, a Jewish-Christian and a Gentile-Christian. *Bertholdt*, VI. 3403, opposes this, but thinks that Sadduceic teachers had made their appearance. This does not appear from Phil. iii. 18, ff. Against this whole view, *W. H. Schinz*, Die christl. Gemeinde z. Phil. 1833. p. 48, ff.

#### *Occasion, Contents, and Date of the Epistle.*

##### § 149 a.

The mission of Epaphroditus to Rome, with pecuniary aid to the Apostle during his imprisonment (iv. 10, 18, ii. 25), afforded the occasion of this letter. Paul learned from him the circumstances of the church, and on his return felt moved to send with him this Epistle, which is more like a letter and more genial than any other of his letters to churches. After an affectionate introduction (i. 3–11), and details regarding his situation at Rome (i. 12–26), he exhorts to union and humility (i. 27 – ii. 16), and gives further details (ii. 17–30). Then follow a reference to his enemies among the Jewish Christians, an exhortation to heavenly-mindedness (iii. 1–iv. 1), and various other appeals (iv. 2–9). Finally, thanks for the gifts which he has received (iv. 10–20), and greetings (iv. 21–23).

##### § 149 b.

All the references (as well as the subscription) point to the imprisonment at Rome (i. 7, 12–14, 20, ii. 17, iv. 22),

where we can portray to ourselves the situation of the Apostle, in Acts xxviii. 16, ff., exactly as it is here assumed.<sup>a</sup> But the date of the composition belongs incontestably to the later period of his imprisonment,<sup>b</sup> when Timothy (i. 1), but no longer Luke, was with the Apostle (Phil. iv. 21, cf. Col. iv. 14).

<sup>a</sup> Through the mention of the Praetorium, i. 13, and the imperial house, iv. 22, and on other grounds, the theories that the Epistle was written at Corinth (*Oeder, Progr. de temp. et loco scriptae ep. ad Philipp.* Onoldi, 1731. 4to, cf. *Wolf, Cur. Philol.* IV. 168, sqq.), or at Cæsarea (*Paulus, Progr. de temp. scriptae prioris ad Timoth. atque ad Philipp. ep. Paul. Jen.* 1799, 4to), are rendered wholly improbable.

<sup>b</sup> Phil. i. 12, ff., ii. 26, ff., presuppose a considerable length of time.

#### *Unity and Genuineness of the Same.*

#### § 150 a.

Two writings have been supposed to be combined in our Epistle,—one addressed to the whole church, i. 1 – iii. 1, *χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ*, with the greetings in iv. 21 – 23, and another to the Apostle's more intimate friends at Philippi, iii. 1, from the words *τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν* to iv. 20; because iii. 1 begins anew, and the contents of ch. iii., iv., especially the exhortation iv. 2, ff., would not apply to the whole church.<sup>a</sup> But this supposed difference between the exoteric and the esoteric parts of the Epistle is unworthy of the Apostle, and we find nothing which might not be written to the church.<sup>b</sup> The abruptness of iii. 1 is easily explained by supposing that the Apostle hastened to his conclusion, but afterwards added a warning (iii. 2 – iv. 1), and an appeal to certain persons (iv. 2, f.).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Heinrichs, Prolegg. in ep. Pauli ad Phil.* p. 33, sqq. Similar view in *Paulus, Heidelb. Jahrb. d. Litt. Jahrg. 5. H. 7.* p. 702, ff.

<sup>b</sup> A detailed confutation in *Krause, Opusc.* p. 1, sqq. *Bertholdt, VI.* 3424, ff. *Rheinwald,* p. 47, ff.

<sup>c</sup> The words *τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ*, indicate, according to iv. 4, 8, 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Eph. vi. 10, 2 Thess. iii. 1, a near approach to the conclusion (*Grotius*). On the contrary, *Schinz*, as above, p. 79, ff. *Van Heng.* p. 12.

## § 150 b.

The genuineness of the Epistle, which is supported by very early testimonies,<sup>a</sup> and seemed to be beyond all doubt, certain parts only being questioned,<sup>b</sup> has in recent times been seriously assailed, but on untenable grounds.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Polycarp*, Ep. ad Philipp. c. 3, see Part I. § 18, note b. (According to this, Paul had written several Epistles to the Philippians, an idea which some (even *Mey.*) think is sustained by Phil. iii. 1, 18. But *ἐπιστολαί* may, like *litterae*, refer to a single letter, see *Coteler.* on the passage.) Cap. 11: *Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis (laudati) in principio epistolae ejus.* Epist. eccles. Vienn. et Lugd. apud *Euseb.* V. 2: *Oι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτον ζηλωταὶ καὶ μυηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, δε ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐκ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*, cf. Phil. ii. 6. *Iren.* IV. 18. 4: *Quemadmodum et Paulus Philippen-sibus ait: repletus sum acceptis ab Epaphroditō, etc., cf. Phil. iv. 18.* *Clemens Alex.* Paedag. I. 107: *.... αὐτοῦ ὀμολογοῦντος τοῦ Παῦλου περὶ ἁντροῦ οὐχ ὅτι ἥδη ἔλαβον, ἢ ἥδη τετελείωμαι, κ. τ. λ., cf. Phil. iii. 12, ff.* *Tertullian*, De resurrect. carnis, c. 23: *.... quum Philippen-sibus scribit, si qua, inquit, concurred in resurrectionem, quae est a mortuis: non quia jam accepi, etc., cf. Phil. iii. 11, f.*

<sup>b</sup> *Schrader*, Der Ap. Paul. V. 231, ff., doubted the passage iii. 1–iv. 9, cf. *Hölmann*, Comm. p. lix. sqq.

<sup>c</sup> According to *Baur*, Paulus, etc. p. 458, ff. and *Schweigler*, Nachap. Zeitalter, II. 133, ff., the (wrongly explained and misapplied) passage ii. 6, ff. contains Gnostic ideas and even Docetism, the Epistle suffers from poverty of thought and bears marks of imitation (iii. 1, ff., cf. 2 Cor. xi. 13, 18, 21, f.). Its polemics are indefinite and forced. Even the historic occasion, iv. 15, f., is doubted. What is said of the beneficial effects of the Apostle's imprisonment, i. 12, ff., is coupled with the mention of Clement, iv. 3, well known as Clement of Rome, and is regarded as legendary. See, on the contrary, *Meyer*, on iii. 11. *Lünemann*, P. ad Phil. ep. defendit. Gott. 1847.

## CHAPTER IX.

## PAUL'S PASTORAL EPISTLES.

N. T. ed. *Kopp*. Vol. VII. contin. *Heinrichs*. — Exeg. Handb. II. 5. — *Mart. Luther*, Schol. et serm. in 1 Joh. ep. atque annot. in ep. P. ad Tim. et Tit. ed. *Brunn*. 1797. 8vo. — *J. L. v. Mosheim*, Erklärl. d. beiden Briefe. Hamb. 1755. 4to. — *J. A. Wegscheider*, Der erste Brief an d. Timoth. Neu übers. u. erklärt. 1810. — *Chr. T. Kuinoel*, Explicatio ep. Pauli ad Titum, in Commentatt. theol. ed. a *Velthusen*, *Ruperti* et *Kuinoel*, I. 292, sqq. — *C. A. Chr. Heydenreich*, Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli erläutert, 2 vols. 1826 — 28. — *J. Fr. v. Flatt*, Vorless. üb. d. Br. P. an d. Tim. u. Tit. herausgeg. v. *Kling*, 1831. — *M. J. Mack*, Comm. üb. d. Pastoralbr. d. Ap. P. Tüb. 1836. — *G. E. Leo*, Ep. 1. ad Tim. Graec. c. comm. perp. Lips. 1837. — *C. St. Matthies*, Erklärl. d. Past. Br. 1840.

I. *First Epistle to Timothy.**Notices of Timothy in the Bible.*

## § 151.

TIMOTHY, a Lycaonian, and probably from Lystra (Acts xvi. 1), son of a Gentile father and a Jewish mother (cf. 2 Tim. i. 5), probably converted by Paul (Acts xiv. 6, xvi. 1), became his assistant (Acts xvi. 3), and rendered him from that time forth important service; first, on the journey through Macedonia and Achaia, as his agent at Thessalonica and his assistant at Corinth (Acts xvii. 14, 1 Thess. iii. 2—5; Acts xviii. 5, 1 Thess. i. 1); then, before his second journey from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia, as his messenger thither (Acts xix. 22, cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10, 2 Cor. i. 1), whence he accompanied Paul to Asia (Acts xx. 4, f.), and probably to Jerusalem and Rome (§ 115 b). In Paul's letters during his imprisonment Timothy appears at his side (Col. i. 1, Philem. 1, Phil. i. 1, ii. 19).\*

\* The datum given in Hebr. xiii. 23 is difficult to place in the chronological order. Later Church tradition makes Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus.

*Occasion, Design, and Contents of the First Epistle to Timothy.*

## § 152 a.

Paul writes to Timothy, whom, on his departure for Macedonia, with the design of soon returning, he had left in charge at Ephesus (i. 3, iii. 14, f.). But this in no way agrees with the historic conditions of Paul's journey from Ephesus to Macedonia (Acts xx. 1),—which, according to the common supposition (*Baron., Petav., Grot., Lightfoot, Michaël., Hänl.*, and others), here first comes in question,—whither Timothy preceded him (Acts xix. 22), and where they met again after a few months (2 Cor. i. 1). Though it be possible that Timothy, who probably did not go to Corinth (§ 133 a), returned before Paul's departure, it is quite improbable that he would have so soon left the posts to which the Apostle had appointed him, and, immediately after, met him again in Macedonia. Besides, it can in no case have been the Apostle's purpose to return soon to Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 14, iv. 13; cf. Acts xix. 21, xx. 16).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Schmidt, Einl. I. 257. Schleiermacher, Ueb. d. sogen. ersten Br. d. Paulos an d. Timotheos. Ein krit. Sendschreiben an J. C. Gass (1807), p. 115, ff. Eichhorn, Einl. III. 337, ff. A *non liquet* is expressed by Wits. Melet. p. 100, and Wolf, Cur. p. 408. The attempts of Planck (see § 155, note a), Hug (Einl. II. § 109, 110), Curtius (De tempore, quo prior Pauli ad Timoth. ep. exarata sit. Berol. 1728), Hensen (Der Ap. Paul. p. 340, ff.), to show the appropriateness of this historical relation, necessarily failed. Bertholdt, VI. 3571, finds 1 Tim. iii. 14, iv. 13, especially out of place. His own theory (p. 3574), however, that Paul wrote the Epistle somewhat later, on the journey from Corinth by Macedonia to Jerusalem, to Timothy, who had gone before him to Ephesus (Acts xx. 6, ff.), contradicts the statements in Acts (xx. 4, 5, 17, ff.), as well as all probability, and is at variance with 1 Tim. i. 3. Matthes tries to prop up this hypothesis by a monstrous explanation of 1 Tim. i. 3. He connects *παρεύόμενος* with *προσημεῖται ἐν Ἐφ.*, making the sense as follows: Timothy must remain in Ephesus, first journeying to Macedonia, or as he was about going to Macedonia, which, according to p. 452, means that he must wait at Ephesus as the terminus of his journey to Macedonia. Mosheim's theory (Erklärt. p. 45, ff.), that Paul, during the first part of his stay at Ephesus, took a journey to Macedonia, is too contradictory to Acts (cf. especially, xx. 31). The same applies to the journey supposed by Schrader (I. 86, II. 287, ff.), from Ephesus to Mace-

dona, Corinth, Crete, Nicopolis, Jerusalem, Antioch, and back to Ephesus. According to Schneckenburger's (Beitr. p. 183) and Böttger's (Beitr. IV. 15, ff.) conjecture in regard to 1 Tim. i. 3, Καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε προσμείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἵνα παραγγεῖλης, κ. τ. λ., or πορευόμενον, the whole journey and the difficulty growing out of it would vanish. Cf. Credner, § 165. Neudecker, p. 551.

## § 152 b.

The church at Ephesus is presupposed as an organization of long standing. The offices of elders and other church servants, even of female elders and servants, were in existence and were sought after (iii. 11, 15, v. 9, 17, 19). False teachers also had made their appearance (i. 3). The last-mentioned fact contradicts the assumption in Acts xx. 29, f.; the first-mentioned, the supposition of a church of but a few years' growth.

## § 152 c.

The design of the Epistle is to give Timothy directions, not for the organizing of the church at Ephesus, but for countering the false teachers (i. 3), and in general for the superintendence of the church until the Apostle's return (iii. 15).<sup>a</sup> But the contents of the Epistle, excepting chap. v., ill agree with the aim proposed. The author does not adhere closely to his theme, but wanders away into irrelevant matters.<sup>b</sup> Besides, reference to the Apostle's relations to the Ephesian church is wholly wanting.

<sup>a</sup> Schleiermacher, p. 117, f. Hence Mosheim's theory of the earlier composition of the Epistle, at the beginning of the Apostle's stay at Ephesus, is also untenable, both on internal and external grounds. Cf. Bertholdi, VI. 3558, f.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. i. indeed commences with false teachers, but as early as ver. 12 wanders away from them. Subsequently, it is true, false teachers are repeatedly mentioned, but also in a cursory way. The direction for public prayer and intercession, ii. 1–7, and in regard to the relation of women to the church, ver. 8–15, as well as the trivial directions concerning the induction of bishops and deacons, chap. iii., are of little consequence to the administration of the church. The prediction of future false teachers, iv. 1–5, and the admonitions to Timothy, partly in reference to such (already existing!) false teachers, and partly of a general nature, ver. 6–16, have

no point. The directions for the government of the church, especially for the support of widows and their appointment as female elders, chap. v., have most distinctness and applicability. Chap. vi. treats of various matters: ver. 1, ff., moral rules for slaves; ver. 3–5, warning against false teachers, especially on account of their covetousness; ver. 6–10, warning against avarice; ver. 11–16, admonitions to Timothy; ver. 17–19, good instruction for the rich; ver. 20, f., against false teachers. The inappropriate character of the contents appears also in the admonitions to Timothy, some of which demean this assistant of the Apostle (i. 18, f., iv. 7, ff., 12, ff., vi. 11, ff.), while others are too general and trivial for even ordinary Christians (iv. 7, ff., 12, ff., v. 23, vi. 11).

### § 152 d.

To avoid the historic difficulties, others place the Epistle in the time after the first imprisonment of the Apostle,<sup>a</sup> when, they think, he took a journey to Asia Minor (cf. Phil. i. 22) and Macedonia (cf. Phil. ii. 24). Against this we must not object that the Epistle assumes a yet unregulated condition of the Ephesian church, for it does not; but we may urge that Paul at Rome designed sending Timothy to Macedonia (Phil. ii. 19), (which indeed he may have given up,<sup>b</sup>) that Timothy was at that time no longer a youth (1 Tim. iv. 12), and that the Epistle contains no reference to the imprisonment, as to other earlier experiences of the Apostle.<sup>c</sup> This whole theory, moreover, is uncertain, and the offspring of critical embarrassment; nor does it remove the difficulties that lie in the inappropriateness of the contents and their total want of distinct allusion. The hypothesis that the Epistle was written during the imprisonment at Cæsarea, and contains commissions for Timothy to Macedonia, is too forced to deserve particular refutation.<sup>d</sup>

The Epistle is, consequently, neither historically nor exegetically comprehensible.

<sup>a</sup> *Ushe, Mill, Pearson, Clericus, Paley, Wegscheider, Mynster* (Kl. theolog. Schr. p. 230), *Heydenreich* (I. 13), *Mack, Leo, Guerike*, Beitr. p. 134, Einleit. p. 400), *Böhl* (Ueber die Zeit der Absass. und d. paul. Charakt. d. Br. an Tim. u. Tit. (Berl. 1829), p. 204 (cf. *Kling* in *Flatt*, p. 566, ff.), *Nenner, Wurm, &c.* This is indicated also by the subscription, *ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας*.

<sup>b</sup> Acts xx. 25 may be so broadly interpreted as to include an expression of the narrator's opinion that Paul never returned to Ephesus.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Curtius*, as above, p. 91, sqq. *Math.* p. 448.

<sup>b</sup> *Paulus*, De temp. scriptae prioris ad Timoth. atque ad Philipp. ep. Paul. Jen. 1799. 4to. Cf. Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1825. p. 425, ff. *Bertholdt*, VI. 3608.

## II. *Second Epistle to Timothy.*

### *Occasion, Design, and Contents.*

#### § 153 a.

Paul writes from Rome, where he is a prisoner (i. 8, 12, 16, f., ii. 9, iv. 6, 16), to Timothy, who, according to the common view, is supposed to be at Ephesus (i. 15, 18, iv. 19, cf. to the contrary iv. 12),<sup>a</sup> and invites him to come to Rome and bring Mark with him (iv. 9, 11, 21). If now, with *Baronius*, *Petavius*, *Estius*, *Lightfoot*, *Hammond*, *Wittius*, *Cave*, *Lardner*, *Heinrichs*, *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, *Hug*, *Schrader*, *Henssen*, *Matthies*, and others, we assume the imprisonment recorded in Acts, the letter must have been written before the other letters from Rome; for, when they were written, Timothy and Mark were already with the Apostle (Col. i. 1, *Philem.* 1, *Phil.* i. 1, Col. iv. 10). But this does not accord well with the mission of Tychicus (iv. 12, cf. Col. iv. 7, ff.), the departure of Demas (iv. 10, cf. Col. iv. 14), the already far-advanced trial of the Apostle (iv. 16, f.), and his expectation of a speedy execution (iv. 6, cf. *Phil.* ii. 24), although these difficulties may be removed.<sup>b</sup> But it is more difficult, nay, almost impossible, to harmonize iv. 13, 20, with Acts. For although we assume the Apostle's journey presupposed in these passages to be that recorded in Acts xx. 4, ff., yet the statement in iv. 20, that the Apostle left Trophimus behind sick at Miletus, contradicts Acts xxi. 29, where he appears in the company of the Apostle.<sup>c</sup> Moreover, iv. 19, compared with Rom. xvi. 3, is a difficulty, as also that, in iv. 11, the presence of Aristarchus (cf. Acts xxvii. 2, Col. iv. 10, *Philem.* 24) is not presupposed.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The uncertainty of this supposition is shown by *Heydenreich*, II. 65, ff. *Schrader*, I. 199, f., on the contrary, insists on it strongly.

<sup>b</sup> As Schmidt, Einl. I. 199, f., and Schrader, I. 193, ff., set them aside, each in his own way. Hensen, on the contrary, (p. 713, ff.) dates the composition later than the other Epistles, but must, on that account, assume an earlier visit of Timothy and Mark to Rome.

<sup>c</sup> The reading of the Arabic version, *ἐν Μελίτῃ* for *ἐν Μιλήτῳ*, which Rink, Sendschreiben d. Korinth. p. 51, following Baronius, Beza, and Grotius, recommends, probably arose from critical embarrassment, like Hug's (Einl. II. 419), approved by Hensen, and Schrader's (I. 191, f.), and Matthies's still more artificial explanations of the passage.

<sup>d</sup> Eichhorn, Einl. III. 354, ff. Schmidt, Einl. I. 199. Guerike, p. 117, ff. Bühl, p. 59, ff. Heydenreich, II. 23, ff. Credner, § 170. All these difficulties Matthies, Past. Br. p. 583, ff., thinks he can remove, (that regarding Trophimus, by making the sense of the words *Τρόφ. ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενοῦντα*, "I was compelled [on my departure from Jerusalem] to let Trophimus [who had previously left Jerusalem for Miletus] stay behind sick,") excepting that in regard to Aristarchus.

### § 153 b.

The contents of this (in general better-written) letter correspond more closely to its design than those of the First Epistle. It is intended to invite Timothy to Rome. That the writer does not reach this point before iv. 9, 21, but prepares Timothy by admonitions and information concerning his own situation in Rome, cannot be considered inappropriate. However, much that is manifestly irrelevant is introduced.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The admonition to fearlessness and to taking part in suffering for the Gospel, with mention of his situation in Rome, and of the various relations of Christian brethren towards him, i. 6–18; and the admonitions, ii. 1, 3–13, iii. 10–12, iv. 5, together with the allusion to the Apostle's near end, iv. 6–8, may be regarded as appropriate. Not so, however, the remaining exhortations, ii. 2, 14–26, iii. 14–iv. 2; still less the prophetic glances into the future, iii. 1–5, iv. 3, and the polemical outbursts, ii. 16–21, 23, iii. 6–9, 13. To this may be added that the admonitions are, for the most part, inappropriate to an assistant who had stood the test of ten years (i. 5, ff., 13, ii. 1, ff., 7, 22, iii. 14, f., iv. 5). The reference in iii. 11 to Acts xiii. 50, xiv. 2, 7, 19, is out of place, and betrays the interpolator.

### § 153 c.

On account of these historic difficulties, several writers have returned to the old theory (*Euseb.*, *Chrysost.*, *Theodore*,

*Jerome, Anselm, Corn. a Lap., L. Cappell, Grot., Usher, &c.*), expressed in the subscription, that the Epistle was written during Paul's second imprisonment.<sup>a</sup> But at that time (twelve to fifteen years after his conversion) Timothy could still less be treated as a young man (cf. ii. 22), and the Apostle would surely have reminded him that he had already aided him once in captivity. It is, moreover, improbable that in a second imprisonment so much should be repeated, — that Paul should a second time have undergone an examination and received mild treatment (ii. 9, cf. Acts xxviii. 31).<sup>b</sup> The theory that the Epistle was written during the imprisonment at Cæsarea stands in open contradiction to the Epistle (i. 17).<sup>c</sup>

This Epistle also, therefore, is neither historically nor exegetically comprehensible.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Mosheim, Michaelis, Bertholdt, Mynster* (Kl. theol. Schr. p. 208, ff.), *Heydenreich* (who lays stress on the silence regarding the persons mentioned in Rom. xvi. 5, 15), *Flatt, Mack, Guerike, Böhl, Neander*, and others. Some, following *Euseb. H. E.* II. 22 (§ 122 a, note b), lay stress on iv. 16. But *ἀπολογία* means simply a response before the court, not the whole judicial process and the whole imprisonment.

<sup>b</sup> *Hug*, II. 415, ff. *Rink*, p. 43, ff. *Matthies*, p. 576, ff. The supposition that Paul, on his second imprisonment, would receive a wholly different treatment from his first, and a speedy death, is certainly a very probable one.

<sup>c</sup> *Oeder, Conjecturarum de difficilior. S. S. locis centuria*, 1733 (cf. *Hainlein, Einl.* III. 522, ff.). *Böttger, Beitr.* IV. 42, ff., who declares ἐν 'Πώμῃ a gloss.

<sup>d</sup> *Credn.* § 170. *Neudeck*. p. 559.

### III. *Epistle to Titus.*

#### *Destination and Contents.*

#### § 154 a.

Titus (not mentioned in Acts), an assistant of Paul, was born a Greek (Gal. ii. 3). We meet with him as Paul's companion on the journey to Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1, 3), as his agent at Corinth (2 Cor. vii. 6, 13, 14, viii. 6, 16, f., 23, xii.

18), and finally, apparently, on his way from Rome to Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). Paul, having left him at Crete, in the discharge of certain commissions connected with the church (Tit. i. 5, f.),<sup>a</sup> writes to him and gives directions for his guidance. Especially in regard to the appointment of elders (i. 5–9), with a side glance at certain false teachers (i. 10–16); then in regard to the moral guidance of the church as respects the various ranks in society (chap. ii.), together with general moral precepts and motives (iii. 1–8), and a warning against dissensions (iii. 9–11). He closes with personal remarks (iii. 12–15).

<sup>a</sup> According to *Euseb.* H. E. III. 4, he was first Bishop of Crete. *Hieron.* Cat. vir. ill. Tit. *Theodoret.* ad 1 Tim. iii. *Theophylact.* Prooem. ad Tit., and others. *Heydenreich*, II. 230, calls this an established and generally acknowledged fact.

### § 154 b.

But there is no period in the known history of his life to which we can with any probability assign the Apostle's journey to Crete, and Titus's stay there (i. 5), as well as Paul's residence at Nicopolis (iii. 12), and, consequently, the composition of this letter.<sup>a</sup> Many refer all this to the short time of his stay in Greece and return through Macedonia (Acts xx. 2, 3);<sup>b</sup> others to the Apostle's first residence at Corinth, where certainly there is more space for it;<sup>c</sup> others connect the journey to Crete with that from Corinth to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18), and suppose the Epistle to have been written there;<sup>d</sup> others place the whole in Paul's three years' stay there (Acts xix.);<sup>e</sup> others, finally, suppose that the Apostle took the journey to Crete at the same time as the supposed intermediate journey to Corinth between Acts xviii. 23 and xix. 1, and wrote our Epistle from Greece.<sup>f</sup> But as all these theories are improbable, and the designed stay at Nicopolis, especially, raises difficulty,<sup>g</sup> others resort here also to the time between the first and the second imprisonment.<sup>h</sup> This opinion seems to have the advantage of being able to explain the affinity between all three Epistles by their composition in the same period. This advantage,

however, vanishes on examination, because the different circumstances assumed demand a considerable space, and the individual Epistles thus become separated. Moreover, to this hypothesis the broad region of possible theories seems to stand open; but it is greatly limited by the fact that 2 Tim. must have been written during an imprisonment. And that it, according to ii. 17, f., cf. 1 Tim. i. 20, was written earlier than this Epistle, utterly overthrows the hypothesis.

<sup>a</sup> Acts certainly has gaps, cf. Gal. i. 17, f., Rom. xv. 19, 2 Cor. xi. 23.

<sup>b</sup> *Baronius*, *Lightfoot*, *Schmid*, *Hist. ant. Can.* p. 635; *Heinrichs*, *Prolegg.* in ep. ad Tit. p. 196; *Matthies*, p. 192, ff.; *Blau*, *De genuina eorum verborum indole*, quibus Paulus ep. ad Tit. scriptam praefatur (1846), p. 33, sq.; but they differ in the nearer determination of the point of time when Paul went to Crete, as well as in the situation of Nicopolis (in Epirus or Thrace). At that time Titus (2 Cor. viii. 17, xiii. 18, preceding §) and Tychicus (Acts xx. 4) were in the Apostle's company. The stay at Nicopolis would thus fall into the return journey through Macedonia; but this, being occasioned by an ambuscade, was doubtless hasty. Moreover, the three months' stay in Greece probably took place in late autumn and winter (see note on 2 Cor. viii. 10). But little time remains, therefore, for the stay in Epirus.

<sup>c</sup> *Michaelis*, Einl. II. 1315. Paul at that time was not acquainted with Apollos (Tit. iii. 13). According to *Böttger* (*Beitr. IV. 1, ff.*), Paul founded the church in Crete at that time, revisited it at the time mentioned in Acts xix. 22, 23, and on his flight, recorded in Acts xx. 3, left Titus in Crete, or rather sent him back thither.

<sup>d</sup> *Hug*, Einl. p. 345, f. *Hemsen*, p. 193. *Schott*, § 75.

<sup>e</sup> *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 265. *Schrader*, I. 103, II. 283. *Anger*, p. 76,—for by Nicopolis they understand the Cilician Nicopolis. *Anger*, however, does not make the Apostle actually come thither. This hypothesis is contradicted distinctly by the Apostle's declaration in Acts xx. 31.

<sup>f</sup> *Credner*, p. 310. *Neudecker*, p. 567.

<sup>g</sup> See *Böhl*, p. 426, ff.;—moreover, the defender of the one hypothesis always overthrows the other. *Credner's* hypothesis is opposed particularly by this circumstance, that at the time supposed Paul was not yet acquainted with Apollos (Tit. iii. 13); and, with every other, by the fact that the time between the conversion of the Cretans and the composition of the letter is too short to admit of occasion for the Apostle's warning against false teachers.

<sup>h</sup> *Mill*, *Clericus*, *Bertholdt*, *Mynster*, *Guerike*, *Heydenreich*, *Böhl*, *Neander*, *Wurm*. *Schott* also inclines that way.

## § 154 c.

Moreover, the Epistle does not accord with the presupposed condition of affairs, or with its object. 1. Many false teachers (i. 10, f.) are represented as present and working in churches not yet organized, and destitute of elders (i. 5). 2. Information concerning these is given, not by Titus, remaining on the island, to Paul absent, but by Paul absent to Titus present. 3. The expression i. 12, f. would be unjust towards a church in which Paul found so much readiness to receive the Gospel, and the absence of all grateful acknowledgments is singular (cf. 1 Thess. i. 2, ff.). 4. The existence of Christianity in the island for a considerable time is presupposed (i. 6). 5. The directions in i. 6 – 9 are trivial, and the argumentation against the false teachers, as well as their characterization, i. 10 – 16, iii. 9, wholly vague. The moral rules, ii. 1 – 10, iii. i. f., are superficial and trivial. The character of its contents would render the Epistle superfluous for Titus, and from i. 12, f. unfit for communication to the church. Here also, therefore, we have the same historical and exegetical incomprehensibility as before.

*Doubts of the Genuineness of these Three Epistles.*

## § 155 a.

Since Schleiermacher's attacks on 1 Tim.,<sup>a</sup> the other so-called Pastoral Epistles have been wholly or in part doubted and their genuineness denied.<sup>b</sup> Consistent criticism must certainly group all three together in the investigation; for sometimes all three, sometimes two, have many peculiarities in common, which distinguish them from the other Epistles,— 1. In language and ideas.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See the works referred to above, § 152 a, note a. He was followed by Löffler, Kl. Schr. II. 216, ff., Usteri, Paul. LBgr. p. 2, Lücke, in Theol. St. u. Kr. 1834. p. 764, ff.; even by Neander, AG. I. 538, in a measure. Schleiermacher was opposed by H. Planck, Bemerkk. üb. d. 1. paul. Br. an d. Tim. in Bezieh. auf d. krit. Sendschr., &c. Gött. 1808, Beckhaus, Spec. observatt. crit. exeg. de vocabb. ἀπ. λεγ. et rarioribus dicendi formulis in 1.

ad Tim. ep. obviis, authentiae nihil detrahentibus. 1810, *Wegscheider*, 1 Br. an Tim., *Bengel*, Arch. f. d. Theol. I. 2. 345, ff.

<sup>b</sup> All three were doubted by *Eichhorn*, Einl. (1812), *De Wette*, LB. (1826), *Schott* (Isag. [1830] p. 315, sqq.), by the latter, however, on the theory that a disciple of the Apostle, perhaps Luke, wrote them in his name and by his direction, *Baur* (Die sogen. Pastoralbr. d. Ap. Paul. aufs neue krit. unters. Stuttg. 1835, Paulus, etc. p. 492, ff.), *Mayerhoff* (Br. an d. Col. p. 5, 11, ff., 16, ff., 32, f., 37, f., 122, ff.), *Reuterdaal*, provost in Lund (Stud. u. Kr. 1834. p. 1023, f.), *Schwegler*, Nachap. Zeitalt. II. 138, ff. *Schrader* also, in his notes (Vol. IV.), doubts all three Epistles. Both Epistles to Timothy were declared un-Pauline, and chap. i. 1–4 of the Epistle to Titus spurious, by *Credner* and *Neudecker* (Einleit.). The former started the hypothesis, that 2 Tim. is based on two genuine short writings of the Apostle (§ 157). But in his later work, *Das N. T. nach Zweck, Ursprung, Inhalt* (1841–43), II. 96, f., he maintains distinctly the spuriousness of the three Epistles. *C. E. Scharling* (Die neuesten Unters. üb. d. sogen. Pastoralbriefe d. N. T. dargestellt in ihrer Bedeutung u. ihrem Verhältnisse z. Bibelkritik u. z. Kanon. Aus d. Dän. 1846) is rather undecided. The following defend them: *Bertholdt*, *Hug* (Einleit.), *Guerike* (Beitr. u. Einl.), *Heydenreich* (Pastoralbr.), *Böhl* (§ 152 d, note a), *Kling* (Anh. z. *Flatt's Vorless.*), *Mich. Baumgarten* (Die Aechtheit d. Pastoralbr. mit bes. Rücksicht auf d. neuesten Angriff von Baur. Berl. 1837), *Matthies* (Pastoralbr.), *Böttger* (Beitr.), and others.

\* Χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, 1 Tim. i. 2, 2 Tim. i. 2, Tit. i. 4 (elsewhere χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη); πιστὸς δὲ λόγος, 1 Tim. i. 15, iii. 1, iv. 9, 2 Tim. ii. 11, Tit. iii. 8; \*διδασκαλία ὑγιαίνοντα, 1 Tim. i. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 3, Tit. i. 9, ii. 1; \*λόγος ὑγιαίνοντες, 1 Tim. vi. 3, 2 Tim. i. 13; \*λόγος ὑγίεις, Tit. ii. 8; \*ὑγιαίνειν ἐν τῇ πίστει, Tit. i. 13, ii. 2; on the other hand, νοσεῖν περὶ ζητήσεις, 1 Tim. vi. 4, γάγγραια, 2 Tim. ii. 17; \*εύσεβεια, 1 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 16, iv. 7, 8, vi. 3, 6, 11, 2 Tim. iii. 5, Tit. i. 1, εὐσεβῶς ζῆν, 2 Tim. iii. 12, Tit. ii. 12; \*μῦθοι, 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7, 2 Tim. iv. 4, Tit. i. 14; \*ζητήσεις, 1 Tim. i. 4, vi. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 23, Tit. iii. 9; \*γενεalogία, 1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. iii. 9; \*ματαιολογία, 1 Tim. i. 6, ματαιόλογος, Tit. i. 10; λογομαχίαι, 1 Tim. vi. 4, λογομαχεῖν, 2 Tim. ii. 14; \*κενοφωνία, 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 16; ἐπιφάνεια, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8, Tit. ii. 13 (instead of Paul's usual word, παρονοία; but cf. 2 Thess. ii. 8); \*σωτήρ, of God, 1 Tim. i. 1, ii. 13, iv. 10, Tit. i. 3, ii. 10; \*παραθήκη, 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 12, 14; \*σωφροτυμός, 2 Tim. i. 7; \*σωφρόνεος, Tit. ii. 12, \*σώφρων, 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 8, ii. 2, 5, \*σωφρονεῖν, Tit. ii. 6 (cf. Rom. xii. 3, 2 Cor. v. 13); παρατείσθαι, 1 Tim. iv. 7, v. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 23, Tit. iii. 10; περιστασθαι, 2 Tim. ii. 16, Tit. iii. 9: δοτοχεῖν, 1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 21, 2 Tim. ii. 18; the use of καρά, 2 Tim. i. 1, Tit. i. 1; ὑπομημέσκειν, 2 Tim. ii. 14, Tit. iii. 1; προσέχειν, 1 Tim. i. 4, iii. 8, iv. 1, 13, Tit. i. 14. Cf. *Eichhorn*, Einl.

\* The words marked with an asterisk indicate peculiar ideas.

III. 319, ff. *Schott*, p. 320, sqq., who adds much, among the rest the following, worthy of note: *ἀρνεῖσθαι*, 1 Tim. v. 8, 2 Tim. ii. 12, f., iii. 5, Tit. i. 16, ii. 12; *δεσπότης* (for *κύριος*), 1 Tim. vi. 1, f., 2 Tim. ii. 21, Tit. ii. 9. *Mayerhoff*, p. 18, f., who calls attention to *καλὰ ἔργα*, 1 Tim. v. 10, 25, vi. 18, Tit. ii. 14, iii. 8, 14.

### § 155 b.

2. All three Epistles have this common peculiarity, namely, that the writer readily digresses from the subject of his letter to general truths or common sayings (1 Tim. i. 15, ii. 4–6, iii. 16, iv. 8–10; 2 Tim. i. 9, f., ii. 11–13, 19–21, iii. 12, 16; Tit. ii. 11–14, iii. 3–7), and that even what he urges in refutation or encouragement appears in this form (1 Tim. i. 8–10, iv. 4, f., vi. 6–10; 2 Tim. ii. 4–6; Tit. i. 15). After such digressions or general instructions, he commonly seeks a return or a conclusion and resting-point in a special admonition or direction (1 Tim. iii. 14, f., iv. 6, 11, vi. 2, 5, 11; 2 Tim. ii. 7, 14, iii. 5; Tit. ii. 15, iii. 8).  
 3. In all three Epistles the moral view of life preponderates (1 Tim. ii. 10, v. 10, 25, vi. 18; 2 Tim. ii. 21, f., iii. 17; Tit. i. 16, ii. 7, 14, iii. 1, 8, 14),<sup>a</sup> combined with the assertion of moral desert (1 Tim. ii. 15, iii. 13, iv. 8, vi. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 8), and an abstract or doctrinal apprehension of Christianity (as *διδασκαλία*, Tit. ii. 10, and elsewhere, cf. 2 Tim. iii. 15, f.).

<sup>a</sup> The *διδασκαλία ὑγιαίνοντα* is the doctrine of morality (cf. Tit. ii. 1, 1 Tim. i. 10), and *εὐσέβεια*, practical piety (2 Tim. iii. 12, Tit. ii. 12). The author of these letters stands at the mediating point between Paulinism and Nomism, cf. 1 Tim. i. 8, f. His universalism, unlike Paul's, is not polemic (1 Tim. ii. 4, iv. 10, Tit. ii. 11).

### § 155 c.

The special characteristic of the three Epistles is their polemics against certain false teachers, who, although not always the same, are yet alike, namely, sometimes Judaizing Gnostics (Tit. i. 10, 14; 2 Tim. ii. 23, iv. 4; 1 Tim. i. 4, 7), sometimes anti-Judaizing (2 Tim. ii. 18; 1 Tim. iv. 3). Now it is not impossible that the Apostle had discovered and opposed the beginnings of the Gnostic tendency, as in the Epistle to

the Colossians he actually combated similar opponents; and it is probable that Gnosticism had run through a first stadium before that of the second century.<sup>a</sup> The passages 1 Tim. vi. 20, Tit. iii. 10, however, point to a time when Gnosticism had attained a certain development, and the notion of heresy was familiar. Other passages and sections also indicate circumstances belonging to a late period (1 Tim. iii. 1, v. 9, vi. 17).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Böttger*, Beitr. V. Die Gnosis der Pastoralbriefe ist nicht die der Gnostiker des 2. Jahrh. Gött. 1838. *Thiersch*, Standp. d. Krit. p. 249. *Zeller*, Jbb. 1842. p. 714.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Baur*, these polemics refer to Marcion and other Gnostics well known in the history of the second century, after whose appearance, therefore, the Epistles were written. This hypothesis we cannot accept, cf. § 158, note b.

### § 155 d.

One acquainted with Paul's style of writing will find much, aside from the difference in vocabulary, &c., already remarked upon, that betrays an imitator, who writes not from the living fulness of the Apostle's mind, and scarcely knows how to exhaust a single topic.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> We frequently miss (1 Tim. ii. 1, iii. 15, iv. 8; 2 Tim. i. 3–5, iv. 6, cf. ver. 5, 7, iv. 18; iii. 9, cf. ver. 1, ff., 13, ii. 17) the good logical connection. Matter borrowed from Pauline Epistles, and commonly ill placed, appears in 1 Tim. ii. 5 (cf. Heb. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24), 7, 2 Tim. i. 3, 7, ii. 20, iv. 6, f. Even church formulas seem to be used, 1 Tim. iii. 16, vi. 13, 15, f., 2 Tim. ii. 8. Probably in 1 Tim. v. 18 the Gospel of Luke is cited as γραφή. (*Baur* and *Schwegler* err in finding it mentioned in 2 Tim. ii. 8). Especially foreign to the Apostle's style of thought and teaching are (apart from what is adduced in § 155 b, no. 3) the remarks on marriage, 1 Tim. ii. 15, iv. 3, v. 14, cf. iii. 4, 12, v. 10 (see, on the contrary, 1 Cor. vii. 8, f., 25, ff.); the designation of Christ as the Mediator, 1 Tim. ii. 5; the self-exculpation, 1 Tim. i. 13 (an inappropriate passage, at any rate, cf. *Schleiermacher*, p. 165, ff.), and the self-exaltation, 2 Tim. iv. 8.

### § 156.

The emphasis laid on the "sound, authentic" doctrine received from the Apostle (Tit. i. 9, 14, ii. 1, 7, 15, iii. 8, f., 2 Tim. i. 13, ii. 2, 11, 14, ff., iii. 10, 14, ff., iv. 1, ff., 1 Tim. i.

3, ff., iii. 15, f., iv. 6, ff., 12, ff., vi. 3, ff., 12, 20), and the injunctions (Tit. i. 5, ff., 1 Tim. iii. 1, ff., v. 17–19),\* which tend to strengthen and develop the hierarchy, serve to further the design especially of the First Epistle to Timothy, namely, to oppose the false teaching of Gnosticism; and are in harmony with the action of the Catholic Church against these movements, which threatened danger to her unity.

\* 2 Tim. ii. 2, the advice to educate teachers of the Gospel.

### § 157.

*Schleiermacher* regarded only the First Epistle to Timothy as spurious. It seemed to him a copy and compilation of the other two, from its sometimes literal resemblance to them, from the singular relation of 1 Tim. i. 20 to 2 Tim. ii. 17, iv. 14, and from the (by him overestimated) abruptness of the style of writing and the composition. *Credner* also thought that these Epistles, which he regards as in part genuine (§ 155 a, note b), served as a model to the author of 1 Tim. But all three have the same author and the same object, although the latter appears most distinctly in 1 Tim. The Epistle to Titus and the Second Epistle to Timothy were written first, and in writing 1 Tim. the author repeated himself somewhat.\* He committed also the error of assuming in this letter, written later but treating of an earlier period (that of the Apostle's journey in Acts xx. 1), the expulsion of Hymenæus and Alexander, who appear in a different connection in 2 Tim., — which, though written earlier, is laid in a later period (that of the Roman imprisonment).

\* *Eichhorn* also regards 1 Tim. as later than the Epistle to Titus, and as assuming a later constitution of the Church; also as worse written, p. 339, ff. The last circumstance he explains in a most singular way, p. 404. *Baur* acknowledges the dependence of 1 Tim. on the other two Epistles.

*Church Acceptance of the Three Epistles.*

## § 158.

It was probably on dogmatic grounds that *Marcion* excluded these Epistles from his collection, and that other heretics also rejected them either wholly or in part.<sup>a</sup> In other respects they are as strongly supported by external testimonies<sup>b</sup> as other Pauline Epistles. Hence, we must not assign them too late a date. Although not written by Paul himself, nor pure fountains of the Pauline doctrine, they are yet important documents for the later development of Paulinism, especially in its fusion with Nomism.

<sup>a</sup> *Tertull. Adv. Marc.* V. 21: Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem [namely, Philemon] factas litteras receperit, qui ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Affectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* II. 383: ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀλεγχόμενοι τῆς φωνῆς (1 Tim. vi. 20, f.) οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων ῥᾶς πρὸς Τιμ. ἀθετοῦντες ἐπιστολάς. *Origen.* *Comm.* in Matth. Tract. XXXV. Vol. III. 918: Item quod ait: Sicut Jamnes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi, non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto, qui suprascribitur Jamnes et Mambres liber. Unde ausi sunt quidam ep. ad Tim. repellere quasi habentem in se textum alicujus secreti, sed non potuerunt. *Hieron.* Prooem. ad Comm. in ep. ad Tit.: Licet non sint digni fide, qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem et omnes haereticos . . . Ut enim de ceteris epistolis taceam, de quibus quicquid contrarium suo dogmati viderunt, eraserunt, nonnullas integras repudiandas crediderunt, *ad Timotheum* . . . *videlicet utramque, ad Hebraeos et ad Titum* . . . Sed *Tatianus*, Encratitarum Patriarches, qui et ipse nonnullas Pauli epistolas repudiavit, hanc vel maxime, hoc est, *ad Titum*, Apostoli pronuntiandam credidit, parvi pendens Marcionis et aliorum, qui cum eo in hac parte consentiunt, assertionem.

<sup>b</sup> The allusions to Tit. iii. 11, 1 Tim. ii. 8, found by *Lardner* in *Clemens Rom.* Ep. 1. c. 2. 29, are very doubtful. The same is true of that in *Ignat.* Ad Ephes. c. 2, to 2 Tim. i. 16. More certain is that in *Polyarp*, c. 4: Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπών ἡ φιλαργυρία. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσπρέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔξενεγκέν τι ἔχομεν, cf. 1 Tim. vi. 7, 10. See however, in opposition, *Schleiermacher*, as above, p. 16, ff: *Baur*, Past. Br. p. 137, f., who regards Polycarp's letter as older than 1 Tim. *Theophil.* Ad Autolyc. III. 14, appeals to 1 Tim. ii. 2 (Part I. § 18). *Hegesipp.* in *Euseb.* H. E. III. 32: . . . ὡς δὲ ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χόρος διάφορον εἰδήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη . . . τηνικαῦτα τῆς

ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις διὰ τῆς τῶν ἔτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ . . . τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμος γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν. (Baur, Paulus, &c., p. 494, finds here an opposing testimony; but Scharling, p. 40, shows that also later Fathers held the view that heresies arose first after the Apostles.) *Iren.* Cont. haeres. lib. I. prooem.: 'Ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραπεμπόμενοί τινες ἐπεισάγουσι λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ γενεalogίας ματαίας, αἵτινες ζητήσεις μᾶλλον παρέχουσι, καθὼς ὁ ἀπόστολος φησιν, ἡ οἰκοδομὴ θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει, cf. 1 Tim. i. 4. Lib. III. c. 3, § 3: . . . τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 21. Ib. § 4: . . . καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν· αἱρετικὸν ἀνθρωπὸν . . . παραιτοῦ, cf. Tit. iii. 10. Clemens Alex. Strom. II. 383: . . . περὶ ἣς ὁ ἀπόστολος γράφων, ὃ Τιμόθεος, φησιν, τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον, ἐκτρεπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας, κ.τ.λ., cf. 1 Tim. vi. 20. Ib. p. 448: . . . ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ ὁ γενναῖος διατάσσεται Παῦλος. Tertull. De praescript. haeret. c. 25: . . . hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depositum custodi. Et rursum: Bonum depositum serva. Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 14.

## CHAPTER X.

N. T. ed. Kopp. contin. Heinrichs, Vol. VIII. — Exeg. Handb. II. 5. — Dav. Pareus, Comm. in his Commentt. in var. s. scr. librr. Fref. 1628. — J. Gerhard, 1641. — Jo. Owen, Engl. 1668. Lat. 1700. — Seb. Schmid, 1680. — Chr. Wittich, 1692. — Theod. Ackersloot, Dutch, 1695. German, 1714. — J. Braun. 1705. — Phil. a Limborch, see above, p. 215. — J. G. Dorscheus, 1717. — J. Jac. Rambach, 1742. — J. B. Carpzov, Exercitati. in Pauli ep. ad Ebr. ex Philone Alex. 1750. His Uebers. mit Anm. 1795. — J. A. Cramer, Erkl. Kop. 1757. — S. J. Baumgarten, Ausleg. mit Anm. von Masch und Beitr. von Semler. 1763. — J. D. Michaelis, Erkl. (1762.) 1780. 2 Thle. 4to. — Chr. Fr. Schmidii Observatt. 1766. — S. F. N. Morus, Uebers. 3d ed. 1786. — G. Chr. Storr, Erl. (1789.) 1809. — P. Abresch, Paraphr. et annott. L. B. 1789. — J. A. Ernesti, Lectiones acad. ed. G. J. Dindorf. 1795. — Dav. Schulz, Einleit. Uebers. u. Anmerkk. 1818. — Chr. Fr. Boehme, Comment. perp. 1825. — Fr. Bleek, Einl. Uebers. u. fortlauf. Comm. 2. Abthl. Berl. 1828—40. — Mos. Stuart, Comment. on the Ep. to the Hebrews. 1828. — Kuinoel, Comment. 1831. — Klee, Aus-

leg. 1833. — *H. E. G. Paulus*, Des Ap. P. Ermahnungsschr. an d. Hebr. Christen wortgetreu übers. mit . . . einer krit. Einleit. &c. 1833. — *A. Tholuck*, Comm. z. Br. an d. Hebr. 1836. 2d ed. 1840. — *K. Stein*, Theoprakt. erkl. 1838. — *C. Lomb*, Comm. 1843.

*Design and Contents.*

§ 159.

The design of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to show apologetically, not polemically, the superiority of the Christian revelation, as complete and archetypal, over that of the Old Testament, as merely preparatory and typical; and to confirm in the faith those Christians who yet adhered to the Old Testament views and usages. The style advances from that of discussion to that of exhortation, and the latter is interwoven with the former. The relation between the old and the new revelation is like that between the prophets and the Son of God (i. 1–3); the superiority of the latter to the former, like that of Christ to the angels (the proclaimers of the Mosaic Law), although for the redemption of men he was for a time humbled below them (i. 4–ii. 18), and to Moses, who was but a servant, whereas Christ is a Son (iii. 1–6). So much the more must they beware of apostasy (iii. 7–iv. 13). Christ is also a better High-Priest than that of the Old Testament (iv. 14–v. 10). Exhortation to lay hold on these higher truths (v. 11–vi. 20). Christ is Priest after the order of Melchisedec, superior to the Aaronite priests (vii.). He is Priest of a higher, a heavenly sanctuary, Mediator of a better covenant, of a better reconciliation, of which the Old Testament contains only indications and types (viii. 1–x. 18). Exhortation to the believing use of these benefits, warning against falling away, encouragement to faith by the exhibition of Old Testament examples, and to steadfastness in suffering (x. 19–xii. 11). Supplement containing moral exhortations, with personal references and greetings (xii. 12–xiii. 25).

The author has set forth with great acuteness and depth both the difference between the old and the new revelation,

and the germs and indications of the latter contained in the former; and thus raised his readers from the old to the new, without declaring the latter contradictory to the former. He has completely solved the problem of a genuine adaptation, so as to spare the weak without affording any assistance to error.

*Is Paul the Author? External Grounds.*

§ 160 a.

The opinion that Paul is the author is very ancient, but at the same time accompanied with doubts. The oldest Alexandrian Fathers advocate its acceptance by the Church, but are sensible of the difficulty of ascribing it to the Apostle, and do not seem to appeal to any precise tradition.<sup>a</sup> *Origen*, although quoting the Epistle as Pauline,<sup>b</sup> is yet aware of doubts against it.<sup>c</sup> He admits that Paul did not write it, but ascribes the contents to him.<sup>d</sup> Only the later *Dionysius* (A. D. 247) accepts the Epistle without remark as Pauline;<sup>e</sup> and is followed by the later Alexandrians.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 14, from the lost Hypotyposes of *Clemens Alex.*: Καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὲν εἴναι φησί, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἐβραῖος Ἐβραϊκῇ φωνῇ, Δουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρώταν εὑρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν πράξεων· μή προγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸ Παῦλος ἀπόστολος εἰκότως· Ἐβραῖος γάρ φησι ἐπιστέλλων πρόδηψις εἰληφότι κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποπτεύοντις αὐτὸν, συνετὼς πάνυ οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτούς, τὸ δυρμα θείς. .... "Ηδη δὲ ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἔλεγε πρεσβύτερος (his teacher, *Pantænus*, about A. D. 150), ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος, ἀπόστολος ὧν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἐβραίους, διὰ μετριότητα ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἀνείσ τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἐγγράφει ἔαντὸν Ἐβραίων ἀπόστολον, διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τιμήν, διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἐβραῖοις ἐπιστέλλων, ἔθνων κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον. Cf. the quotation from *Heb.* xi. 1, ff. in *Strom.* II. 362, 364, and other passages.

<sup>b</sup> *Princip.* III. 1. 10; IV. 22. *Praef. ad princ.* I. 47. ed. R., and other passages in *Bleek*, p. 101. *Lardner*, II. 2, p. 229.

<sup>c</sup> *Ep. ad Afric.* I. 20: 'ΑΛΛ' εἰκός τινα θιλιθόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως συγχρήσασθαι τῷ βουλήματι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην, πρὸς δὲ ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ιδίαν χρῆσομεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἴναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Cf. in *Matt.* xiii. 27. *Opp. III.* 848, sq.

<sup>d</sup> In *Euseb.* H. E. 25, see Part I. § 23, note b. If he speaks of a church tradition, he means probably only the Alexandrian.

\* In his letter to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, in *Euseb. H. E.* VI. 41: Καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὅμοιως ἐκείνοις οἵς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησε (Heb. x. 34), μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξαντο.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, in *Theodoret. H. E.* I. 3. p. 736. ed. Hal., *Socrat. H. E.* I. 6; *Athanas. Ep. fest.*, see Part I. § 26 a. Others, see in *Bleek*, p. 136, ff.

## § 160 b.

In the Western Church, the Pauline origin of the Epistle was at first denied.<sup>a</sup> In the Eastern Church, it obtained apostolic authority after the middle of the third century,<sup>b</sup> in which position *Eusebius* found it well established, although the doubts regarding its genuineness were known.<sup>c</sup> In the second half of the fourth century, however, its acceptance among the Greeks was universal (Part I. § 26, note a).

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb. H. E.* VI. 20: Ἡλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαῖον, λογιωτάτου ἀνδρός, διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρέσεως ὑπερραχοῦντα κεκιημένος· ἐν φ' τῶν δὲ ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν κανάς γραφὰς προπέτειάν τε καὶ τὸλμαν ἐπιστομίζων, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλον δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραιούς μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς. *Irenaeus* was certainly acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews. *Euseb.* V. 28: Καὶ βιβλίον τι διαλέξεων διαφόρων, ἐν φ' τῆς πρὸς Ἐβραιούς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης σοφίας Σολομῶντος μνημονεύει, ḥητά τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος. But he does not seem to have regarded it as a work of Paul, for he does not use it in his work against the Gnostics. *Phot. Biblioth.* cod. 232, p. 477, from *Steph. Gobarus*: Ἰππόλιτος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραιούς ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου οὐκ ἐκείνον εἴναι φασι. Cod. 121, p. 161, from *Hippolytus*: λέγει, ὅτι η πρὸς Ἐβραιούς ἐπιστολὴ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου. — *Tertull. De pudicitia*, c. 20: Volo tamen ex redundantia alicuius etiam comitis Apostolorum superducere. Exstat enim et *Barnabae* titulus ad *Hebraeos*. . . . Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola *Barnabae* illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum. Monens itaque discipulus, omissis omnibus initiiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursus fundamenta poenitentiae jacere ab operibus mortuorum: impossibile est enim, inquit, eos, qui semel illuminati sunt, etc. Cf. *Heb. vi.* 4–8. *Cyprian. De exhort. mart.* c. 11: Et *Apostolus Paulus*, qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit (namely, to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians). Cf. *Hieron. ad Paulin. de studio scriptur.* T. I. P. I. p. 280. ed. *Vallars.*: *Paulus Apostolus ad septem Ecclesias* scribit (octavo enim ad *Hebraeos* a plerisque extra numerum ponitur). The testimonies of *Novatianus* and *Victorinus Petavicensis*. in *Bleek*, p. 174, ff. Cf. also the Fragment of *Muratori*, Part I. § 21 c.

<sup>b</sup> Writing of the Synod at Antioch, A. D. 264, in *Mansi*, Collect. concil. I. 1038 : Ό δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον (2 Cor. iii. 17) · κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔπινον γάρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς πέτρας, κ. τ. λ. (1 Cor. x. 4) : .... Καὶ περὶ Μωϋσέως· μείζονα πλοῦτον ὑγησάμενος, κ. τ. λ. (Heb. xi. 26.) Whether *Methodius* (A. D. 290) cites the Epistle as a writing of Paul, *Coniv.* p. 96 : εἰ δὲ νόμος, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, πνευματικός ἐστι, τὰς εἰκόνας ἐμπεριέχων τῶν μελλόντων, is doubtful, for the κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον can refer to the first only (cf. Rom. vii. 14). In the writings of *Jacob of Nisibis* (about A. D. 325) in *Galland. Bibl. Patr.* V. p. xvi., lxii., lxxxviii., lxxxix., there are several citations of the Epistle as a work by the Apostle.

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. III. 3 : Τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσερες. "Οτι γε μὴν τινὲς ἡθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραιούς, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγρούειν. VI. 13 : Κέχρηται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς [Clemens Alex.] καὶ ταῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίας .... καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἐβραιούς ἐπιστολῆς. Cf. III. 38, cited in § 164 b, note a.

### § 160 c.

Subsequently, in the fourth century, the Epistle obtained canonical acceptance also in the West.<sup>a</sup> To this, the study of the Greek commentators, especially of Origen, the Arian controversy, in which use was made of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the repute of Jerome and Augustine contributed. These Fathers accepted the Epistle, after the example of the Eastern Church, without being exactly convinced of its genuineness.<sup>b</sup> Many, not only in the second half of the fourth century, but even later, doubted the genuineness of the Epistle, and refrained from using it.<sup>c</sup>

According to all these authorities, the tradition that Paul is author of this Epistle, if it be in general a tradition, is very far from reliable.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Epistle is used as Paul's by *Hilarius Pictav.* († 368), *Lucifer* († 371), *Ambrosius* († 397), *Gaudentius* (c. 387), *Rufinus*, and *A. Philastrius*, *Haeres.* 89, p. 196, sq. : Haeresis quorundam de epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos. Sunt alii quoque, qui ep. Pauli ad Hebr. non adserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt aut Barnabae esse apostoli : alii autem Lucae evangelistae ajunt epistolam, etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam. Concil. Hippone. an. 393. can. 36 (see Part I. § 27, note a) : Pauli Apostoli epistolae tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebraeos una. Concil. Carthag. an. 397. can. 47. *Innocentii Ep. ad Exsuper.*

<sup>b</sup> Ep. ad Dardan., see Part I. § 27, note a. In *Jerem.* xxxi. : Hoc

testimonio Apostolus Paulus, sive quis alias scripsit epistolam, usus est ad Hebraeos. In Tit. i. : Si quis vult recipere eam epistolam, quae sub nomine Pauli, sive cujuscunque alterius eam esse putas, quia jam inter ecclesiasticas est recepta. De vir. ill. c. 5 : Epistola autem, quae fertur ad Hebraeos, non ejus creditur propter stili sermonique dissonantiam, sed vel Barnabae juxta Tertullianum, vel Lucae Evangelistae juxta quosdam, vel Clementis, Romanae postea Ecclesiae episcopi, quem ajunt ipsi adjunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone. Vel certe Paulus, quia scribebat ad Hebraeos et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis, titulum in principio salutationis amputaverit. Scripserat ut Hebraeus Hebraice, id est, suo eloquio disertissime, ut ea quae eloquentius scripta fuerant in Hebraeo, eloquentius verterentur in Graecum, et hanc causam esse, quod a caeteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur. *Augustine*, De peccator. merit. et remiss. I. 27 : Ad Hebraeos quoque epistola, quamquam nonnullie incerta sit, tamen quoniam legi, quosdam huic nostrae de baptismo puerorum sententiae contraria sentientes, eam quibusdam opinionibus suis testem adhibere voluisse, magisque me movet auctoritas ecclesiarum orientalium, quae hanc quoque in canoniciis habent, quanta pro nobis testimonia contineat, advertendum est. Inchoat. exposit. ep. ad Rom. § 11 : .... nonnulli eam in canonom scripturae recipere timuerunt. Sed quoquo modo se habeat ista quaestio. .... He cites the Epistle usually as Epistola ad Hebr., Epistola, quae inscribitur ad Hebr., and the like. *Bleek*, p. 224, ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Phebadius* († after 392), *Zeno* (c. 360), *Ambrosiaster* (366 – 384), *Optatus Milevit.* (364 – 375), *Leo the Great* (440 – 461), *Orosius*, and others, do not quote the Epistle. *Hieron.* In Esaiam viii. : Eam (epistolam ad Hebraeos) Latina consuetudo inter canonicas scripturas non recipit. Comment. in Matth. xxvi. : .... Paulus in epistola sua, quae scribitur ad Hebraeos, licet de ea multi Latini dubitent, etc. *Augustine*, De civ. Dei, XVI. 22 : Plures Apostoli dicunt(ep. ad Hebr.), quidam vero negant. *Primasius* (middle of the sixth century), Comment. in ep. Paul. praef. : Epistolam sane quae ad Hebraeos scribitur, quidam Pauli non esse affirmant, eo quod non sit ejus nomine titulata et propter sermonis stilique distantiam, etc. *Isidor. Hispal.* (in the first half of the seventh century), De offic. eccles. I. 11 : Ad Hebraeos autem epistola plerisque Latine ejus (Pauli) fuisse incerta est propter dissonantiam sermonis, eandemque alii Barnabam conscripsisse, alii a Clemente scriptam fuisse suspicantur. — Testimony of the oldest Græco-Latin codd., cod. Claromont., Boern., Aug., in which the Epistle is either not found, or only by a later hand, or in Latin. *Bleek*, p. 240, ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Paulus*, Einl. VI. ff., decides from the authorities in favor of the Pauline composition, for he supposes that a real tradition existed in Alexandria, and lays stress on the use of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the letters of Clement of Rome and others.

*Internal Grounds.*

## § 161 a.

The theory that Paul wrote this Epistle is opposed also by many very strong internal grounds. 1. The Epistle, contrary to the Apostle's practice, neither opens with greetings nor has his name,<sup>a</sup> contains but few personal references, and in its form approximates so closely to the character of a treatise that some, although erroneously, deny that it is an Epistle.<sup>b</sup> The references in xiii. 19, 23, f. may certainly apply to the Apostle's situation during his imprisonment at Rome; they do not, however, necessarily, nor even with probability.<sup>c</sup> On the contrary, the author betrays himself as only meditately a disciple of Jesus (ii. 3, cf. Luke i. 2), who wrote after the Apostle's death (xiii. 7).<sup>d</sup> Paul, moreover, would hardly have written to Hebrew Christians, it not being his custom to force himself into spheres of labor occupied by others (1 Cor. x. 13, ff., Rom. xv. 20).

<sup>a</sup> The manner in which *Pantenus*, *Clement of Alex.* (see § 160 a, note a), *Hug*, II. 489, and others, seek to remove this difficulty, is unsatisfactory. So also *Steudel's (Bengel's) Archiv.* IV. 87).

<sup>b</sup> *J. Berger*, Der Brief an d. Hebr. eine Homilie, in the Götting. Theol. Biblioth. III. 3, p. 449, ff.

<sup>c</sup> *Bleek*, p. 275, ff. The reading *τοῖς δερμοῖς μον*, Heb. x. 34, would be the most decided reference to Paul.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Calvin*, ad Hebr. ii. 3. *Luther's Vorrede zu d. Br. an die Hebr. Ziegler*, Vollst. Einl. in d. Br. an die Hebr. (1791), p. 237, ff. *Bleek*, p. 286, ff. False explanation of ii. 3, by the figure *ἀνακοίνωσις* (*Hug*, p. 466).

## § 161 b.

2. The language is very different from the Apostle's, being purer Greek, more periodic, and more oratorical.\*

\* *Origen*, in *Euseb. H. E.* VI. 25, held this opinion (cf. Part I. § 23, note b). It is shown most completely by *Schulz*, p. 136, ff. *Seyffarth*, De epistolae quae dicitur ad Hebraeos inde maxime peculiari (Lips. 1821), p. 29, sqq. They, however, lay too great stress on single words and expressions. Better in *Bleek*, p. 327, ff. *Credner*, § 200. *Schott*, § 85. *Tholuck*, p. 29, ff.

Different formulas of citation: *λέγει, μαρτυρεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγίου, οὐ δὲός, or simply λέγει, εἶρηκε, μαρτυρεῖ, φησί, i. 5, 6, ff., 13, iii. 7, 15, iv. 3, 4, ff., 7, v. 5, f., vi. 14, vii. 14, 17, 21, viii. 5, 8, 13, x. 5, 8, 9, 15, f., 30, xi. 18, xii. 5, 20, 26.* (Paul, on the contrary: *γέγραπται, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, ἐγράφη, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, Rom. i. 17, ii. 24, iii. 4, 10, iv. 3, 17, 23, viii. 36, ix. 13, 17, 33, x. 11, 15, xi. 2, 8, 19, 26, xiv. 11, xv. 3, 9, 21, 24; 1 Cor. i. 19, 31, ii. 9, ix. 9, x. 7, xiv. 21, xv. 45; 2 Cor. iv. 13, viii. 15, ix. 9; Gal. iii. 8, 10, 13, iv. 22, 27, 30, or Μωϋσῆς γράφει, Δαβὶδ λέγει, ὁ νόμος λέγει, and the like, in Rom. iv. 6, vii. 7, ix. 25, 27, 29, x. 5, 19, 20, f., xi. 9, xv. 12; 1 Cor. ix. 9, xiv. 21, 34. Only Eph. iv. 8, v. 14, agree with the Ep. to the Heb.; Rom. xv. 10, 2 Cor. vi. 2, Gal. iii. 16, are similar.) Instead of the formulas δέ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς Χρ. δέ κύριος ἡμῶν, Χρ. Ἡ. δέ κύριος ἡμῶν, δέ κύριος Ἡ. Χρ., we have here only δέ κύριος, ii. 3, vii. 14; δέ Ἰησοῦς, ii. 9, iii. 1, iv. 14, vi. 20, vii. 22, x. 19, xii. 2, 24, xiii. 12, or Χριστός, iii. 6, 14, v. 5, vi. 1, ix. 11, 14, 24, 28, xi. 26; only x. 10, xiii. 8, 21, Ἰησοῦς Χρ., and xiii. 20, δέ κύρ. ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς. — *Ἀπόστολος of Christ, iii. 1; μισθαποδοσία, ii. 2, x. 35, xi. 26 (in Paul, μισθός); ὄρκωμοσία, vii. 20, 21; αἴματεκχυσία, ix. 22.* — Words compounded with εὖ and ἀνά, as εὐαρεστεῖν, εὐποιᾶ, εὐπερίστατος, ἀναλογίζεσθαι, ἀναδέχεσθαι. — *Οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα, ii. 5; τὰ μελλοντα ἀγάθα, ix. 11, x. 1; μέτοχον είναι, γίνεσθαι, iii. 1, 14, vi. 4, xii. 8 (in Paul, κοινωνὸν, συγκοινωνὸν είναι, κοινωνεῖν, συγκοινωνεῖν); ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, i. 3, ἐκ. ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, viii. 1, ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ, xii. 2, ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, x. 12 (Ephes. i. 20: ἐκάθισεν [αὐτὸν θεός] ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, Col. iii. 1: ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος); ἥγονύμενοι, xiii. 7, 17, 24; κακουχεῖσθαι, xi. 37, xiii. 2; συγκακουχεῖσθαι, xi. 25; θρόνος τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, viii. 1; θρ. τῆς χάριτος, iv. 16; τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυθρίζειν, τὸν οὐδὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καταπατεῖν, x. 29.* — Several feminine substantives derived from verbs: *ἀθέτησις, vii. 18, ix. 26; μετάθεσις, vii. 12, xi. 5, xii. 27; κατάπανσις, iii. 11, 18, iv. 1, 3, 5, 10, 11, and several others; τελειοῦν, ii. 10, v. 9, vii. 19, 28, ix. 9, x. 1, 14, xi. 40, xii. 23; τελείωσις, vii. 11; προσφέρειν, προσφορά, very often; λαμβάνειν, often, sometimes singularly used, as, πεῖραν, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν; προσέρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, iv. 16, vii. 25, x. 1, 22, xi. 6; κρείττων, sometimes quite peculiar, i. 4, vi. 9, vii. 7, 19, 29, viii. 6, ix. 23, x. 34, xi. 16, 35, 40; αἰώνιος, v. 9, vi. 2, ix. 12, 14, 15, xiii. 20; εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, vii. 3, x. 1, 12, 14, εἰς τὸ παντελές, vii. 25, διαπαντός, ix. 6, xiii. 15; ζῶν, in the sense of eternal, spiritually powerful; θεός ζῶν, iii. 12, ix. 14, x. 31, xii. 22; λόγος ζῶν, iv. 12; ὁδὸς ζῶσα, x. 20; ἐάνπερ, iii. 6, 14, vi. 3; the frequent οὐθεν, οὐτον, τοσοῦτο, ἀδύνατον; παρά, after the comparative, i. 4, ix. 23, xi. 4, xii. 24; the frequent use of the singular of πᾶς.* — On the other hand, the Pauline turns are wanting: *οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγορεῦν, and several others (§ 123 a, note a).* There are, undoubtedly, resemblances to the Pauline style of writing (*Bleek*, p. 316). Particularly striking is the similar quotation of Deut. xxxii. 35, chap. x. 30 and Rom. xii. 19. But*

the author may have known and used Paul's writings. In xiii. 5 he also cites a passage in accordance with *Philo*, *De confus. ling.* p. 344.

§ 161 c.

3. There is an entire absence of polemics in this Epistle, as well as of Paul's peculiar ideas and views; instead of which it has others peculiar to itself.\* The prevailing comparison and figurative use of Old Testament passages and ordinances is foreign to Paul, and reminds us of Philo's mode of using the Old Testament.<sup>b</sup> Paul would hardly represent Christianity in general as so nearly parallel to Judaism, nor Christ as High-Priest, which could have force for Jews only, and not for Gentiles. Nor would he have omitted to mention his calling as Apostle to the Gentiles, nor to dwell upon the fact that Christianity was a new revelation for Jews and Gentiles.<sup>c</sup>

\* *Schulz*, p. 102, ff. The proper contrast between *πίστις* and *νόμος*, and *έργα νόμου*, is wanting; *πίστις* in Hebrews is different from that in Paul. There is no mention of justifying faith (only an allusion, xi. 7); none of *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* or *τῶν οὐρανῶν*; none of Satan's kingdom; none of the Gospel of Christ; no emphasis on the fact of the resurrection. The ideas regarding the perfecting of Christ are peculiar, as also those of the Christian *τελείωσις* in general, of continued atonement (vii. 24, ff.).

<sup>b</sup> *Schulz*, p. 118, ff., 264, ff. Here, however, the author betrays a certain ignorance of the internal arrangement of the sanctuary. *Bleek*, p. 381, ff. Cf., on the contrary, *Mynster*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1829. p. 341, ff. *Tholuck*, on the passage.

<sup>c</sup> *Schulz*, pp. 74, ff., 102; cf. the remarks to the contrary in my article in the Theol. Zeitschr. III. 5, ff. The general views given in the Epistle to the Hebrews are not essentially different from Paul's. To the latter, however, belongs, according to the external position of the Apostle, the admission that the Law has no force beyond the limits of the Jewish people, and has lost its power as a means of salvation. This admission is wanting in the Epistle.

§ 161 d.

4. In citing the Old Testament, Paul nowhere appears so dependent on the Septuagint version as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who betrays total ignorance of the Hebrew original; nor does he, as in Heb. i. 6, ii. 7, x. 5,

xii. 27, found his argument upon the words of the Septuagint, or attach it only to them.\*

\* *Bleek*, p. 338, ff. Although Paul, in Rom. ii. 24, iii. 4, xv. 10, and other passages, follows the LXX. in its departures from the Hebrew, the variations are of little moment. *Bleek* observes (p. 369, ff.) that Paul cites the LXX. according to Cod. Vatic., the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews according to Cod. Alex.; but the passage Deut. xxxii. 35 is cited in Heb. x. 30 as in Rom. xii. 19.

Notwithstanding, the following modern writers affirm the Pauline origin of the Epistle: *Wolf*, Cur. phil.; *J. D. Michaelis*, Erkl. d. Br. an die Hebr. p. 11, ff. (Einl. II. 1386, ff., he doubts); *Chr. Fr. Schmid*, Observatt. s. ep. ad Hebr., Histor. antiqua et vindicatio canonis; *Nösselt*, De tempore, quo scripta fuerit ep. Pauli ad Hebr.; *Storr*, Uebers. d. Br. an die Hebr. Einl. p. v. ff.; *Kleuker*, Ueber den Urspr. u. Zweck der apostol. Briefe; *Hug*, Einl.; *G. W. Meyer*, Ueber einigé innere Gründe für die Abfassung d. Br. an d. Hebr. v. Paulus, in *Ammon* and *Bertholdt's Krit. Journal*, II. 3; *Steudel*, in *Bengel's Archiv*, IV. 1. p. 63, ff.; *Hofstede de Groot*, Disputatio, qua ep. ad Hebr. cum Paulin. epp. comparatur. Traj. 1826; *Paulus*, as above; *F. Chr. Gelpke*, Vindiciae orig. Paul. ad Hebr. ep. L. B. 1833; *Klee* (Ausleg.); *Stuart* (Comm.); *Stein* (Erkl.); *Lomb* (Comm.). In favor of Origen's intermediate view are the following: *Guerike*, Einl. p. 441, and others. The Pauline composition is doubted by *Vives*, *Cojetan*, *Erasmus*, *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Calvin*, *Mart. Chemniz* (who in his Exam. Conc. Trid. reckons the Epistle among the Antilegomena or "Apocryphal" works), *Beza*, *J. Cameron*, *Grotius*, *Clericus*, *Schlichting*; then *Heumann*, *Semler*, *Ziegler*, *J. Chr. Schmidt*, *Eichhorn*, *Berger*, *Dav. Schulz*, *Seyffarth*, *Böhme*, *Bleek*, *Olshausen* (Nachweis. d. Aechth. sämmtl. Schr. d. N. T. p. 89, ff., cf. on the other side, Opusc. p. 121), *Tholuck*, *Schott*, *Credner*, *Neudecker*.

### *To whom is the Epistle addressed?*

#### § 162 a.

The Epistle presupposes as its readers unmixed Jewish Christians, who still adhered to their ancestral temple and sacrificial worship (xiii. 9), and in part, at least, inclined to apostasy [from Christ] (x. 25, vi. 6, xii. 15, f.). There is no material objection<sup>a</sup> against our following the superscription,<sup>b</sup> — understood in the sense of the Church idiom (Acts vi. 1), — and the most ancient opinion (cf. § 160 a, note a), in regarding these as Jewish Christians of Palestine;<sup>c</sup> excepting the improbability that a Paulinian, like the author

and his friend Timothy, stood in very near relations to them, and that this Epistle, with its Hellenistic knowledge of Scripture based on the use of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, was addressed to such Christians.

\* According to x. 32, xii. 4, they to whom the Epistle was addressed had suffered persecution, though not unto blood ; this does not contradict Acts viii. 1–3, xii. 1, for the writer had the then existing generation in view. That they had learned the Gospel from ear-witnesses, according to ii. 3, is in this connection likewise appropriate. That they had practised beneficence and should do so yet farther (vi. 10, x. 23, f., xiii. 16) is not absolutely irreconcilable with Rom. xv. 25, ff., 1 Cor. xvi. 1–3, Gal. ii. 10; for even in Paul's time there were not wanting wealthy and beneficent persons among the Christians of Jerusalem. But it is nevertheless true, that precise references to the Jewish Christians of Palestine are wanting. Cf. *Mynster*, in Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1829. p. 338, who brings forward additional opposing arguments, among others v. 12, that the readers, *as regards the time*, might be teachers, which is at variance with the idea of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem (although not of those in the country). For the rest, see the remarks on the passage. The objection, that the Epistle must have been written in Aramaic, amounts to little, as the Greek language was widely diffused in Palestine.

† Which *Credner*, § 208, considers original.

‡ Phil. iii. 5, 2 Cor. xi. 22, doubtless contain a broader meaning of Ἐβραῖος ; but the Church expression εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἐβραίους is decisive. In *Euseb.* H. E. III. 4, the Jewish Christians of Asia Minor are called ἐξ Ἐβραίων ὄντες. According to *Credner*, p. 564, the choice of this name points to an earlier time, when the difference between Judaizing and non-Judaizing Christians had not grown so great (?).—According to *Hase*, in *Winer* and *Engelhardt's Journ. der theolog. Litt.* II. 3. p. 265, ff., the Epistle was addressed to such Jewish Christians as were afterwards Ebionites, because in the Epistle allusions appear to the Ebionite doctrine. Cf. *Epiph.* Haeres. XXX. c. 3 : "Αλλοι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγοντιν ἀνωθεν μὲν ὄντα, πρὸ πάντων δὲ κτισθέντα, πνεῦμα ὄντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγγέλους ὄντα, πάντων τε κυριεύοντα καὶ Χριστὸν λέγεσθαι, τὸν ἔκεισε δὲ αἰώνα κεκληρώσθαι. Cap. 16 : Οὐ φάσκουσιν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκτίσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, μείζονα δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντα, αὐτὸν δὲ κυριεύειν καὶ ἀγγέλον καὶ πάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος πεποιημένων,—with Heb. i. 3, 4, viii. 1. Ib. : "Οτι ἥλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσησθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὁργή,—with Heb. ix. 23. Ib. : καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτίζονται,—with Heb. xi. 10.

## § 162 b.

No other theory has any probability. The Epistle cannot be addressed to Jewish Christians in general,<sup>a</sup> because it presupposes personal relations (xiii. 18, f., 23), nor to Jewish Christians at Thessalonica,<sup>b</sup> Galatia,<sup>c</sup> Alexandria,<sup>d</sup> or elsewhere,<sup>e</sup> because it does not touch the subject of Gentile Christians, and — not to mention other reasons — presupposes churches of unmixed Jewish Christians attached to the Jewish temple-service.

<sup>a</sup> According to *Braun* and *Baumgarten*, *Heinrichs*, Prolegg. in epist. ad Hebr. p. 12. *Schweigler*, Nachap. Zeitalt. II. 304.

<sup>b</sup> *Semler*, Einl. zu *Baumgarten's* Erkl. d. Br. an die Hebr. *Nösselt*, De tempore quo scripta fuerit ep. Pauli ad Hebr., in his Opusc. Fasc. I.

<sup>c</sup> *Storr*, p. lxi. ff. *Mynster*, Kl. theol. Schr. p. 94, ff. *Rink*, in Theol. St. u. Kr. 1839. p. 1003, f., especially on account of 2 Pet. iii. 15, which he thinks refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews. *Bengel* (*Gnom.*), *Chr. F. Schmid*, Observatt. s. ep. ad Hebr. p. 16, *Cramer*, with broader extension of it: Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia.

<sup>d</sup> *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, Einl. I. 284, 293. He uses this passage from *Muratorii*'s fragment: Fertur etiam ad Laodicense, alia ad Alexandrinos Pauli nomine fictae ad haeresem Marcionis.

<sup>e</sup> Perhaps in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece (because of 2 Pet. iii. 15), according to *W. Wall*, Not. crit. p. 318, *Wolf*, Cur. p. 593; or in Rome, according to *Wetstein*, N. T. II. 386; or in Antioch, according to *Böhme*, Praef. p. xxxii.; or in Laodicea, according to *Stein* (see § 123 b, note c), compare also *Schneckenburger*, as above, who aims to show a certain affinity between the Epistle to the Hebrews and that to the Colossians; in similar strain, *Baumgarten-Crusius*, De orig. ep. ad Hebr. conjectt. Jen. 1829, who maintains that the Epistle to the Hebrews is an edition of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, revised for the use of the Jewish Christians of those regions (cf. *Lücke*, in Stud. u. Kr. 1830. p. 450, f.); or in Lycaonia, according to *Credner*, p. 564.

*Theories regarding the Author.*

## § 163 a.

Although an individual fact can never be established with certainty in the absence of testimony, and the office of criticism is from its nature chiefly negative, yet attempts have been constantly made to find out the author. Various hy-

potheses have been started. In forming a correct estimate of the same, the three following certain characteristics of the author are of service: he must have been, 1. a Jew by birth; 2. well versed in the Alexandrian Scripture learning; 3. possessed of unusual eloquence.

### § 163 b.

Some have fixed on *Luke*.<sup>a</sup> The ancient writers did this, however, that they might ascribe at least to the Apostle's assistant what they were compelled to deny to Paul. There is a degree of resemblance between Luke's writings and this Epistle in the language;<sup>b</sup> none, however, in their contents or their mode of representation.<sup>c</sup> Luke was not an Alexandrian Jew.

<sup>a</sup> *Origen*, in *Euseb.* VI. 25 (Part. I. § 23, note b). *Hieron.* De viris ill. c. 5. § 160, note b. *L. M. Artemonius*, in Initio St. Evang. Joh. restituto, p. 98. *Grotius*, Prolegg. in ep. ad Hebr. *Köhler*, Abfass., &c., p. 205. *Hug*, § 149, p. 493, supposes that Luke had a hand in the composition.

<sup>b</sup> *Grotius* cites: εὐλαβεῖσθαι, εὐλάβεια, Acts xxiii. 10, Hebr. v. 7, xi. 7; εἰς τὸ παντελές, Luke xiii. 11, Hebr. vii. 25; μαρτυρούμενος, μαρτυρεῖσθαι, Acts vi. 3, xvi. 2, Hebr. vii. 8, xv. 2, 5, 39; χρηματίζεσθαι, Luke ii. 26, Acts x. 22, Hebr. viii. 5; ἡγούμενος, Luke xxii. 26, Hebr. xiii. 7, 17; ἀρχηγός, Acts iii. 15, v. 31, Hebr. ii. 10, xii. 2; πρός for περί, Luke xviii. 1, xix. 42, xx. 19, Acts xxviii. 25, Hebr. i. 7, 8.

<sup>c</sup> *Eichhorn*, iii. 464, ff. *Bertholdi*, p. 2955, ff. *Bleek*, p. 406, f.

### § 163 c.

Others have supposed *Clement* of Rome to be the author.<sup>a</sup> But the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of Clement cannot be by the same author, because the latter lacks the Alexandrian character and the author's originality of mind. The similar passages found in Clement show merely his acquaintance with our Epistle.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Origen*, *Hieronym.*, as above. *Erasm.* Annott. in N. T. *Patric. Julius*, in Ed. ep. 1. Clem.

<sup>b</sup> *Clement's First Epistle.* *Epistle to the Hebrews.*  
Ch. 17: Μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα κάκεινων xi. 37: . . . περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς,  
οἵτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἴγειοις καὶ μη- ἐν αἴγειοις δέρμασι.  
λεπταῖς περιεπάτησαν.

*Clement's First Epistle.*

Ch. 38 : . . . δις ὧν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσούτῳ μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, δισὶ διαφορώτερον δῦνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν. Γέγραπται γάρ οὕτως· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεῦματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ νιῷ αὐτοῦ οὗτος εἰπεῖν δὲ δεσπότης· νιός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένητά σε· αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη, κ. τ. λ., καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, κ. τ. λ.

Ch. 9 : Λάθωμεν Ἐνώχ, δις ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὑρεθεὶς μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος.

Ib. : Νῷε πιστὸς εὑρεθεὶς διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυξε, καὶ διέσωσε δὲ αὐτοῦ δεσπότης τὰ εἰσελθόντα ἐν δύμονιδ ἥσα εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν.

Ch. 12 : Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαβά, ἡ πόρνη.

Cf. Eichhorn, III. 471, ff. Bertholdt, VI. 2952, ff. Bleek, p. 411, f.

*§ 163 d.*

The theory that *Barnabas* wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews is also ancient.<sup>a</sup> But the allegorical use of the Old Testament, in which the Epistle of Barnabas somewhat resembles ours, is far less large and spirited. The former rests, too, on a different view of the Mosaic law. Barnabas, moreover, was not an eloquent speaker (Acts xiv. 12).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Tertull. § 160 b, note a. J. Camero, Myrothecium evang. Schmidt, Einl. I. 289. Twesiten, Vorless. üb. d. Dogm. I. 105. Ullmann, Stud. u. Krit. I. 2. 377.

*Epistle to the Hebrews.*

i. 3 : . . . δις ὧν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ρόματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. . . . 4 : τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων, δισὶ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν δῦνομα.

7 : Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεῦματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

5 : Τίνι γάρ εἰπεῖ ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων· νιός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένητά σε;

Ver. 13 : Πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰρήκε ποτε· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, κ. τ. λ.

xii. 5 : Πίστει Ἐνώχ μετετέθη, τοῦ μὴ ιδεῖν θάνατον, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο (cf. Sap. IV. 10 : εὐάρεστος τῷ θεῷ γενόμενος ἡγαπήθη, καὶ ζῶν μεταξὺ διαπτώλων μετετέθη).

7 : Πίστει χρηματισθεὶς Νῷε περὶ τῶν μηδέποτα βλεπομένων, εὐλαβηθεὶς κατεσκεύασε κιβωτὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ οὐκου αὐτοῦ· δὲ ἡς κατέκριψε τὸν κόσμον, κ. τ. λ.

xii. 31 : Πίστει Ῥαδβ ἡ πόρνη οὐ συναπώλετο τοῖς ἀπειθῆσασι, δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους μετ' εἰρήνης.

<sup>b</sup> *Eichhorn*, p. 466, ff. *Bertholdt*, p. 2946. *Bleek*, p. 413, ff. Even if the Epistle of Barnabas be spurious (*Neander*, KG. I. 3. p. 1100. *Twesten*, *Ullmann*, as above; on the contrary, *E. Henke*, *De ep. Barnab. authentia*. Jen. 1827), there are yet objections enough against Barnabas. *Bleek*, p. 417, ff.

### § 163 e.

Others regard *Silas* as the author;<sup>a</sup> but he seems to have dwelt at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 22), and must therefore have been better acquainted with the temple there than was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>b</sup> He probably was not versed in Alexandrian learning. All these three characteristics are found in *Apollos*, the eloquent Alexandrian scholar (Acts xviii. 24, 28). He is, in fact, regarded by several writers as the author of the Epistle.<sup>c</sup> But the personal references, in themselves obscure (xiii. 19, 23, f.), find no support in the existing accounts of him. Hence the most reliable conclusion is that the author is unknown to us.

<sup>a</sup> *Mynster*, p. 133, ff. *Böhme*, Praef. p. xl. sqq. Both connect this theory with that concerning those to whom the Epistle was addressed (§ 162 b). *Böhme* rests it especially on the supposed similarity between its style and that of 1 Pet.

<sup>b</sup> *Bleek*, p. 409, f., cf. on the contrary *Mynster*, in Stud. u. Kr. 1829. p. 341, ff.

<sup>c</sup> *Luther*, Werke, Ausg. v. Walch, XII. 1996. *Clericus*, *Heumann*, *Semler*, *Ziegler*, *Bleek* (p. 423, ff.), *Schott*, *Credner*, &c.

### Time and Place of Composition.

### § 164 a.

As the temple worship is throughout presupposed (viii. 4, ix. 6, 7, xiii. 11 – 13), the Epistle must have been written before its downfall and that of the Jewish state,<sup>a</sup> but at a time when the “Hebrews,” their apostolic teachers having died (xiii. 7), were in a neglected condition, after the death of James the brother of the Lord, and shortly before the breaking out of the Jewish war (between A. D. 65 and 67).<sup>b</sup> That it was written from Rome or Italy, as the subscription in several MSS. indicates, far from being implied in xiii. 24, is, rather, irreconcilable with that passage.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Orelli*, *Selecta patrum capp. III. 4*, asserts that the Epistle was not written till after the destruction of Jerusalem.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Bleek*, I. p. 433, ff. He, with *Bertholdt*, makes x. 32, xii. 4, refer to the persecution under Nero, and connects xiii. 24 with them. There is this difficulty, that if James's death (about A. D. 63) had taken place earlier, and was yet in such fresh remembrance, xii. 4, xiii. 17, must have had a different turn. If xii. 22, f. was written with a reference to Rev. xiv. 1, ff., the date of the composition is brought much farther down.

<sup>c</sup> This is opposed by οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰαλίας. *Bleek*, p. 281.

### *The Original Language.*

#### § 164 b.

The theory that the Epistle was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic is as old as, at first glance, it is plausible.<sup>a</sup> But a closer examination brings to light the strongest proof of the Greek origin of the Epistle, viz.: 1. the pure, flowing language; 2. the quotation and use of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, even in its mistakes (x. 5, cf. Ps. xl. 7; i. 6, cf. Ps. xvii. 7; ii. 7, cf. Ps. viii. 7; x. 38, cf. Hab. ii. 4); 3. plays on words which are possible only in Greek (ix. 16, f., v. 8, ix. 10, xi. 35).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens Alex.* in *Euseb.* VI. 14. § 160 a, note a. *Euseb.* III. 38 : Ἐβραιοῖς γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὡμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα ἔρμηνένται λέγοντι τὴν γραφήν· διὰ μὲν εἴη ἀν ἀληθὲς τῷ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τὴν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραιοὺς ἀποσάζειν, καὶ τῷ μὴ πόρρω τὰ ἐν ἑκατέροις τοῖς συγγράμμασι νόηματα καθεστάναι. *Hieron.* Ep. ad Dardan. I. § 27, note a. Cod. 31, in the subscription ἐγράφῃ ἐβραῖστι. *Hallet*, De auctore et lingua originali ep. ad Hebr., in *Wolf*, Cur. philol. Tom. IV. and *Jac. Peircii Paraphr. et notae in ep. ad Hebr. latine vertit J. D. Michaëlis*, Hal. 1747. 4to. *J. D. Michaëlis*, Einl. II. 1359, ff. Erkl. d. Br. an d. Hebr. 2d ed. I. 29, ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Eichhorn*, Einl. III. 498, ff. *Bertholdt*, VI. 2971, ff. *Bleek*, p. 13, ff. *Neidel* (*Semler*), Diss. quod graece ep. ad Hebraeos Paulus exaraverit. Hal. 1761. 4to.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

*Clem. Alex. Adumbratt.* in ep. 1. *Petr. ep. Jud. 1. 2. Joh. Opp. ed. Pott.* p. 1006, sqq. — *Didymi Alex. Enarratio* in ep. *Jac. 1 Pet. 1 Joh. in Bibl. max. Patr. IV.* 320, sqq. Cf. in *Lücke, Quaestt. ac vindiciae Didymianaæ s. Did. Alex. enarr.* in epp. cath. magnam part. e Graecis scholis restituta. Gott. 1829—30. 4to. — *Beda Ven. Expositio* in septem can. epp. Opp. ed. Col. Tom. V. — *Calvin, Comm.* in epp. cath. Opp. V. 3, with his *Comm.* in omn. epp. Paul. Genev. 1551. fol. Halle, 1832. — *J. J. Grynaeus, Explic.* epp. cathol. Bas. 1543. — *B. Aretii Comm.* in epp. cath. Morg. 1589. — *J. H. Alsted, Plejjas apostolica*, i. e. septem epp. can. notatt. illustr. c. pentateucho. Herb. 1640. — *Conr. Horneji, In septem. epp. cath. expositio litt.* Brunsv. 1652—54. 2 vols. 4to. — *Epistolarum cath. septenarius graece c. nova vers. ac scholiis.* Op. *J. B. Carpzovii.* Hal. 1790. — *Epistolae cath. graece perpet. annotat. illustratae a J. Pott.* Vol. I. (1786, 1799) 1816. compl. ep. *Jac.* Vol. II. (1790) 1810. compl. epp. Petri. — *Die kath. Briefe neu übers. u. mit Excuseen u. einl. Abhandl. herausgeg. v. J. Chr. W. Augusti.* Lemg. 1801—1808. 2 Thle. — *Grashof, Uebers. u. Erkl.* 1838. — *K. R. Jachmann, Comm.* 1838. — *Exeg. Handb.* III. 1.

I. *On the Catholic Epistles in general.**Meaning of their Designation.*

## § 165.

Since the fourth century, the Epistles in the canon which are not Pauline nor ascribed to Paul, and some of which (1 John, 1 Peter) previously belonged to the *Apostolos*, have been classed together under the special name of *Catholic Epistles* (*ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαῖ*).<sup>a</sup> The meaning of this designation is doubtful. The explanation given by the later ecclesiastical writers, that it is equivalent to *ἐπιστολαὶ ἐγκύκλιοι*,<sup>b</sup> does not apply to them all, because two of them are private Epistles. It had, however, originally this or a similar sense<sup>c</sup> (*general letters of instruction*, in contradis-

tinction from the Pauline, which were addressed to special churches). Following this idiom, *Origen* seems to call 1 John, 1 Peter, and the Epistle of Jude catholic.<sup>d</sup> This designation was subsequently extended to all the non-Pauline Epistles, and was understood to mean, on the one hand, Epistles *generally current in the Church*, and, on the other, those *universally acknowledged as canonical*.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb. H. E.* II. 23: Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὐ δὲ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται. Ἰστόν δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μέν· οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς τῶν ἐπτά λεγομένων καθολικῶν. Ὄμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίας. *Cyril. Hierosol. catech.* IV. 36. p. 69. *Iambi ad Seleuc.* p. 195. See Part I. § 26, note a. *Jerome, Ad Paulin. de studio script.* Tom. I. 2. p. 280. ed. *Vallars.* : *Jacobus, Petrus, Joannes, Judas Apostoli septem epistolae edidérunt*, etc.

<sup>b</sup> *Oecumen. Prolegg. in ep. Jac.:* Καθολικαὶ λέγονται αὐταὶ, οἷονεὶ ἑγκύκλιοι. Οὐ γάρ ἀφορισμένως ἔθνει ἐν δὲ πόλει, ὡς δὲ θεῖος Παῦλος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Κορινθίοις προσφωνεὶ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολάς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν θίασος, ἀλλὰ καθόλου τοῖς πιστοῖς, ήτοι Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, ὡς καὶ δὲ Πέτρος, ἢ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῆς πίστιν χριστιανοῖς τελούσιν. *Leontius, De sectis*, c. 2: Καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, ἐπειδὴν οὖν πρὸς ἐν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν, ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα. Cf. *Suicer, Thes. eccl.* s. v. καθολικός.

<sup>c</sup> *Clemens Alex. Strom.* IV. 512: κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν καθολικὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπάντων (*Act. xv.*). (*Eichhorn, Einl.* III. p. 557, needlessly assumes here the meaning, composed by the Apostles as a body.) *Origen, Cont. Cels.* I. 63: γέγραπται δὴ ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβᾳ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. *Apollon. in Euseb. H. E.* V. 18, of *Themison*, a Montanist: .... ἐτὸλμησε μιμούμενος τὸν Ἀπόστολον, καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολὴν, κατηχεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἄμεινον αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας. (*Eichhorn* here erroneously adopts the meaning, to advance the catholic faith.) In this meaning the designation does not once occur with certainty in *Euseb.* IV. 23: Καὶ πρώτων γε περὶ Διονυσίου φατέον· ὅτι τε τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παροικίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνον, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοπονίας οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἥδη καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀφθόνως ἐκοινώνει, χρησιμώτατον ἀπαστιν ἑαυτὸν καθιστάσις, ἐν αἷς ὑπετυποῦτο καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαῖς. These Epistles were only in part circular letters, but having a general aim outside of the Corinthian community, they came into more general Church use.

<sup>d</sup> *Comment. in Matth. Tom. XVII. III. 797:* . . . πρόσχες εἰ δύνασαι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς οὔτως ἔχον, ἀγαπητοί, νῦν τέκνα θεοῦ ἔσμεν, κ. τ. λ. (1 John iii. 2), τὸν τρόπον τούτον ἐκλαβεῖν. *Comment. in*

Joh. Tom. II. Vol. IV. p. 76: .... ἐν δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῇ λέγεται. Ib. VI. 135: .... παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. Comment. in ep. ad Rom. ib. p. 549: Judas Apostolus in epistola catholica dicit. There is here no ground for assuming, with *Bertholdt*, I. 224, that 1 John and 1 Peter were called catholic in contrast with the other Epistles of these Apostles, which had a special aim (this, however, is not the case with 2 Peter). The First Epistle of Peter is indeed addressed to special churches, but to several, and is thus a circular Epistle. *Eichhorn* understands the meaning here as generally acknowledged as apostolic, and thinks Origen designated these Epistles thus because he considered them genuine. This derives a seeming support from *Origen*. in *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 25: .... διὸ (Μάρκου) καὶ νιὸν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τούτων ὡμολόγησε φάσκων, .... Πέτρος δὲ .... μίαν ἐπιστολὴν δρμολογουμένην καταλελοπεῖν. But the first time Origen is not thinking of the genuineness of the Epistle, and he has by no means regarded the Epistle of Jude as generally accepted (see § 184 b, note b). *Dionysius* also, in *Euseb.* VII. 25, can hardly be said to contrast ἐπιστολὴ καθολική with ἐπ. φερομένη, as *Eichhorn* thinks: Οὐ μὴν ῥᾳδίως ἀν συνθείμην τούτον εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν νιὸν Ζεβδαίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου· οὐ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον, καὶ η ἐπιστολὴ η καθολική. .... 'Ο μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγελιστῆς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ παρεγγράφει, οὐδὲ κηρύσσει ἑαυτόν, οὗτε διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὗτε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς. .... 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτη, καίτοι βραχεῖαις οὐσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, δ' Ἰωάννης οὐδαμαστὶ πρόκειται· ἀλλὰ ἀνωνύμως δ' πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται. *Euseb.* III. 22, also calls 1 John τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν. In *Euseb.* III. 3, καθολικός occurs in the meaning of universally used in the Church: Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία η λεγομένη ἀνωμολόγησαι. .... Τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν· δῆμος δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανέστα, μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοιούσιοι γραφῶν .... τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ' ἀλλος ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα. It cannot mean recognized as genuine, for he has just mentioned the doubts against 2 Peter. Cf. also II. 23, note a.

• So *Cassiodorus* calls them, *Institut. divin. litt. c. 8, epistolas canonicas*. According to *Lücke*, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1836. p. 650, canonical here, as elsewhere, refers to the Church as a whole.—The opinion of *Nösselt* (Conject. ad hist. cath. Jac. ep., Opusc. II. 308, ff.) and *Ziegler* (Progr. Rost. 1807. 4to), that *catholic* is equivalent to *canonical*, and that of *Salmeron*, *Tirinus*, *Corn. a Lapide*, *Schmidt* (Einl. II. 297), according to which it must mean for the preservation and advancement of the orthodox *catholic doctrine*, are accordingly to a certain degree justified for subsequent times; *Hug's* opinion (Einl. II. 500), on the contrary, that the *Catholic Epistles* are in contrast with the Pauline, and *Pott's* explanation (given in the second edition of his *Epp. cathol. fasc. 1*, but abandoned in the third edition) by *αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ καθόλον*, *reliquarum epistolarum* (sc. non Paulinarum) *summa sive universitas*, are not sustained by the Church idiom. The right view is given by *Credner*,

§ 209. *Neudecker*, p. 647, ff. *Köster*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1831. p. 586, ff.

*Characteristics of these Epistles. Their Later Use in the Church.*

### § 166.

They all belong to a different school from the Pauline. The Epistle of James stands in opposition to it; the Epistles of Peter take a middle ground; those of John assume a similar free stand-point, but not the polemic one of the Apostle Paul. We may, therefore, call them catholic in the sense of their having the catholic tendency of the post-Apostolic Church.\* It is a peculiarity that they all, excepting the Second and Third Epistles of John, want the genuine epistolary character, and originate in no special relation of the writers to their readers. Perhaps they are imitations of the Epistles of Paul. Hence it comes that their historical relations are so obscure and uncertain. Some of them came late into Church use, and were therefore less often copied. In the MSS. they are placed after the Book of Acts.

\* *Kern*, *Der Br. Jac. etc.* p. 3.

## II. *Epistle of James.*

*Althamer*, Comm. Argent. 1527. — *Brochman*, Comm. Havn. 1641. 4to. — *G. Benson*, Paraphr. et notae philol. lat. verit et suas ubique observatt. addidit *J. D. Michaelis*. Hal. 1747. 4to. — *Baumgarten*, Ausl. Halle, 1750. 4to. — *Herder*, Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu (Jac. u. Judas) in unserm Kanon. Lemg. 1775. — & *F. N. Mori* Praelectt. in Jac. et Petri epp. Ed. *Donat*. Lips. 1793. — Uebers. u. Erl. v. *Chr. G. Hensler*, Hamb. 1801. — *Storr*, In ep. Jacobi diss. exeget. Opusc. Vol. II. — Ep. S. Jacobi et Petri 1. cum vers. germ. et comm. lat. Ed. *J. J. Hottinger*. Lips. 1815. — *J. Schultess*, Comm. copioiss. Turic. 1823. — Uebers. u. Erkl. v. *A. R. Gebser*. Berl. 1828. — *Math. Schneckenburger*, Annotatt. Stuttg. 1832. — *C. G. Guil. Theile*, Comm. Lips. 1833. — *Kern*, Unters. u. Erkl. Tüb. 1838.

*The Author.*

## § 167 a.

The author of this first of the Catholic Epistles (*Euseb.* H. E. II. 23) calls himself James, *servant of God and of Jesus Christ* (i. 1). But what James is meant, is a difficult question to answer.

He cannot be *James the elder*, son of Zebedee, brother of John the Evangelist, for he was early put to death (Acts xii. 1, 2), and the chronological indications in the Epistle (§ 168 b) require a later composition.<sup>a</sup> On the other hand, the question arises, what relation *James the younger*, so called (Mark xv. 40), *son of Alpheus*, one of the Apostles (Matt. x. 3, Mark iii. 18, Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13), and *James the "brother of the Lord"* (Gal. i. 19, *Joseph.* Antt. XX. 9. 1), who enjoyed high consideration in the church at Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 9, cf. Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18, ff.) till he suffered martyrdom, after the death of the Procurator Festus,<sup>b</sup> bear to each other and to the author of our Epistle. The following theories are possible, and have found their supporters in ancient and in modern times.

<sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding, the subscription of an old Latin version in *Martianay*, and of the *Peshito* in the edition of *Widmanstadt* and *Trost*, ascribe the Epistle to him. *Bertholdt*, VI. 2996, f.

<sup>b</sup> *Joseph.* I. c.: . . . δ "Ανανος νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβίνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὅδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν· καὶ παραγαγών εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἱάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκε λευσθησόμενους. (Doubts regarding the genuineness of this account in *Cleric. Ars. crit.* p. 223. *Lardner*; *Suppl.* III. c. 16. *Credner*, p. 581; on the contrary, *Neudeck*. p. 655.) *Hegesipp.* in *Euseb.* H. E. II. 23: Διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἱάκωβος, δ ὄνομασθεῖς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος. . . . Οὗτος δὲ ἐξ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄγιος ἦν. Οἶνος καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιεν. . . . Διὰ γέ τοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκάλειτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὁβλίας. . . . "Εστησαν οὖν οἱ . . . γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἱάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ. . . . Ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον . . . καὶ ἤρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτόν, κ. τ. λ.

## § 167 b.

1. The theory that presents itself first and most naturally is, that these two Jameses are different persons, of whom the so-called “brother of the Lord” was an own brother, or at least half-brother, of Jesus. For ἀδελφός is (especially in *Josephus*, § 167 a, note b) most naturally taken in its proper sense,<sup>a</sup> and Jesus’s brothers are mentioned in connection with his mother (Matt xiii. 55 [cf. *πρωτότοκος*, i. 25], Mark vi. 3, John ii. 12),<sup>b</sup> as unbelieving (John vii. 3, ff.), and are also subsequently distinguished from the Apostles (Acts i. 14; on the other hand, such a distinction is not necessary in 1 Cor. ix. 5).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Stress has erroneously been laid (*Kern*, Comm. Einl. p. 18, ff.) on the addition δ λεγόμενος, δ λεχθείσ, in *Euseb.* H. E. II. 4, IV. 5, *Clem.* Homil. XI. 35, as favoring the improper meaning. Another passage, adduced in support of the improper meaning, proves the contrary. *Hegesipp.* in *Euseb.* IV. 22: Καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τ. δίκαιον, ὡς καὶ δύορος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν δ ἐκ τοῦ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν δ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος· δν προέθεντο πάντες δυτα ἀνέψιουν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. It is correct to refer τ. θείου αὐτοῦ to δύορος (cf. *Hegesipp.* in *Euseb.* III. 32: δ ἐκ τοῦ θείου τ. κυρίου δ προειρημένος Συμεὼν νίδος Κλωπᾶ,—incorrect, with *Credner*, to James), and to explain the last clause also thus: *whom they all preferred*, as the second cousin of the Lord (δεύτερον cannot refer to the verb); but that the reference of this δεύτερον to James the brother of the Lord is correct, so as to make him the first cousin of the Lord, I doubt. It probably refers to James, Alphæus’s son. (*Neand.*) It is certain that, according to Hegesippus, James the brother of the Lord could not be the son of Cleopas (Alphæus); for otherwise this Simeon would be his brother, and this consanguinity should have been assigned as the ground of his being chosen, or at least should have been mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> There is no doubt that these, if not own brothers, were at least step-brothers of Jesus. *Fritzsche*, Exeg. Hdb. z. Matth. on the passage. *Tholuck*, on Joh. ii. 12. C. F. W. *Clemen*, Die Brüder Jesu, in *Winer’s Zeitschr. f. wissensch. Theol.* III. 329, ff.

<sup>c</sup> Several Church Fathers regard the above-mentioned James as a half-brother of Jesus. *Euseb.* II. 1: Τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἱάκωβον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Ἰωσῆφ ὀνόμαστο παῖς· τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ πατήρ δ Ἰωσῆφ, φ μηηστευθεῖστα ἡ παρθένος, πρὶν ἡ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἄγιον, ὡς ἡ λερὰ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει γραφή· τοῦτον δὴ οὖν αὐτὸν Ἱάκωβον, δν καὶ Δίκαιον ἐπίκληην οἱ πᾶλαι δ’ ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουσι προτερήματα, πρῶτον ἰστοροῦσι τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμοις ἐκκλησίας τὸν

*τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκχειρισθῆναι θρόνον.* *Origen*, in *Matth. Tom. X. III. 462*: . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ φασὶ τίνες ἐκ παραδόσεως ὄρμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου ἡ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου (*Protev. Jacobi in Fabric. Aproc. N. T. I. 66*, sqq.?), οὐούς Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικός, συνηκνιάς αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας . . . . Ἰάκωβος δέ ἐστιν οὗτος δν λέγει Παῦλος ἰδεῖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῇ. Cf. *Epiphani. Haeres. XXIX. 3*. p. 119, LXXVIII. 7. p. 1039. *Gregor. Nyss. Orat. II. de Christi resurrect.* The expression ἀδελφὸς κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Constitut. apost. VIII. 35*. *Hegesipp. in Euseb. H. E. III. 20*) does not mean *own brother* (against *Neudecker*, and others): the κατὰ σάρκα forms only the contrast to the heavenly origin of Jesus. *Theophylact*, ad *Gal. i. 19*, differs somewhat: Κλοπᾶς καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ἀδελφοί· τοῦ Κλοπᾶ ἀπαύδος τελευτήσαντος, δὲ Ἰωσὴφ ἔζωστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔτεκε τούτου (Ἰάκωβου) καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς, κ. τ. λ. Cf. *Jerome*, *De vir. ill. c. 2*. § 167 c, note a. James, brother of the Lord, is regarded as an own brother, and different from James, son of Alphæus, by *Grot.*, *Hammond*, ad ep. *Jac.*, *Rich. Sim. Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. ch. XVII.*, *Herder*, *Briefe zweener Brüder J. p. 12*, *Fritzsch*, ad *Matth. xiii. 55*. *Kern*, Br. *Jac. p. 28*: *Jachmann*, *Kathol. Brr.*; *Neand. AG. II. 555*. *Clemen*, as above, *Mayerhoff*, *Einl. in d. petr. Schr. p. 43, ff.*, *Credner*; *Schaf*, *Das Verhältn. d. Jac. Br. d. H. zu Jac. Alph. 1842*. *A. H. Blom*, *De τοῖς ἀδ. κ. ταῖς ἀδ. τ. κυρ. L. B. 1839* (cf. *St. u. Kr. 1842*. p. 71, f.); also by *Schott*, *Neudecker*, excepting that they inconsistently confound the brother of the Lord in Paul with the son of Alphæus.

### § 167 c.

2. The second theory, that the brother of the Lord is one and the same with the son of Alphæus,<sup>a</sup> and is called brother of the Lord because he was his cousin, according to the common view, based on *John xix. 25*, *Mark xv. 40*, son of Mary,<sup>a</sup> the sister of Jesus's mother and wife of Alphæus, or, more correctly, son of Jesus's uncle Alphæus,<sup>b</sup> is favored by the law of historic frugality, and by the fact that in *Acts* only two of the name of James are found, and that he who was influential in Jerusalem after the death of the son of Zebedee is never distinguished from the son of Alphæus, nor reckoned among the brothers of the Lord mentioned in *i. 14*, while, on the contrary, in *Gal. i. 19* (according to the simplest, though, it must be admitted, not the only possible explanation) he is reckoned among the Apostles. The objections, however, preponderate; namely, that in *Hegesippus* and other church writers *James*, brother of

the Lord, is rather distinguished from than reckoned among the Apostles,<sup>a</sup> and that James the son of Alphæus appears in no list of the Apostles as brother of the Lord.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Alex. in Euseb. II. 1 : Δύο δὲ γεγόνασιν Ἰάκωβοι· εἰς δὲ δίκαιος δὲ κατὰ τοῦ πτερυγίου βληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ κναφέως πληγεὶς εἰς θάνατον· ἔτερος δὲ δὲ καρατομηθεῖς.

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. ad Matth. xii.: Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Josephi filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta apocryphorum et a quadam Escha muliercula configentes. Nos autem, sicut in libro, quem contra Helvidium scripsimus, continetur, fratres Domini non filios Josephi, sed consobrinos salvatoris, Mariae liberos, intelligimus, materterae Domini, quae etiam dicitur mater Jacobi minoris et Josephi et Judæ. De viria ill. c. 2: Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur, Mariae sororis matris Domini, cuius Joannes in libro suo meminit, filius, etc. Theodore, ad Gal. i. 19: Ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἐκαλείτο μέν, οὐκ ἡν δὲ φύσει· οὔτε μήν, ὡς τινες ὑπειήφαστι, τοῦ Ἰωσῆφι υἱὸς ἐτύγχανεν ὅν, ἐκ προτέρων γάμων γενόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ μὲν ἡν υἱός, τοῦ δὲ κυρίου ἀνεψιός· μητέρα γάρ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφήν τῆς τοῦ κυρίου μητέρος. Chrysost. ad h. l. Natal. Alex. Hist. eccl. sec. I. c. 8. Baron. Annal. p. 21, 322. Calov. Bibl. illustr. IV. 1390. Budd. Isag. hist. theol., Lardner, Credibil., Pritius, Introd., Carpzov, Baumgarten, Semler, Rosenmüller, Pott, Augusti, Schneckenb., Theile, in their Comm., Storr, Opusc. acad. II. 1, sqq. Gabler, De Jacobo epistolæ eidem adscriptæ autore. Alt. 1787. Hänlein, Hug, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Guerike, in their Einleitt.

<sup>c</sup> In the passage in John, the commonly assumed apposition between ἡ ἀδελφ. τ. μητρὸς αὐτοῦ and Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ is incorrect, and the latter to be regarded as a third person. See Wieseler, in Stud. u. Kr. 1840. p. 648, ff. According to Hegesipp. in Euseb. III. 11, the above-given relation of consanguinity existed.

<sup>d</sup> Hegesipp. in Euseb. II. 23 (see § 167 a, note b). Note: μετὰ (more correctly παρὰ) τῶν ἀποστόλων (οὐει ερεπτι τ. λοιπῷ ἀποτ.), δὲ ὄνομασθεῖς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν· ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλούντο. Euseb. ad Jes. xvii. 5, sq. (Montfauz. Coll. n. patr. II. 422): . . . δέκα καὶ τέσσαρας ποιῆσεν τοὺς πάντας (ἀποστόλους), διν δώδεκα μὲν τοὺς πρώτους ἀποστόλους εἴποις ἀν εἶναι, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν Παῦλον . . . καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον γεγονέαν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου, δι πρώτους ἐπισκοπος τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκλησίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι τοῦ σωτῆρος μημονεύεται. H. E. VII. 19: . . . Ἰακώβου . . . τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος κ. τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένου, διν καὶ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι περιέχουσιν. In the pseudo-Clementine writings he is always mentioned simply as brother of the Lord, not as an Apostle; and in the Apost. Constitutions he is expressly discriminated from the Apostles. II. 55: Ἡμεῖς . . . μάρ-

τυρες τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰακώβῳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφῷ. VI. 19: . . . ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα συνελθόντες εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ . . . ἐπεσκεπτόμεθα ἄμα Ἰακώβῳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφῷ. In VI. 14 he is placed, together with Paul, after the twelve, among whom James the son of Alphæus is expressly mentioned. Cf. VII. 46, VIII. 35, 46. *Clem. Alex.*, on the contrary, reckons him among the Apostles, *Euseb.* II. 1: Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαιῷ κ. Ἰωάννῃ κ. Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γρῶσιν δὲ κύριος. Οὗτος τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκεν, κ. τ. λ. In the narrative of the Gospel to the Hebrews, in *Hieron.* *De viris ill.* c. 2 (§ 65 a, note b), it is assumed that this James was present at the establishment of the Lord's Supper.

### § 167 d.

A third and intermediate theory,<sup>a</sup> that James the brother of the Lord was another than James the son of Alphæus, but the latter only head of the church at Jerusalem, has the advantage of being in entire harmony with the Book of Acts. It is, however, contradicted by tradition, does not agree well with Gal. i. 19, ii. 9, 12, and receives but a weak support from the argument that only an Apostle could have held that position.

<sup>a</sup> *Wieseler*, in *Stud. u. Kr.* 1842. p. 79, ff. *Stier*, *Andeutungen*, I. 412, ff. Cf. *Win.* *RWB.* Art. *Jacobus*.

### § 167 e.

We prefer the first theory, and think it not improbable that, of the brothers of the Lord, who had from the first been unbelievers, but were convinced by his resurrection, one should attain high distinction among the Jewish Christians, partly on account of his personal character, partly through his relationship to Jesus; while James the son of Alphæus, like so many others of the twelve, remained in obscurity. That the author of Acts has confounded the former with the latter, or omitted expressly to discriminate him from the other, is one of the many objections which may be urged against his trustworthiness (§ 115 e).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Winer* attaches too great importance to the difficulty of bringing *Acts* into harmony with the above theory, and can therefore arrive at no decided result.

## § 167 f.

Our Epistle has been ascribed, although not with universal consent, to James the brother of the Lord.<sup>a</sup> An Epistle addressed to Jewish Christians, and proceeding from their own circle, could hardly be looked for from another than this head of the mother church at Jerusalem. The predicate θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλος, which he applies to himself, is also applicable to an Apostle (cf. Rom. i. 1, Phil. i. 1), though much more to one who did not belong to the twelve.

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. II. 23, see § 165, note a. For, according to the context, the James there mentioned is the brother of the Lord. *Hieron.* De vir. ill. c. 2: Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, . . . unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quae de septem catholicis est, quae et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem. Cf. § 169.

*Destination, Object, and Contents.*

## § 168 a.

According to the easily misunderstood ascription i. 1,<sup>a</sup> the Epistle is addressed to all Jewish Christians out of Palestine. But it speaks to them as if they had formed themselves into separate churches, were in a peculiar position, and were suffering from certain errors (ii. 1 – 7, iii. 1, 13, f., iv. 1, ff., 13, ff., v. 14). Hence some have thought it necessary to limit the circle of readers.<sup>b</sup> But out of Palestine there were few or no purely Jewish Christian churches. A correct interpretation of the ascription,<sup>c</sup> and a proper apprehension of the whole Epistle, show it to be addressed to all the Christians outside of Palestine, and intended to rebuke the faults of their condition as Christians, as these were manifested to the author in silent contrast with the simple, uncorrupted state of the mother church. These faults consisted especially in a growing worldliness through riches and luxury (ii. 1 – 7, iv. 1 – v. 6), in a quarrelsome disposition (i. 19, ff., iii. 1 – 18), and in over-estimating faith in comparison with works (ii. 14 – 25).<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Literally, "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad," without mention of their Christian faith. *Lardner*, Supplements, XVII. § 3, understands it to mean unconverted Jews. *Theile*, Prolegg. p. 49, *Credner*, p. 595, following *Heisen* (*Novae hypotheses interpretandae felicius ep. Jac. Brem. 1739. 4to*), *Wolf*, *Hug*, &c., Jews generally, whether converted or unconverted, especially the former,—truly an absurdity!

<sup>b</sup> *Nösselt*, Conject. ad histor. catholicae Jac. epist. (Opusc. II. 314), supposed that the Epistle was destined for the Christian church at Antioch (cf. Acts xi. 19: .... οἱ μὲν οὐν διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς Θάϊψεως, κ. τ. λ.); *Eichhorn*, III. 585, for the Jewish Christians in pagan lands whom Paul and Barnabas had converted (Acts xiii., xiv.). *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. p. 211, thinks the churches whom James addressed, and which, according to p. 204, consisted solely of Jewish Christians, and still adhered entirely to the Jewish synagogue system, were in Syria and Asia Minor. Who founded them? Only Paul and Barnabas had taught there. But according to Acts xiii. 46, xiv. 1, 27, §§ 128, 148, Paul founded only mixed or wholly Gentile-Christian churches. A similar view in *Neander*, Pflanz. II. 575, f.

<sup>c</sup> αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ = τὰ δωδεκάφυλον (Acts xxvi. 7) is the Ἰσραὴλ τ. Θεοῦ (Gal. vi. 16), i. e. Christendom. So *Maudert* in *Wolf*, *Kern*, *Köster*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1831. p. 581, ff.

<sup>d</sup> The proper mode of understanding the Epistle was, in general, first shown by *Kern*, Charakter u. Ursprung des Br. Jac., in Tüb. Ztschr. 1835. II., whom *Schwegler* (Nachap. Zeitalt. I. 413, ff.) follows. *Schwegler* abandons this in his Comm. — The opposition to Paul's doctrine of justification is not admitted by *Knapp*, Scripta var. arg. II. 413, sqq., *Neander*, Kl. Geleg. Schr. p. 103, ff., Pflanz. II. 564, ff., *Gebser*, *Schneckenburger*, *Theile*, *Frommann*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1833. p. 84, ff. According to *Neander*, James opposes the tendency of the Jewish mind to mistake in regard to the life of religion which has its root in the heart, and to insist always upon the mere dead form, the appearance instead of the essence, that tendency which set a dead proud Scripture knowledge in the place of a genuine wisdom inseparable from a holy life, and, moreover, neglected that reverence towards God which shows itself in works of love, &c. According to *Schneckenburger* (Annotatt. p. 128), James writes against the merely theoretical *mīotis*, which was a Jewish error; but he forgets that this could not so directly pass over into Christianity, but must first gain a certain relation to Christ. So *Thiersch*, Standp. d. Krit. p. 257, f. All who deny the opposition overlook the peculiarly Pauline notion of justification. *Luther* saw more correctly on this subject. Cf. my remarks in Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1830. p. 348, ff. *Kern*, in Tüb. Ztschr. 1835. II. 39, ff.

## § 168 b.

The contents are without plan or arrangement.<sup>a</sup> The discourse passes from one theme (sometimes only briefly handled) to another,<sup>b</sup> and, as it were, accidentally arrives at what seems its chief object (i. 19, ii. 1, iv. 1, v. 1).

<sup>a</sup> *Rauch*, in *Winer's Krit. Journ.* VI. 281, ff., tries to show a strict connection, but rejects, on this account, as spurious, v. 12–20. Against this, *Hagenbach*, ib. VI. 395, ff. *Schneckenburger*, Tüb. *Ztschr.* III. 47, ff.

<sup>b</sup> By the greeting *χαλέπειν* is occasioned the exhortation to accept temptations joyfully, to endure them steadfastly and strive after Christian perfection, to implore for this end wisdom from above, to find through a higher consciousness joy in suffering, and so gain therefrom the prize of steadfastness, but in case of temptation not to blame God, but their own evil passions; for God is the giver of all good gifts, even of the new birth through the word of truth, i. 2–18. This last thought suggests the injunction to make the word of God ever more and more their own, and not merely to hear it; also not to be in haste to become teachers, but to practise it, i. 19–27. (One neglect, nay, violation of God's law, among others, is the partiality towards the rich and against the poor.) Rebuke of this as a violation of the law of love, exhortation to a proper observance of the same, ii. 1–13. (As faith cannot exist without love, neither can it without works.) Confutation of those (Paulinians) who profess to have faith without being beneficent, and think to be justified through their faith, ii. 14–26. Resumption and continuation of the warning touched in i. 19–26, against pressing forward to the position of teacher and against the accompanying misuse of the tongue: they must show their wisdom by mildness, not by contentiousness, iii. 1–18. Rebuke of evil desires, as the source of other kinds of disturbances also, iv. 1–3. Warning and exhortation to repentance to the worldly-minded and sinners, iv. 4–10. Against the spirit of calumny and detraction, iv. 11, f. Against impious confidence in worldly undertakings, iv. 13–17. In continuation of iv. 4, 13, ff., a threat against the rich (among the Christians), v. 1–6. Comforting exhortation to suffering Christians to patience until the return of the Lord, v. 7–11. Out of all connection, a warning against oaths, v. 12. Recommendation to prayer in the various circumstances of life, v. 13–18. How important and blessed it is to lead back a brother from the error of his ways, v. 19, f.

*Date of Composition.*

## § 168 c.

With its prevailing indefiniteness, the Epistle lacks reliable marks for determining its date. The reference to the

name of Christians points to a period after Acts xi. 26. All the Christian churches had overseers (v. 14); but the pastoral arrangement here assumed may belong to a later period.<sup>a</sup> The Christians likewise held church-meetings from the very beginning; but here (ii. 2, ff.) their external accommodations seem to betray a later date.<sup>b</sup> It is not unlikely that the author had read the Epistles to the Galatians, Romans, and Hebrews,<sup>c</sup> and borrowed from Paul ideas and formulas;<sup>d</sup> but it is certain that the opposition to Paul's doctrine of justification — which no longer, as in Acts xv., Gal. iii. ff., turned on the observance of the Mosaic law (to which the author pays no regard, he knows only the νόμος ἐλευθερίας, ii. 12) — presupposes a later development of Jewish-Christian views.<sup>e</sup> Notwithstanding, the Epistle was written at a time when the hope of Christ's return was still fresh (v. 7, f.), and before the First Epistle of Clement was written (§ 169 b, note b).<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Kern*, Tüb. Ztschr. p. 105, and Comm. on the passage, shows that the author is speaking of such an arrangement of offices, and not of the exercise of the χάρισμα λαμάτων.

<sup>b</sup> *Schneckenburger* (Beitr. p. 204) and *Kern* (Comm. p. 63) are in error in finding in ii. 2 a still existing agreement between Jews and Christians in visiting the synagogue. The rich and the poor are in ii. 2, f., as in i. 9, f., Christians. But that they had so far fallen away from the first Christian brotherly love, that the rich sought to distinguish themselves, and to be distinguished by the servants or overseers of the church, by having better seats assigned them, supposes a somewhat later time. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. ii. 21 with Gal. iii. 6, Rom. iv. 3; i. 3 with Rom. v. 3; iv. 1 with Rom. vi. 13, vii. 23; iv. 4 with Rom. viii. 7; iv. 12 with Rom. xiv. 4. *Mynster*, Kl. theolog. Schr. p. 103, f. *Storr*, Opuscc. II. 376. *Hug*, II. 515, ff. On the other side, *Rauch*, as above, p. 257, ff. It is most probable that ii. 25 refers to Heb. xi. 31; for that the example of Rahab was used by Paul and his disciples in their spoken discourses (*Bleek*, Einl. in d. Br. an d. Hebr. p. 89) is hard to believe.

<sup>d</sup> δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει, ἐκ π., ἐκ νόμου — ἐλευθερία — ἀκροατής, ποιητής, παραβάτης τοῦ νόμου — τελεῖν τὸν νόμον — καρπός τῆς δικαιοσύνης — μέλη — παραλογίζεσθαι — διόκληρος — μὴ πλανᾶσθε — ἀλλ' ἔρει τις. *Schott*, Isag. § 91, note 20.

<sup>e</sup> *Schneckenburger*, on the contrary, makes it the earliest work in the New Testament, on the following grounds: 1. "All the Jewish ideas appear as preparatory to the Christian, not, as was the case soon after, as corruptions of the same," p. 203 (see § 168 a, note d). 2. "As regards the position

of the Church, no complete separation from the Jews appears (see note *b*) ; the Jewish synagogue system still exists, even to the name, which was subsequently abandoned " (i. e. is not found in Luke and Paul, though it might subsequently become common, cf. Heb. x. 25). " No order of teachers, but each could make himself a teacher " (as everywhere, cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 28, 1 Tim. ii. 12). " No bishop, an official who in the Ignatian Epistles " (far later) " makes so conspicuous a figure." 3. The (uncertain, however) use of the Epistle in 1 Peter, whose genuineness is itself doubtful, and in the First Epistle of Clement of Rome. 4. Since no trace of division between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians appears (which is also entirely incorrect), the Epistle was written before Acts xv. p. 210.

<sup>f</sup> There is also no trace of the destruction of Jerusalem.

*Genuineness and Church Acceptance.*

§ 169 a.

It is very doubtful whether the dogmatico-polemic standpoint accords with the authorship of James the brother of the Lord. The ornate Greek style of the writing seems also to indicate an author under the influence of Greek culture.\* It must, however, be acknowledged, that the Epistle contrasts advantageously with the productions of post-apostolic literature, and must not be (with *Schwegler*) unduly depreciated.

\* *Kern*, in the above-mentioned treatise, considers the Epistle a post-apostolic work, and states in favor of his view (p. 86, ff.) the following additional grounds : 1. That the essential fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as the death of Jesus, the redemption and reconciliation, and the Holy Spirit, retire into the background, as in the Clementine Homilies. 2. Its familiarity with the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, especially the Book of Wisdom and of the son of Sirach (the proofs in *Theile*, Prolegg. p. 46, sqq.), which first appeared in Christian writings after the time of the Apostolic Fathers. 3. Ch. v. 12 agrees with the text of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which the Clementine Homilies also use. In his Commentaries, on the other hand, he asserts its composition by James the brother of the Lord. This change in his opinion rests mainly on his erroneous apprehension of ii. 2, f. This Epistle does not correspond with the picture of James painted by Hegesippus ; but this delineation is beyond doubt legendary.

§ 169 b.

The critical investigation of this Epistle may be pursued the more freely, as it belongs to the Antilegomena (Part I.

§ 24), for *Eusebius* expressly mentions that doubts existed in regard to it (§ 165, note *a*), and *Jerome*, that some thought another had written it under James's name (§ 167 *f.*, note *a*).<sup>a</sup> *Clement of Rome* had probably read it.<sup>b</sup> *Irenæus* also betrays acquaintance with it,<sup>c</sup> although without mentioning it as a canonical work. *Tertullian* is silent respecting it. *Origen* is the first of the Alexandrian Fathers who mentions it (although with some doubt).<sup>d</sup> *Theodore of Mopsuestia* rejected it.<sup>e</sup> If it found acceptance in the Greek Church in the fourth century, with the other Antilegomena, and was then received into the canon by the Western Church, this took place because criticism had meanwhile fallen asleep (*Jerome*, § 167, *f.*, note *a*). Whether its adoption into the old Syriac version, and its acceptance by *Ephræm*,<sup>f</sup> are better grounded, we cannot say.

<sup>a</sup> *Credner*, p. 590, erroneously asserts that the uncertainty refers simply to the question whether the Epistle is the work of the *Apostle* James. See, against him, *Kern*, Comm. p. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 1. ad Corinth. c. 10: Ἀθραὰμ δὲ φίλος προσαγορευθεὶς, πιστὸς εὐ-  
ρέθη, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπίκοοι γενέσθαι τοῖς ρήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ . . . διὰ πίστιν καὶ  
φιλοξενίαν ἀδόθη αὐτῷ νίδιον γῆρας καὶ δὲ ὑπακοῆς προσήνεγκεν αὐτὸν θυσίαν  
τῷ θεῷ, κ. τ. λ. Cf. James ii. 21, 23. Cap. 11: Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώ-  
θη Ῥαᾶβ ἡ πόρνη, cf. Heb. xi. 31, James ii. 25.—Also *Herm.* Mandat. XII.  
§ 5: Si enim resistitis illi (diabolo), fugiet a vobis confusus, is similar to  
James iv. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Cont. haer. IV. 16. 2: Abraham . . . . credidit Deo, et reputatum est  
illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est.

<sup>d</sup> Comment. in Jea. Tom. XIX. Opp. IV. 306: Ἔαν γὰρ λέγηται μὲν πίστις,  
χωρὶς δὲ ἔργων τυγχάνῃ, νεκρά ἔστιν ή τοιαύτη, ὡς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἱακώβου  
ἐπιστολῇ ἀνέγνωμεν. *Mill*, Prolegg. 203: Imo vero ut in ipsius *Origenis*  
operibus, a Rufino Latinis factis, allegetur haec epistola tanquam *Jacobi* apo-  
stoli, fratris Domini, et scriptura divina (hom. 13. in Gen. 3. et 8. in Exod.  
et hom. 2. in Levit. et comment. in cap. 5. Ep. ad Rom.), in commentariis  
tamen in Joannem Graecis, ab omni interpolatione liberis, dubiae apud quos-  
dam auctoritatis citatur. Of *Clemens Alex.* *Eusebius* (H. E. VI. 14) says that  
he gave short explanations of all the Catholic Epistles. *Cassiodor.* Institut.  
divin. litter. c. 8: In epistolis autem canonicis *Clemens Alex.* presbyter, qui  
et *Stromateus* vocatur, i. e. in ep. St. Petri prima, St. Joannis prima et se-  
cunda, et *Jacobi*, attico sermone declaravit. *Lardner*, *Mayerhoff*, and others  
would read *Jude*, instead of *Jacobi*. Moreover, *Clement* never mentions the  
Epistle.

<sup>e</sup> *Leont. Byz.* c. *Nestor.* et *Eutych.* III. 14.

*Ephrem.* Opp. Graec. III. 51: Ἰάκωβος δὲ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφὸς λέγει· πενθήσατε καὶ κλαύσατε. Cf. *Hassenkamp*, Anmerkk. z. d. letzten Paragr. d. Einl. v. *Michaëlis*, p. 27, ff.

## § 169 c.

With the Reformation, criticism revived, and also the doubts concerning this Epistle, although, it must be confessed, on dogmatic grounds.\* Since, however, a way has been found of removing or softening its contradiction to Paul, its genuineness has been almost universally acknowledged.

\* *Erasm.* Annotatt. in Ep. Jac. expresses himself sceptically. *Luther*, Vorrede auf die Ep. St. Jacobi und St. Judas, *Walch*, XIV. 148, remarks: "Although this Epistle of St. James was rejected by the ancients, I yet praise it and esteem it good, because it lays down no doctrine of men, and sternly insists on the law of God. But to express my opinion upon it, without prejudice to any one, I regard it as the work of no Apostle, and for the following reasons: First, that, in direct opposition to Paul and all the rest of Scripture, it ascribes justification to works, and says, Abraham was justified by his works, because he sacrificed his son, while St. Paul, Rom. iv. 2, 3, teaches the very contrary, that Abraham was justified without works.... But this James does no more than insist on the Law and its works, and mixes one thing with another so confusedly, that, it seems to me, he must have been some good, pious man who had caught up some sayings of the disciples of the Apostles, and put them on paper. Or perhaps it was written down by another after hearing the discourse of such a one," &c. Vorrede auf d. N. T. col. 105: "Therefore, the Epistle of St. James is a mere Epistle of straw compared with them [i. e. the writings of John, Paul, and Peter], for it contains nothing of the nature of the Gospel." *Andreas Althamer*, Erklärung des Briefs Jacobi, 1553. The Magdeburg Centuriators. Cf. *Wetstein*, N. T. II. 658.

III. *The Epistles of Peter.*

The Commentaries of *Pott*, *Augusti*, *Morus*, *Hottinger*, *Jachmann*, referred to above, pp. 320 and 323. — *Luther*, Ausl. d. 1. Br. v. J. 1523. Werke, Hall. IX. 1625, ff. — *Semler*, Paraphr. — Der 1. Br. Petr. übers. u. m. e. Commun. versehen v. *Ch. G. Hensler*. 1813. — *Wilh. Steiger*, Der 1. Br. Petri mit Berücksicht. d. ganzen bibl. Lehrbegriffs ausgelegt. Berl. 1832.

*Accounts of Peter.*

## § 170 a.

Peter, properly called *Simon*, son of *Jona* (John i. 43), brother of the Apostle Andrew (Matt. x. 2), born in Bethsaida (John i. 45), by profession a fisherman (Matt. iv. 18), and married (Matt. viii. 14, 1 Cor. ix. 5), was one of the most intimate of Jesus's disciples, upon whom Jesus set great hope (Matt. xvi. 18). After having labored in Palestine for the Gospel, presided over the church at Jerusalem (Acts i. – xi.), and been miraculously released from prison (Acts xii. 3, ff.), he left Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17), and is said to have travelled as missionary through Asia Minor.\* But wheresoever he may have preached, he addressed himself especially to the Jews (Gal. ii. 8). Subsequently, he was present at the meeting of the Apostles in Jerusalem (Acts xv.), when he cordially agreed with the Apostle Paul in regard to the conversion of the Gentiles; afterwards, however, at Antioch, he proved untrue to Paul and to himself (Gal. ii. 12). According to the First Epistle (v. 13) he found, at a later period, a sphere of labor in the Parthian empire, of which the ancients were so ignorant that they understood Babylon to mean Rome (§ 170 b, note b).

\* *Origen*, in *Euseb.* III. 1: Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ, Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν. *Hieron.* De scrr. eccles. s. v. Petr. But this is only a deduction from 1 Pet. i. 1. *Euseb.* III. 4: Καὶ ἐκ τῶν Πέτρου δὲ λέξεων, ἐν ὅποσαις καὶ οὐτος ἐπαρχίας τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν τῆς καυνῆς διαβήκης παρεδίδον λόγουν, σαφὲς δὲ εἴη ἀφ' ἣς εἰρήκαμεν ὅμολογουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆς, ἦν τοῖς ἐξ Ἐβραίων οὖσιν ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντου καὶ Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ γράφει. The following is certainly but an arbitrary addition by *Epiphanius*, Haeres. XXVII. p. 107: Πέτρος δὲ πολλάκις Πόντου τε καὶ Βιθυνίας ἐπεσκέψατο. *E. K. Rauch*, Rettung d. Originalität d. 1. Br. Petri, in *Winer* and *Engelhardt's Kr. Journ.* VIII. 396, defends this account, and thinks that Peter founded the churches in Pontus and Bithynia, whither Paul never went. Tradition, in opposition to Acts xi. 19, ff., makes him founder and bishop of the church at Antioch. *Euseb.* Chron. ad ann. II. (Chron. armén. ad a. III.) Claudii: Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρώτην θεμέλιωσας ἐκκλησίαν . . . . *Hieron.* De scrr. eccl. s. v. Petr.

## § 170 b.

There is, especially, a general Church tradition that Peter preached at Rome, in company with Paul founded the church, and suffered martyrdom there (§ 122 *a*, note *a*) ; it will not, however, bear critical examination. One story, that Peter came in contact with Simon Magus at Rome,<sup>a</sup> is acknowledged to be false. Another, referring to the composition of Mark's Gospel (§ 99 *b*, note *a*), and in support of which *Papias's* testimony is adduced, rests on the allegorical interpretation of Babylon, 1 Pet. v. 13.<sup>b</sup> *Irenæus's* account probably rests on *Papias* (§ 97 *c*, note *b*). The testimony of *Dionysius of Corinth* (§ 122 *a*, note *a*), which attracts attention on account of its antiquity, is bound up with the erroneous assertion that Peter and Paul were founders of the church at Corinth, and is probably based, in part, on a misinterpretation of a passage in the First Epistle of *Clement of Rome* to the Corinthians, c. 5 (§ 122 *b*, note *a*), which mentions together the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, but without naming the place. *Caius*, in *Euseb.* II. 25 (§ 122 *a*, note *a*), shares this error with *Dionysius*, and his appeal to documents weighs little (see the note referred to).<sup>c</sup> The fact asserted is in itself improbable. Peter cannot have been at Rome, either before the composition of Paul's Epistle to the Romans (§ 136 *a*, note *c*), or during Paul's imprisonment in Rome, because the Epistles written there show no trace of it, or even later, because our Epistle presupposes his residence in Babylon. The legend seems to have originated in the endeavor on the part of the Jewish Christians to make the Apostle Peter founder of the influential church at Rome.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens Alex.* in *Euseb.* H. E. II. 14 : Ἐπιβὰς δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως (Simon Magus), συναιρομένης αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα τῆς ἐφεδρευούσης ἐνταῦθα δυνάμεως, ἐν ὅλιγῳ τοσοῦτον τὰ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἥνυστο, ὡς καὶ ἀνδριάντος ἀναβέσει πρὸς τῶν τῇδε οἰα θεού τιμηθῆναι. Οὐ μὴν εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα προύχώρει· παραπόδις γοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας ἡ πανάγιος καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτη τῶν ὀλων πρόνοια τὸν κάρτερον καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προΐγορον, Πέτρον, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς ἐπὶ τηλικούτον λυμεῶνα βίου χειραγωγεῖ. This, however, rests on an error of *Justin Martyr's*, Apol. II. p. 69 : Σίμωνα μέν τινα Σαμαρέα τὴν ἀπὸ κάμης

λεγομένης Γίττων, δις ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις ποιήσας μαγικὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν βασιλίδι· Ῥώμη θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται· δις ἀνδριὰς ἀνεγέρτεται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ᾧ χων ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην· Σίμωνι δέ φιλοι σάγκτῳ (Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio). *Fr. Spanheim, De temere credita Petri in urbem Romam profectione, p. 151. Hug, Einl. II. 69, f. On the contrary, Bertholdt, V. 2685.*

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb. II. 15: τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μυημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἦν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσεπίποντα διὰ τούτων· Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ νιός μου.*

<sup>c</sup> *Origen's statement in Euseb. III. 1 (according to the passage in § 170 a, note a): δις καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὐτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν, — is too late to serve as testimony.*

<sup>d</sup> *Fr. Spanheim, De facta profectione P. ap. in urbem Rom. L. B. 1679. Opp. II. 331, sqq. Eichhorn, Einl. III. 2. p. 603. Baur, Tüb. Zeitschr. 1831. IV. 158, ff. 1836. III. 166. Paulus, etc., p. 216, ff. Mayerhoff, Einl. in d. petrin. Schrift. p. 77, ff. Neand. AG. II. 456, ff. Win. RWB. I. 280, ff. Ellendorf, Ist P. in Rom . . . . gewesen? 1841. Adalb. Maier, Einl. z. Br. a. d. Röm. p. 6, ff. Among modern critics, the following defend the truth of the tradition: Mynster, Kl. theol. Schr. p. 141, ff. Bleek, in Theol. St. u. Kr. 1836. p. 1061, ff. Schott, p. 401. Olshausen, St. u. Kr. 1838. p. 940, ff. Credner, p. 628, ff. Neudecker, p. 689, ff. Gieseler, Neand. KG., v. Cöln, Hall. allg. Encycl. XVIII. 43, Tüb. kath. Quart. Schr. 1824. IV. F. Windischmann, Vindiciae Petrinae. 1836.*

### *First Epistle. — Historical and Personal Relations.*

#### § 171 a.

The Epistle is not addressed, as the ascription (i. 1) seems to indicate, to the Jewish Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,<sup>a</sup> but, as much of its contents refers to Gentile Christians (i. 14, 18, ii. 9, f., iii. 6, iv. 3), to the mixed or Gentile-Christian churches in those places. In regard to their condition, we know nothing further than that they had to suffer or to fear persecutions and slanders (i. 6, ii. 12, iii. 13, ff., 16, iv. 12 – 19, v. 10), which (especially iv. 16) suggests the persecution under Nero.<sup>b</sup>

There is no indication that these churches, which were probably founded and taught by Paul and his disciples, (not by Peter, according to i. 12,) stood in any special relation to Peter, save that Silvanus is represented as a mutual friend

(v. 12).<sup>c</sup> The Apostle, to be sure, describes himself as such (i. 1, v. 1); but concerning him we learn nothing precise, excepting that he was in Babylon or its vicinity,<sup>d</sup> and in Mark's company (v. 13).

<sup>a</sup> The letter is addressed to Jewish Christians, according to *Origen*, *Hieron.* (§ 170 a, note a), *Athanas.* *Synops. scr.*, *Didym.* In ep. canon., *Eiphan.* *Haeres.* XXVII. 6, *Oecumen.*, *Theophyl.*, *Erasmus*, *Calvin*, *Grotius*, *Bengel*, *Semler*, *Augusti*, *Bertholdt*, *Hug*; to Gentile Christians, according to *Augustine*, *Cont. Faust.* XXII. 89, *Cassiodor.* *Institut. div.*, *Luther*, *Wetstein*, *Böhme* (Ep. ad Hebr. Prolegg. XLVI.); to Jewish and Gentile Christians, according to *Est.*, *Calov.*, *Wolf*, *Pott*, *Hainlein*, *Eichhorn*, *Schott*, *Guerike* (Beitr.), *Steiger*, *Mayerhoff*; to former proselytes, according to *Benson*, *Michaelis*, *Credner*.

<sup>b</sup> IV. 15, f.: Μὴ γάρ τις ὑμῶν πασχέτω ὡς φονεὺς ἢ κλέπτης ἢ κακοποιὸς ἢ ὡς ἀλλογριοεπίσκοπος· εἰ δὲ ὡς χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω. *Tacit.* *Annal.* XV. 44: .... abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenia adfecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus *Christianos* adpellabat. Cf. *Hug*, Einl. II. 548. *Neander*, AG. II. 593, f. *Mayerhoff*, p. 132, f.—*Schweigler*, Nachap. Zeitalt. II. 10, ff., makes the reference to judicial examinations apply to the Christians in the time of Trajan.

<sup>c</sup> *E. K. Rauch*, as above, p. 398, ff., finds in the expressions *tékna iπακοῆς*, i. 14 (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 14, f., 2 Cor. vi. 13), and *συμπρεσβύτερος*, traces of a peculiar relationship. *Credner*, p. 641, supposes that his readers were Petrine Christians in those parts to which the Epistle to the Ephesians was addressed, and that the latter had exerted a disturbing influence upon them which Peter wished to check; a groundless hypothesis, which *Neudecker*, p. 690, f., has rightly refuted.

<sup>d</sup> There is no ground for understanding, with the ancients (and *Schweigler*), Rome thereby, excepting the doubtful legend that Peter was put to death there; none whatever for supposing, with the Copts, the Egyptian Babylon. *Bertholdt*, V. 3060, ff. The ancient Babylon may well be meant. *Steiger*, Einl. p. 23. *Mayerhoff*, p. 128, f.

### § 171 b.

For determining the date of the composition, a point is found in the reference to the persecution under Nero, at which time the Apostle must have been residing in Babylon. Silvanus (Sila) appears (Acts xx. 4, f.) no longer among Paul's companions, and may have attached himself from that time forward to Peter. The presence of Mark, if he were Paul's assistant,<sup>e</sup> is quite reconcilable with the above

chronological reference, for, according to Col. iv. 10, he proposed going from Rome to Asia Minor. At this time, also, the name *χριστιανός* (iv. 16, cf. Acts xi. 26) may have long been in general use.

\* *Rauch* considers him Peter's son, and the *συνεκλεκτή* Peter's wife, cf. *Neand. Pflanz.* II. 606, f.

### *Design and Contents.*

#### § 171 c.

The design and contents of the Epistle refer principally to the relation of the Christians to the heathen, which was embarrassing and difficult, because the latter entertained a hostile suspicion towards the former, and had even proceeded to oppression and persecution. This reference is manifested in the *general part* of the Epistle, i. 3 – ii. 10\* (i. 6, 14); but the *special part* refers particularly to it (ii. 11 – v. 11);<sup>b</sup> scarcely alluding to the interior side of the Christian life (iii. 1 – 7 [even ver. 1 has an external reference], 8, iv. 7 – 11, v. 1 – 5), but, for the most part, treating of their walk among the heathen (ii. 11 – 21, iv. 1 – 3) and of the conduct to be maintained by the Christians in view of their suspicion and hostility (iii. 9 – 17, iv. 12 – 19, v. 6 – 9, even ii. 19, f.).<sup>c</sup>

\* After the *introduction* of an expression of thanks for the blessings of salvation, which his readers also share, who are supposed to bear themselves worthily in their warfare, in order to gain salvation, — that salvation concerning which the prophets searched with longing, and into whose mysteries angels desire to look, i. 3 – 12, — *general exhortations*, i. 13 – ii. 10: exhortation to strong and full hope, i. 13, to obedience and holiness in remembrance of their call through him who is holy, of the fear due to him as the judge, and of the redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ, i. 14 – 21; exhortation to holiness, and, in special, to pure brotherly love through remembrance of their being born again, i. 22 – 25; exhortation to growth in the new life, ii. 1 – 3, to living participation in the spiritual communion with Jesus Christ, ii. 4 – 10.

<sup>b</sup> Particular exhortations, with special reference to their external and internal relations: I. Exhortation, 1. in general to a good conversation among the heathen, ii. 11, f.; 2. to obedience to authority, ii. 13 – 17; 3. to slaves, to be obedient to their masters, ii. 18 – 25; 4. to wives, to be

obedient to their husbands, and to husbands to honor their wives, iii. 1–7; concluding general exhortation, iii. 8–12. II. Exhortation to fearless, mild, morally pure, and forbearing conduct towards the heathen, iii. 13–iv. 19, and, 1. to a fearless and mild composure, founded on a good conscience, in view of possible suffering, ver. 13–17, with a reference to Christ's sufferings and resurrection, ver. 18–22 (in ver. 19, f. is mentioned the preaching of Christ, the risen one, in hell); thereupon is based, 2. an exhortation and encouragement, iv. 1–11: a. since Christ suffered according to the flesh, Christians ought no longer, like the heathen, to live in fleshly lusts, iv. 1–3; b. the latter may be astonished at this, and may slander; they must give an account at the judgment, iv. 4–6; c. exhortation in view of the nearness of the judgment, iv. 7–11. 3. Encouragement to joyful acceptance of the trial, which, as the beginning of the judgment, is unavoidable, iv. 12–19. III. Exhortation, 1. to the elders of the churches to a proper discharge of their office, v. 1–4; 2. to the younger members and to all to subjection and humility, v. 5; 3. closing exhortation to all, v. 6–9; 4. benediction, v. 10, f.

<sup>c</sup> The words, v. 12, ἔγραψα . . . ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, ταύτην εἶναι δλῆθῆ χάρω<sup>r</sup>. θεοῦ εἰς ἣν ἐστήκατε have been by many (Credner, as above, Neander, II. 559, Guerike, Beitr. 170, Einl. 453, Schwegler, as above, p. 22) so misinterpreted as to represent Peter as defending Paul's doctrine against false teachers; they are rather designed to warn the readers not to allow themselves to be led astray by their sufferings.

*Spirit and Literary Character of the Epistle.*

§ 172.

We seek in vain, in this ostensible work of Peter, that leader of the Jewish Christians with whose consideration they clothed themselves long after the Apostolic age, any definite peculiarity, such as appears in the works of John and Paul. Not only do we find reminiscences of passages in Paul's Epistles, whose perusal by our author we may without hesitation assume;<sup>a</sup> but the doctrine and the language are essentially Pauline.<sup>b</sup> To this we may add, that the writer does not treat with freedom and readiness the thoughts which he sets forth, as if they were his own, but handles them with a degree of uncertainty.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Semler, Paraphr. in ep. 1. Petr. praef. p. 8. Cludius, Uransichten d. Christenth. (Alt. 1808.) p. 298, f. Hug, II. 541, f. Bleek; Einl. in d. Br. an d. Hebr. p. 321. A special affinity with the Epistle to the Ephesians is

traced by *Credner*, p. 634, ff. *Mayerhoff*, p. 106, denies all this, against whom *Bleek*, in *Stud. u. Kr.* 1836, p. 1065.

The address and the greeting, i. 1, f., are formed in general on the Pauline type (cf., on the other hand, James i. 1; the greetings in 2 John 1, ff. and Jude 1 are, however, similar). The Epistle shows the following parallelism :—

*1 Pet.* i. 1, f.: . . . . ἐκλεκτοῖς . . . . κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ἀγιασμῷ πνεύματος εἰς . . . . ῥαγτισμὸν αἵματος Ἰ. Χρ.

i. 3: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δ. . . . ἀναγενήσας ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ.

i. 14: μὴ συσχηματιζόμενοι ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις.

ii. 1: Ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνον καὶ πάσας καταλαλίας, 2. ὡς ἀρτιγένητη βρέφη, τὸ λογικὸν ἀδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αἱξῆθητε εἰς σωτηρίαν.... 5. ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὑπροσδέκτους τῷ θεῷ, κ. τ. λ.'

ii. 6 (from Isa. xxviii. 16): Ιδού, τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἐκλεκτὸν, ἔντιμον· κ. δ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ. Ver. 7: οὐδὲν οὐν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν· ἀπειθοῦσι δέ, λίθον δι ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας καὶ (from Isa. viii. 14) λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου. . . .

Ver. 10 (from Hos. ii. 25, al. 23): οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαὸς, νῦν δὲ λαὸς θεοῦ· οἱ οὐκ ἡλεγμένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεγθέντες.

*Eph.* i. 4–7: καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβόλης κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀγίους κ. ἀμώμους . . . . ἐν φόροις τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

*Eph.* i. 3: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τ. κ. ἡμ. Ἰ. Χρ., δ εὐλογήσας ἡμ., κ. τ. λ.

*Rom.* xii. 2: Καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. *Eph.* ii. 3: ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν.

*Col.* iii. 8: Νυνὶ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ πάντα, ὅργην, θυμόν, κακίαν, βλασφημίαν. Cf. *James* i. 21: Διὸ ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ περισσείαν κακίας, ἐν πραῦτῃ δέξασθε τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον, τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. *Rom.* xii. 1: . . . παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ἔνσαν, δγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν.

*Rom.* ix. 33: Ιδού, τίθημι ἐν Σιών (LXX. ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών) λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου· καὶ πᾶς δ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ (this ἐπ' αὐτῷ interpolated according to Cod. Al.) οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.

Ver. 25: ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὶ λέγει· καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου· καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἡγαπημένην ἡγαπημένην. Ver. 26: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, οὐ ἐρρέθη

αὐτοῖς· οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται νιὸι θεοῦ ζῶντος.

ii. 13, f.: Ὑποτάγητε οὖν πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι· εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν, ὡς δὶ αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἔκδικησιν κακοποιῶν, ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν.

ii. 16: . . . ως ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ μὴ ως ἐπικαλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

ii. 18: Οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, κ.τ.λ.

iii. 1: Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν.

iii. 9: . . . μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ (?).

iv. 9: Φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἀνευ γογγυσμῶν (?).

iv. 10, f.: Ἐκαστος, καθὼς ἔλαβε χάρισμα, εἰς ἁντοὺς αὐτὸ διακονοῦντες, ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι ποικίλης χάριτος θεοῦ. Εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια θεοῦ· εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἔξισχνος ἡς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός.

v. 1: . . . δὲ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός.

v. 5: . . . πάντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποτασσόμενοι.

v. 8: Νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε ( ).

v. 14: Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης (?).

*Rom. xiii. 1-4:* Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἔξουσίας ὑπερεχούσας ὑποτασσέσθω. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἔξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ θεοῦ . . . τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἔξεις ἔπαινον ἔξιντῆς. Θεοῦ γάρ διάκονός ἐστι, ἔκδικος εἰς ὄργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι.

*Gal. v. 13:* Ὅμεις γάρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκὶ.

*Eph. vi. 5:* Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις, κ.τ.λ.

*Eph. v. 22:* Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε.

*Rom. xii. 17:* . . . μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες.

*Phil. ii. 14:* . . . Πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν.

*Rom. xii. 6, f.:* Ἐχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα· εἴτε προφητείαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως· εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.

*Rom. viii. 18:* . . . πρὸς τὴν μέλλονταν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ὑμᾶς.

*Eph. v. 21:* . . . ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ.

*1 Thess. v. 6:* Γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφωμεν.

*1 Cor. xvi. 20:* Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ. Cf. *Rom. xvi. 16*; *1 Thess. v. 26*.

A certain affinity to the Epistle of James also (on which side the dependence lies is doubtful) appears in the following passages:—

i. 6, 7: Ἔν φ ἀγαλλιάσθε, δλίγον ἄρτι . . . λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως . . . εὑρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον, κ.τ.λ.

*James i. 2, f.:* Πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε . . . ὅταν πειρασμοῖς πειράσητε ποικίλοις, γνώσκοντες ὅτι τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως κατεργάζεται ὑπομονὴν.

i. 24: Διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου· ἐξηράνθη δὲ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε (Isa. xl. 6).

iv. 8: .... ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν (Prov. x. 12).

v. 5, f.: "Οτι δὲ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνως ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν (Prov. iii. 34). Ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χείρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἴψωσῃ ἐν καιρῷ. 9: φ (διαβόλῳ) ἀντίστητε .... James v. 20: .... καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

E. K. Rauh, as above, p. 414, ff., has only showed that the author did not directly copy other's Epistles, but has not disproved the fact that a certain affinity in language and ideas exists. He explains this, in a not very probable way, from the intercourse of the two Apostles. Schneckenburger, Stud. d. würtemb. Geistl. V. I. p. 195, Beitr. p. 206, assumes that Peter had before him James's letter.

<sup>b</sup> The view of Jesus's death is Pauline, ii. 24, cf. Rom. vi. 8 – 14 (ἀπογίνεσθαι τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, Peter = ἀποθήσκειν τ. ἀμ., Paul), the ideas of *calling* (i. 15, cf. Gal. i. 6, 15, v. 8), *election* (i. 2), *hope* (i. 3, iii. 15; only once in the First Epistle of John, iii. 3, in the concrete sense), of *obedience* (i. 2, cf. Rom. vi. 16, xvi. 19), of *freedom* and its abuse (ii. 16, cf. Gal. v. 13), of the *gifts of grace* (iv. 10), of *recompense* (ἔπαινος, τιμή, δόξα, i. 7, cf. Rom. ii. 7, 1 Cor. iv. 5), of *inheritance* (i. 4, cf. Gal. iii. 18, as in John). Note also the ideas and formulas: ἀποκάλυψις (i. 7, 13, cf. 1 Cor. i. 7 and often), κοινωνία τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων (iv. 13, cf. 2 Cor. i. 5, Phil. iii. 10), συνείδησης (ii. 19, iii. 16, 21, elsewhere only in Paul, Paulinians, and John viii. 9, a Hellenistic idea), κρυπτός (iii. 4, cf. Rom. ii. 29, 1 Cor. xiv. 10), ἐν Χριστῷ (iii. 16, v. 10, 14, cf. Rom. vi. 11, and often), καταρτίζειν (v. 10, cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Heb. xiii. 21). — The greatest peculiarities are the ideas of the regeneration through the word (i. 23), of the Christian priesthood (ii. 5, 9), of Christ's descent into hell (iii. 19, f.). Schott, Isag. § 96, note 6, enumerates also the following as peculiarities of its thought and teaching: i. 8, love to Jesus and faith 'in him without knowing him'; Christ's patience, i. 19, ff. (?), ii. 22, f., iii. 18; of the prophets of the Old Testament, i. 10, ff.; the Noachic flood as type of baptism, iii. 20, ff.; recommendation of patience, i. 6 – 11 (?), ii. 21, ff., iii. 9, 14, iv. 7 (?), 12 – 19, v. 7, ff.; exhortation to give no offence, ii. 12, ff., iii. 1, ff., iv. 14, ff., v. 7 – 9 (?). Steiger, p. 5, f.: "The fire of his spirit shows itself throughout, but moderated by experience. His temperament is as distinctly expressed in it as in general is possible in such works without impairing the thought. It also shows itself in the fact that after the middle of the Epistle the natural fire of his spirit diminishes somewhat, and hence repetitions creep in," etc. Mayerhoff, p. 102: "The peculiarity of the Epistles is a pervading

James i. 10, f.: .... ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου παρελεύσεται .... καὶ τὸ ἄρ- θος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε.

James iv. 6: 'Ο θεὸς ὑπερηφά- νοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν. 7: ὑποτάγη- τε οὖν τῷ θεῷ. ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ.... 10: ταπεινώθητε ἐνόπιον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἴψωσει ὑμᾶς.

warmth. . . . It is rooted here with vital power in the depths of Christian perception, and thus every particular is controlled in a peculiar way by the hope, firmly grounded in Christ, of future salvation." Peculiarity in the language, according to *Dan. Schulze* and *Schott*: more frequent repetitions than in Paul: iii. 16 = iii. 1, ii. 12; iv. 3 = i. 14, ii. 11; iv. 12 = i. 6 - 9; iv. 14 = iii. 14, 17, ii. 20; v. 8 = iv. 7, i. 13; the Pauline words, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦσθαι, &c. are wanting; contrast of πνεῦμα and ψυχή, for πν. and σάρξ; ἀναστροφή, frequently; ἀγαθοποιός, ἀγαθοποία, κακοποίος; the use of εἰς, i. 4, 10, 11, 25; the use of the article, iii. 2, 3, 16 (?); the ἄπαξ λεγόμενα: ἀδελφότης, ἀναγεννᾶν, ἀμάραντος, ἀμάραντιος, ἀπροσωπολήπτως, πατροπαράδοτος, ἀρτιγέννητα, ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, συνεκλεκτῆ, ἀντιλοιδορεῖν, and several others; δόξαι, i. 11; ἀρεταί, ii. 9; κτίσις, ii. 13; τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων, v. 9; the formula of citation περιέχει ἐν τῷ γραφῇ, ii. 6.

<sup>c</sup> *Schleiermacher*, Einl. p. 406, also observes this, while *Steiger* (as above) finds in the whole Epistle great facility of expression and in the connection of the thoughts. *Schleiermacher* regards it as a proof of the genuineness of the Epistle.

#### Genuineness and Church Acceptance.

#### § 173.

The improbability of Peter's allowing himself to be so dependent on Paul, and especially of his being acquainted even with Paul's later letters, and with the spurious Epistle to the Ephesians, awakens a strong suspicion of the genuineness of this Epistle. It is, however, supported by the whole mass of ancient Church authorities. Even the Second Epistle of Peter, although spurious, testifies to it (iii. 1). Some of the Apostolic Fathers knew and used it.<sup>a</sup> The testimonies of the most important Fathers down to *Eusebius*, who reckons it among the generally accepted writings,<sup>b</sup> support it; and if we set aside its omission in the ancient Bible Catalogue of *Muratori* (Part I. § 21), and its rejection by the Paulicians,<sup>c</sup> there is no opposition to it. The theory of forgery,<sup>d</sup> in itself odious, lacks the positive ground of a demonstrable design to be accomplished by it, for the supposed design of mediating between Paulinism and Petrinism is not clearly manifest.<sup>e</sup> The theory of its composition by an assistant, in Peter's name and with his knowledge,<sup>f</sup> we leave in abeyance. The Epistle belongs to the

Apostolic age, because of its expectation of the near end of all things, iv. 7.

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. III. 39: Κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς (ὁ Παπίας) μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς Πέτρου δομοίως. IV. 14: Ὁ μέντοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φλαιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ φερομένῃ εἰς δεύτερο, κέχρηται τισι μαρτυρίᾳς ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς. Cf. *Polycarp*, c. 1, with 1 Peter i. 8.

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. V. 8, of *Irenaeus*: Μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς . . . δομοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας. *Iren.* Cont. haeres. IV. 9. 2: Et Petrus ait in epistola sua, etc., cf. 1 Pet. i. 8. *Iren.* IV. 16. 5: Et propter hoc Petrus ait, etc., cf. 1 Pet. ii. 16. *Clemens Alex.* Strom. lib. III. p. 473: Καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ δομοια λέγει. *Lib.* IV. p. 493, and several other passages. *Tertull.* Scorpiae. c. 12: Petrus quidem ad Ponticos, etc., cf. 1 Pet. ii. 20, f. *Orig.* in *Euseb.* VI. 25: Πέτρος δὲ . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν δομολογουμένην καταλέποιπεν. *Euseb.* III. 3. 25 (see Part I. § 24, notes a, b).

<sup>c</sup> According to *Petrus Siculus*, cf. *Wetstein*, N. T. II. 681. That *Theodore of Mopsuestia* rejected the Epistle is not clearly stated in the passage in *Leont. Byz.* Contr. Nestor. et Eutychen, III. 14: . . . epistolam Jacobi et alias deinceps aliorum catholicas abrogat et antiquat.

<sup>d</sup> *Cladius*, Uransichten d. Christenth. p. 596, ff. (against this, *Augusti*, Nova, quae 1. Petri epistolas αὐθεντίαν impugnat, hypothesis sub examen vocatur. Jen. 1808). *Schwegler*, as above.

<sup>e</sup> A mediating, Paulino-apologetic character is ascribed to the Epistle by *Mayerhoff*, p. 103. *Schwegler*, p. 22. The amount of it is only that a Peter taught and wrote in a Pauline way.

<sup>f</sup> *Eichhorn*, III. 616, ff., guesses Mark; *Böhme* (Praef. in ep. ad Hebr. p. xlviij.), Silvanus, whom he considers author of the Epistle of James also, p. lii. *Reuss*, Gesch. d. h. Schr. p. 45, who rests on v. 12.

### *Second Epistle. Historical and Personal Relations.*

#### § 174 a.

The author has indicated himself here more clearly than in the First Epistle, not only in his salutation and with his whole name (i. 1), but also in the Epistle itself, as one of the Apostles (iii. 2),<sup>a</sup> as one of the companions of Jesus during his life (i. 14, cf. John xxi. 18, f. [?]; i. 16–18, cf. Matt. xvii. 1, ff.), as the apostolic brother of Paul (iii. 15), and as the author of the First Epistle (iii. 1).

The Epistle is ostensibly addressed to all Christians (i. 1),

but its readers must be they to whom the First Epistle was addressed (iii. 1). It even seems to be assumed that the Apostle had instructed them (i. 16). And yet they must be the same as the Apostle Paul had written to (iii. 15, cf. Rom. ii. 4).

Indications of its date are these: the Apostle Peter looks forward to his speedy death (i. 14), and the expectation of Christ's speedy return had been disappointed (iii. 4). The latter points to a very late period.

\* It must be admitted that the grammar is opposed to the meaning "of us the Apostles" (see Exeg. Hdb. on the passage), and the author, by using Jude 17, has removed himself from the accepted list.

*Design and Contents.*

§ 174 b.

The main design of the Epistle is to defend the belief in the second coming of the Lord against certain doubts, and to exhort to a proper preparation in view of it.<sup>a</sup> The author supports his exhortation to strengthen themselves in their Christian calling, that they may gain admission into the kingdom of God, i. 3–11, by appealing, in confirmation of the doctrine of Christ's second coming, to his apostolic testimony and the Old Testament prophecies, ver. 12–21. As it were accidentally, he speaks in chap. ii. of false teachers who are to be expected, but from ver. 9 forward are regarded as present. These are not, probably, such as denied the second coming of Christ;<sup>b</sup> their confutation, therefore, has no connection with the main object of the Epistle. The certainty of Christ's return is first maintained against certain scoffers in chap. iii., and to the confutation of the doubts urged against it an exhortation is joined.

<sup>a</sup> According to *Schwegler*, Nachap. Zeitalt. I. 503, the design is to bring about a final and lasting reconciliation between the Petrinians and the Paulinians. In support of this view, however, only iii. 15 can be adduced.

<sup>b</sup> It is a mistake to refer, with *Credner*, p. 654 (cf. *Mayerhoff*, p. 156), their aberrations to their denial of Christ's return. The false teachers of chap. ii. are styled servants of pleasure, founders of sects, such as by their seductive eloquence seek for gain, false prophets like Balaam,

preachers of a false freedom. According to *Grotius*, they are Carpentarians; according to *Vitring.* (Obs. s. IV. 9) and *Michael.*, Gnostics; according to *Hug*, II. § 182, they belong to a branch school of the magico-theurgic philosophy; according to *Bertholdi*, VI. 3112, they are Sadducees; according to *Schweigler*, I. 501, Gnostics, but of no special sect.

*Relation of this Epistle to the Epistle of Jude.*

§ 175 a.

The Second Epistle of Peter has, especially in chap. ii., great affinity to the Epistle of Jude.\*

\* *Table of Comparison.*

*2 Peter.*

*Jude.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| i. 1, 2: Συμεὼν Πέτρος δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . .  | 1, 2: Ἰούδας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου . . . .  |
| i. 5: . . . σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες.  | 3: Ἀγαπητοί, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφεις ὑμῖν, περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, ἀνάγκην ἐσχόν γράψαις ὑμῖν, παρακαλῶν ἐπαγονίζεσθαι τῇ ἀπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἀγίοις πίστεις.                               |
| i. 15: Σπουδάσω δὲ ἐκάστοτε, ἔχειν ὑμᾶς μετὰ τὴν ἡμὸν ἔξιδον τὴν τούτων μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι.  | 4: Παρεισέδυσαν γάρ τινες ἀθρωποὶ οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα, ἀσεβεῖς, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριν μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν, καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χρ. ἀρνούμενοι. |
| ii. 1: Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι, ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν. 2: Καὶ πολλοὶ ἔξακολουθήσουσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀσελγείαις, δι' οὓς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημθήσεται. 3: Καὶ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ πλαστοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεύσονται· οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει. | 5: Ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσατας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολινόντας τὸ ἕδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς ἀδύοις ὑπὸ ζόφου τετήρηκεν.   |
| 4: Εἰ γάρ δὲ θεὸς ἄγγελῶν ἀμαρτησάντων οὐν ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους....  | 6: Ἄγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσατας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολινόντας τὸ ἕδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς ἀδύοις ὑπὸ ζόφου τετήρηκεν.   |
| 6: Καὶ πόλεις Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας τεφρώσας καταστροφῆ κατέκρινεν, ὑπόθειγμα μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν τεθεικώς. ....  | 7: Ὡς Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρά καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις τὸν ὅμοιον τούτοις τρόπον ἐκπορνεύσασαι καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι διπέσω σαρκὸς ἑτέρας, πρόκεινται δεῖγμα, πυρὸς αἰώνιου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι.                         |
| 10: . . . τοὺς διπέσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μασμοῦ πορευομένους,  |  |

## 2 Peter.

καὶ κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας . . . δόξας οὐ τρέμουσι βλασφημοῦντες.

11: Ὁπου ἄγγελοι, ἰσχύη καὶ δυνάμει μείζονες ὅντες, οὐ φέρουσι κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ κυρίῳ βλασφήμον κρίσιν.

12: Οὗτοι δέ, ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα, φυσικά, γεγενημένα εἰς ἀλωσιν καὶ φθοράν, ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦνται βλασφημοῦντες, ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καταφθαρήσονται.

15: . . . ἔξακολονθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Βαλαὰδ τοῦ Βοσόρ, δι μεσθὸν ἀδικίας ἥγαπησεν.

13: . . . ἡδονὴν ἥγουμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφῆν, σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι, ἐν τρυφώντες ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αὐτῶν, συνενωχούμενοι ὑμῖν . . .

17: Οὗτοι εἰσιν πηγαὶ ἀνυδροι καὶ ὄμιχλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνούμεναι, οἵτις δὲ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰώνα τετήρηται.

18: Ὑπέρογκα γάρ ματαιότητος φθεγγόμενοι . . .

iii. 1: Ταύτην ἡδη, ἀγαπητοῖ, δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν, ἐν αἷς διεγέρω ὑμῶν ἐν ὑπομῆσει τὴν ἐλλικρινὴν δάνοιαν· 2: μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων προφητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος· τοῦτο πρῶτον γνώσκοντες, ὅτι ἐλεύσονται ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν ἐμπαιγμονῇ ἐμπαῖκται, κατὰ τὰς ἴδιας ἐπιθυμίας μίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι.

## Jude.

8: Ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐνπνιαζόμενοι σάρκα μὲν μιαίνουσι, κυριότητα δὲ ἀθετοῦσι, δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν.

9: Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος, διέλεγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτὸλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· ἐπιτιμήσω σοι κύριος.

10: Οὗτοι δὲ ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἴδασι, βλασφημοῦσιν· ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς, ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, ἐπίστανται, ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.

11: Οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς· ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Καίν ἐπορεύθησαν, καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν, καὶ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορέ ἀπώλοντο.

12: Οὗτοι εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες, συνενωχούμενοι ἀφόβως, ἕαντοὺς ποιμαίνοντες· νεφέλαι ἀνυδροι, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμεναι. . . .

13: . . . ἀστέρες πλανῆται, οἵτις δὲ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰώνα τετήρηται.

16: . . . καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα. . . .

17: Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοῖ, μνήσθητε τῶν ρήμάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

(14: Προσφήτευσε καὶ τούτοις . . . Ἐνώχ, κ.τ.λ.)

18: Ὁτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτῳ χρόνῳ ἔσονται ἐμπαῖκται, κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι τῶν ἀσεβειῶν.

## § 175 b.

There being this undeniable relationship, the originality belongs to the Epistle of Jude. For,—1. The expression in Jude is simpler, while in 2 Peter we find rhetorical, artificial circumlocution, with additions.<sup>a</sup> 2. Some of the expressions in Jude are distorted in 2 Peter, and singularly exchanged.<sup>b</sup> 3. The passages 2 Peter ii. 4, 11 become clear only from Jude 6, 9, and are manifestly taken from that passage. The indefiniteness of the second passage results from fear of using an apocryphal narrative. 4. The course of the thought in Jude is firm and distinct, in 2 Peter wavering, like that of an imitator.<sup>c</sup> 5. The opponents whom Jude combats are strongly and distinctly indicated, whereas in 2 Peter the picture is quite indefinite, *the vicious* being arbitrarily converted into *false teachers*, of whom we know not whether they are present or future.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Jude 4: *οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα*, with 2 Pet. ii. 1: *ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν* — 3: *οἱ τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει*. Jude 6: *δεσμοῦς αἰδίους ὑπὸ ζόφου τετήρηκεν*, with 2 Pet. ii. 4: *στειρᾶς ζόφου ταρταρώσας*, κ. τ. λ. Jude 7: *πρόκεινται δέγμα, πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι*, with 2 Pet. ii. 6: *τεφρώσας καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν, ὑπόδειγμα μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν τεθεικάς*. Jude 8: *σάρκα μὲν μαίνονται*, with 2 Pet. ii. 10: *τοὺς ὄπίσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μασμῷ πορευομένους*. Jude 8: *κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας*. Jude 8: *δόξας βλασφημοῦσιν*, with 2 Pet. ii. 10: *κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας*. Jude 9: *δόξας βλασφημοῦντες*. Jude 9: *κρίσιν βλασφημίας*, with 2 Pet. ii. 11: *βλάσφημον κρίσιν*. Jude 10: *ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἴδασι βλασφημοῦνται*, with 2 Pet. ii. 12: *ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦντι βλασφημοῦντες*. Ib.: *ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται — ἐν τῇ φθορῇ αὐτῶν καταφθαρήσονται*, and several other examples.

<sup>b</sup> Jude 12: *σπιλάδες* — 2 Pet. ii. 13: *σπῆλοι καὶ μῶμοι*. Jude 12: *ἀγάπαις* — 2 Pet. ii. 13: *ἀπάταις*. Jude 12: *νεφέλαι ἄνθροι* — 2 Pet. ii. 17: *πηγαὶ ἄνθροι*. Jude 13: *οἱ δὲ ζόφος, κ. τ. λ.* — 2 Pet. ii. 17 has erroneously applied the same to the clouds.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Jude 4 with 2 Pet. ii. 1, and i. 19–21. Jude 5–8 with 2 Pet. ii. 4–11 (where note the interruption, ver. 7–8, and the exchange of cases, ver. 10). Jude 11 with 2 Pet. ii. 15, f. Jude 17 with 2 Pet. iii. 1, ff.

The following writers favor this view: *Hug*, Einl. II. § 176. *Eichhorn*, III. 642, ff. *Bertholdt*, VI. 3158. *Neander*, AG. II. 598. *Richter*, *De origine posterioris Petrinae ex ep. Judae repetenda*. Viteb. 1810. 4to. *Jer-*

*sien*, *De auctoritate ep. Judae* (Lips. 1821), p. 89, sqq. *Ullmann*, *Der 2. Br. Petr. krit. untersucht*, 1821. p. 61, ff.; *Mayerhoff*, *Credner*, *Neudecker*, *Guerike*; also, to a certain extent, *Herder*, *Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu, &c.* Others, on the other hand, reverse the matter, as *Luther*, in *Walch*, XIV. 150. *Mill*, *Prolegg.* in 2. Ep. Petr. *J. D. Mich.* Einl. II. 1478. *Storr*, *De cath. epp. occas. et consilio.* Opusc. II. 411, sqq. *Dan. Schulze*, *Der schriftst. Charakter u. Werth d. Petrus, &c.* p. 38, ff. *Haenlein*, *Prolegg.* in ep. *Judae*, p. 70, sqq. Einl. ins N. T. III. 286, f. *Dahl*, *De auctoritate epp. Petrinae poster. et Judae* (Rost. 1807), p. 25, sqq. *Thiersch*, *Standp. d. Krit.* p. 275. A common source was supposed by *Th. Sherlock*, *Dissert.* concerning the authority of the 2d Ep. of St. Peter, cf. *Lardner*, *Supplements*, III. 347, *Hasse*, *Uebers. d. Br. Judä, Kaiser*, *Comment. qua linguae Aram. usus . . . defenditur* (1831), p. 78. *Augusti*, *Kathol. Br.* II. 105, explains the agreement by a concerted arrangement between the two Apostles.

*Spuriousness and Uncertain Position in the Canon.*

§ 176 a.

This use of another's (and a pretty late) work does not accord with the supposition that an Apostle was its author. It discloses, moreover, the unhistorical contents of the Epistle, for the false teachers there combated are a non-entity, a false copy of the seducers in Jude.<sup>a</sup> Besides this decisive reason there are several others: the assumption of a different relation to his readers from that in the First Epistle, and the fluctuations in this very assumption; the design of the writer to pass for the Apostle Peter; the appeal to the Apostolic "command" (iii. 2); the citation of Paul's Epistles as *γραφαὶ* (iii. 15, f.); the reference to probably later doubts regarding the return of Christ; the doctrine of the origin and the destruction of the world (iii. 5 – 7), which does not correspond with apostolic simplicity; the different style of the writing.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This ground falls away, if we suppose, with *Bertholdt*, VI. 3157, ff., only 2 Pet. ii., or, with *Ullmann* (above work), only chap. ii. and iii. to be spurious, but the others genuine. But *Bertholdi's* view rests on a complete misconception of the relation of 2 Pet. iii. 1, ff. to Jude 17, f., and *Hug*, II. § 178, has correctly urged against *Ullmann*, that chap. i. 16 contains a reference to chap. iii. It is characteristic that in ii. 11 reference to a passage in the apocryphal book of Enoch is avoided; probably because, at

the time of the author, a sharp distinction was made between canonical and apocryphal writings.

¶ Hieron. Epp. CXX. ad Hedib. c. 11 : Habebat ergo (Paulus) Titum interpretarem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cuius Evangelium, Petro narrante et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duas epistolas, quae feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus. Cf. De vir. ill. c. 1, see next note. Nietzsche, Ep. Petri posterior auctori suo imprimis c. Grotium vindicata (Lips. 1785), p. 26, sqq., Bertholdt, VI. 3120, Schott, § 101, note 1, adduce something to prove the relationship in the style; as, the use of the article, i. 4, ii. 7, iii. 2 (?); the form of greeting, i. 2; ἀναστροφή, ἀναστρίφεσθαι, ἀρετή (i. 2), δοκιλος καὶ δημάρτης, ἐπόπτης, i. 16, cf. ἐποπτεῖεν, 1 Pet. ii. 12, iii. 2; πορεύεσθαι ἢ ἐπιθυμίας οὐ κατ' ἐπιθυμίας, ii. 10, iii. 3, cf. 1 Pet. iv. 3; κομίζεσθαι, καλεῖν, &c. Paulinisms also are found: αἴρεσθαι, γνῶσθαι, ἐκπίπτειν, iii. 17, cf. Gal. v. 4; ἐπιχορηγεῖν; παρεισάγειν, ii. 1, cf. παρεισάκτοι, Gal. ii. 4; πλεονάξει; συναπάγεσθαι τινί; the passages δ' οὐδὲ δύος τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται, ii. 2, cf. Rom. ii. 24, xiv. 16 (?); ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς, ii. 19, cf. Gal. v. 13, Rom. viii. 21 (?). — The style of this Epistle is distinguished by its heavy repetitions (i. 3, f., where διά, δεδωρημένης, and δεδώρηται occur four times; ii. 1–3, ἀπόλεια, three times; ver. 7, f., δίκαιος, three times; iii. 12–14, προσδοκῶν, three times); by uniformity in connection, as with ταῦτα, i. 4, 8, ff., 12, 15, iii. 11, 14, 16; by its want of the peculiar use of ὡς in the First Epistle (i. 14, 19, ii. 1, and often); by its peculiar mode of forming qualifications by ἐν, as τῆς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς, i. 4, cf. ii. 3, 7, 10, 13, 18, iii. 1, 3; by its different idiom: σωτήρ often of Jesus; παρουσία, ἡμέρα κυρίου, ἡ κρίσις, for ἀποκάλυψις; κύριος of God; γνῶσις, ἐπίγνωσις of God and Christ; ὅδος τῆς ἀληθ., δικαιοσύνης; by a surprising number, considering its narrow limits, of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. Moreover, there are few or no quotations from the Old Testament.

### § 176 b.

In the ancient Church this Epistle was late in becoming known, and its genuineness remained doubtful.\*

\* Clem. Rom. Ep. ch. 7 : Νῷε ἐκίρυξε μετάνοιαν καὶ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν, is hardly a reference to 2 Pet. ii. 5 : . . . δύδοντας Νῷε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξε, κατακλυσμὸν κόσμῳ διεβάντων ἐπάξας. As little is ch. 11 : διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λάτη ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου πάσης κριθείσης διὰ πυρὸς καὶ θείου. Πρόδηλον ποιήσας δὲ ἐπόπτης, ὅτι τοὺς δὲ ἐπεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας εἰς κόλασιν καὶ αἰκισμὸν τίθησι — to 2 Pet. ii. 6–9; Herm. Vis. III. 7 : ii sunt, qui crediderunt quidem, dubitatione autem sua reliquerunt viam suam veram — to 2 Pet. ii. 1b : καταλεπόντες εὑθεῖαν ὅδον ;

Vis. IV. 3 : *vos estis, qui effugistis seculum hoc* — to 2 Pet. ii. 20 : *ἀποφυγόντες τὰ μιάσματα τοῦ κόσμου*. The citations of *Justin. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 308 : *συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς χῖλια ἔτη εἰς τοῦτο συνάγει* — *Iren. Cont. haeres. V. 23* : *quoniam enim dies Domini, sicut mille anni* — do not literally agree with 2 Pet. iii. 8 : *ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ κυρίῳ ὡς χῖλια ἔτη καὶ χῖλια ἔτη ὡς ἡμέρα μία*, and may refer to Psalm xc. 4. Cf. *Iren. IV. 9. 2*, § 173, note b. In *Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad gentes*, p. 66, *Lardner* himself finds no reference to 2 Pet. ii. 2. From *Euseb. H. E. VI. 14* : *'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἵπτυπώσεσι ἔνυδοντα εἰπεῖν, πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτεγμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις (ό Κλήμης), μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθόν· τὴν Ἰούδᾳ λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς· τὴν τε Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν — Cassiodor. De institut. divin. litter. c. 8 (see § 169, note d)*, — the conclusion is not certain that Clement was acquainted with our Epistle, which *Mayerhoff*, p. 201, denies, and *Credner*, p. 667, asserts.

*Origen*, only in the Latin version, *Homil. VII. in Josuam. Opp. II. 412* : *Petrus enim duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis*. *Homil. IV. in Levit. ii. 200* : *Et iterum Petrus dicit: Consortes, inquit, facti estis divinae naturae* (2 Pet. i. 4). Cf. *Comment. in Joan. Opp. IV. 135* : *Καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν φυλακῇ πορείας μετὰ πνεύματος παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ*. In *Euseb. VI. 25* : *Πέτρος . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν διολογουμένην καταλέλουπεν· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ*. *Firmilian* (c. 230), in *ep. ad Cyprian.* : *Adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos, quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint, qui in epistolis suis haereticos execrati sunt* (this can apply only to 2 Peter), et ut eos evitemus, monuerunt. The Syrian church did not acknowledge this Epistle. Hence *Euseb. III. 25*, reckons it among the *Antilegomena*, cf. III. 3 (Part I. § 24, note b). In the fourth century it was received into the canon without the doubts being set at rest. *Didymus* : . . . *praeresentem epistolam esse falsatam* (Part I. § 26, note b). *Mayerhoff*, p. 213, and others, regard these words as an addition from another source, because *Didymus* elsewhere (*De trin. I. 15. 21*, II. 6. 151, and often) cites the Epistle as Petrine and catholic. *Hieron. De vir. ill. c. 1* : *Scriptis (Petrus) duas epistolatas, quae catholicae nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur propter stili cum priore dissonantiam*. (Cf. Part I. § 27, note b.)

The following modern writers contest the genuineness: *Calvin* (Comment. in *epp. cath. Opp. Vol. V. P. 3. p. 103*), *Grotius* (ad cap. i. 1. His hypothesis is that the Epistle was written by the Bishop Simeon, that it presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem and refutes the Carpocratians), *Erasmus* (Nott. ad h. ep.), *Semler* (Praef. in h. ep.), *J. E. Chr. Schmidt* (Einl. I. 331, ff.), *Welker* (Clavis üb. d. kath. Br., &c., p. 181, ff.), *Guerike* (Beitr. p. 175, f.), *Neander* (AG. II. 598); to a certain extent, *Eichhorn* (III. 636, ff.), *Schott* (Isag. § 102), *Credner* (Einl.), *Mayerhoff* (Einl. in d. petr. Schr.), *Neudecker* (Einl.); in part, *Ullmann* (as above), *Magnus* (*Examen de l'authenticité de la 2. ep. de Pierre. Strassb. 1835*), *Reuss*

(Gesch d. N. T.), *Schweigler* (Nachap. Zeitalt. I. 490, ff.). It is defended by *J. D. Michaelis* (Einl. II. 1475, ff.), *Pott* (Prolegg. ad h. ep.), *Augusti* (Einl. z. d. Br.), *Nietzsche* (in the Dissert. quoted in note b), *Dahl* (in the Dissert. quoted in § 175 b), *E. Chr. Flatt* (Progr. genuina sec. Pet. ep. origo denuo defendit. 1806), *Feilnoser* (Einl. p. 527), hesitatingly, *Hug* (II. § 177), *Bertholdt* (VI. 3119, who, however, gives up chap. ii.), *Guerike* (Einl.). *Olshausen* (De integritate et authentia post. Petri ep. Region. 1822 — 23, cf. Nachweis. d. Echth. p. 118) hesitates. *Kern* retracted his defence (Progr. 1829) in *Tüb. Ztschr.* 1835. II. 65.

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#### IV. *Epistles of John.*

*Augustin.* Tractat. X. in ep. Joan. ad. Parthos. Opp. ed. Benedict. III. 2. — *Luther's Zwiefache Ausleg.*, in *Walch*, IX. 906, ff., 1082, ff. Annotatt. ed. *Brunn*, see above, p. 289. — *H. Bullinger*, In ep. Joan. can. brevis et catholica expositio. Tig. 1532. — *Episcop.* Lectt. sacr. in 1. ep. cath. Ap. J. Opp. P. II. — *Whiston*, Commentary on the Three Cath. Epistles of St. John. Lond. 1719. — *Mori Praelectt.* exeget. in tres Joann. epp. Lips. 1796. — *Lange*, Die Schriften des Joh. 3. Th. 1797. — *Lücke*, Commentar üb. d. Schriften d. Joh. 3. Th. 1825. 2d ed. 1836. — *J. S. Semler*, Paraphr. in 1. Joa. ep. cum prolegg. et animadverss. 1792. — *Heumann*, Diss. exhibens comment. in Joh. ep. tertiam. Nova sylloge dissertatt. I. 216, sqq. — *H. E. G. Paulus*, Die drei Lehrbriefe von Joh. wortgetreu m. erl. Zwischensätzen übers. u. nach philolog. notiolog. Meth. erkl. 1829. — *K. Rickli*, Joh. 1. Br. erkl. u. angew. in Predigten, mit histor. Vorber. u. exeg. Anh. Luz. 1828. — *Exeg. Handb.* I. 3.

*The First Epistle a Work of John the Evangelist.*

#### § 177 a.

The author of this composition does not call himself the Apostle John, nor author of the fourth Gospel, but merely an eyewitness of the history of Jesus (i. 1, f., iv. 14), and in the Second and Third Epistles an *elder* ( $\pi\mu\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{u}te\pos$ ). Thus much, however, is certain, that both writings, this Epistle and the fourth Gospel, proceeded from the same author; for both bear the distinctest stamp of relationship, as well in the style of the writing<sup>a</sup> as in the development of the thought.<sup>b</sup> Both throw the same spell of genial human feeling over the reader.

<sup>a</sup> ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 1 John i. 6, John iii. 21; οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐν τινι, 1 John i. 8, ii. 4, John viii. 44; ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι, 1 John ii. 21, John xviii. 37; ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου εἶναι, 1 John iii. 8, John viii. 44; ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι, 1 John iii. 10, iv. 1, John vii. 17, viii. 47; ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι, 1 John iv. 5, John viii. 23; ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου λαλεῖν, 1 John iv. 5, cf. John iii. 31; ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλεῖν, ἐν αὐτῷ μένομεν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν, 1 John iv. 13, 14, f., cf. John vi. 56, xv. 4, f.; ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατεῖν, 1 John ii. 11, i. 6, John viii. 12, xii. 35; γινώσκειν τὸν θεόν, ορ Χριστόν, 1 John ii. 3, 4, 13, 14, iv. 6, 7, 8, v. 20, John xv. 3, xvii. 25; δράγειν τὸν θεόν, 1 John iv. 20, John i. 18, vi. 46, xix. 9; τὴν ψυχὴν ἔαυτοῦ τιθέναι, 1 John iii. 16, John x. 11, 17, 18, xv. 13; ἀμαρτίαν ἔχειν, 1 John i. 8, John ix. 41, xv. 22, 24, xix. 11; ἔχειν ζωὴν αἰώνιον οτ τὴν ζωὴν, 1 John iii. 15, v. 12, f., John iii. 15, f., 36, v. 24, 39, 40, vi. 40, 47, 54, x. 10; οὐκ οἴδε ποῦ ὑπάγει, 1 John ii. 11, John xii. 35; μεταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, 1 John iii. 14, John v. 24; νικᾶν τὸν κόσμον, 1 John v. 4, f., cf. ii. 13, 14, iv. 4, John xvi. 33; μαρτυρίαν λαμβάνειν, 1 John v. 9, John iii. 11, 32, v. 34; αἱρεῖν τὴν διαμαρτίαν, 1 John iii. 5, John i. 29, 36; δύνασθαι of moral possibility, 1 John iii. 9, iv. 20, John v. 44, viii. 43, xiv. 17; παράληπτος, 1 John ii. 1, John xiv. 16, and often; ἀνθρωποκτόνος, 1 John iii. 15, John viii. 44; μείζων, 1 John iii. 20, iv. 4, v. 5, John xiv. 28; δο μονογενῆς νιός, 1 John iv. 9, John i. 14, 18, iii. 16, 18; ἐντολή, 1 John ii. 3, 4, 7, 8, iii. 22, 23, 24, iv. 21, v. 2, 3, John x. 18, xii. 49, 50, xiii. 34, xiv. 15, 21, xv. 10, 12.—Affirmation and negation placed together: ψευδόμεθα καὶ οὐ ποιοῦμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 1 John i. 6, as ὡμολόγησε καὶ οὐκ ἤρνήσατο, John i. 20, cf. 1 John i. 5, 8, ii. 4, 10, 27, 28, with John i. 3, iii. 20, v. 24, vii. 18, xvi. 29, 30; explanation by antitheses placed side by side: 1 John ii. 9, 10, 11, 23, iii. 6, 7, 8, iv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, v. 10, 12, John iii. 18, 20, 35, f., vii. 18, viii. 23, x. 10, ff.; progress, or more exact definition by antitheses: οὐ — δλά, 1 John ii. 2, 7, 21, iii. 18, iv. 1, 10, 18, v. 6, 18, John i. 8, iii. 17, 28, iv. 14, v. 22, 30, 34, vi. 32, 38, &c.; explanations of notions or things: αὐτὴν ἡ ἀγγελία, 1 John i. 5, iii. 11, and similar, ii. 25, iii. 10, 23, iv. 2, 9, f., 17, 21, v. 3, 11, 14, John i. 19, iii. 19, vi. 29, 39, 40, xv. 12, xvii. 3. Cf. Eichhorn, II. 281, ff. Dan. Schulze, Der schriftstell. Charakter und Werth des Joh. 1803. 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> ζωὴ of Christ, 1 John i. 1, 2, v. 11, 20, John i. 4, vi. 26, 35, 48, xi. 25, &c.; φῶς of God and Christ, 1 John i. 5, 7, ii. 8, John i. 4, 5, 7, ff., iii. 19, and frequently; μαρτυρία and μαρτυρεῖν, 1 John v. 6, 9, 10, 11, John v. 36, viii. 17, f.; God's love in the mission of Christ, 1 John iv. 9, John iii. 16; Christians the children of God, 1 John v. 1, John i. 12, f.; love the command of Christ, 1 John iii. 11, 16, 18, 23, John xiii. 34, f., xv. 12, 14. The view of the expiatory sacrifice, i. 7, ii. 2, iv. 10, does not find sufficient confirmation in the Gospel (i. 29, vi. 51); as also the expectation of Christ's return (1 John ii. 18, 28).

## § 177 b.

The apostolic origin of the Epistle is attested by the almost unanimous voice of antiquity. *Papias* and *Polycarp* knew and used it.<sup>a</sup> They are followed by *Irenæus*, Polycarp's disciple.<sup>b</sup> In like manner, subsequent authorities confirm the acknowledgment of this work, which was classed among the Homologumena without opposition, that of the Alogi alone excepted.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Papias*, in *Euseb.* III. 39, see § 109 b, note c. *Polycarp*, Ep. ad Philipp. c. 7 : Πᾶς γὰρ ὁς ἀν μὴ ὄμολογῆ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ εἰληνθέναι, ἀντί χριστός ἔστιν, cf. 1 John iv. 3.

<sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. V. 8 : Μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς, μαρτύρια ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείστα εἰσφέρων. *Iren.* Cont. haeres. III. 15. 5, 8, cf. 1 John ii. 18, iv. 1–3, v. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Clemens Alex.* Strom. II. 389 : Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζον ἐπιστολῇ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἐκδιδάσκων ἐν τούτοις· εἴναι τοις ἵδη τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτάνοντα, κ. τ. λ. 1 John v. 16. *Tertull.* Adv. Prax. c. 15 : Denique inspiciamus, quem Apostoli viderint. Quod vidimus, inquit Johannes, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, etc. 1 John i. 1. *Scorpiac.* c. 12. *Orig.* in *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 25 : Καταλέλοπτε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάντων ὅλιγων στίχων· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γηησίους εἶναι τάντας· πλὴν οὐκ εἰσὶ στίχων ἀμφότεραι ἑκατόν. *Euseb.* III. 25.

## § 177 c.

The doubts urged in modern times against the genuineness of this Epistle<sup>a</sup> rest on the following weak grounds: the Logology and the Antidocetic tendency of the Epistle betray an author of the second century, who was not the Apostle, but, as he describes himself in the Second and Third Epistles, the Presbyter John; from its eschatological representations, ii. 18, 22, 28, iii. 2, iv. 3, its different notion of *πνεῦμα*, ii. 1, 20, 27 (?), and the difference between v. 6, f. and John xix. 34 (?), it belongs to an earlier form of doctrinal development.

<sup>a</sup> *Lange*, Schriften des John iii. 4, ff. *Cladius*, Uransichten des Christenth. p. 52, ff. *Bretschneider*, Probabilia, p. 166, sqq. (On the contrary, *Bertholdi*, VI. 3210, ff. *Lücke*, Comment. p. 10, ff. *Hemsen*, Authent. d. Schr. d. Evang. Joh. p. 356, ff.) *Zeller*, in his Jbb. 1845. p. 588, f. (aptly refuted by *Grimm*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1847. p. 175, ff.).

*Form, Destination, and Date.*

## § 178 a.

As the work lacks the external form of an Epistle, some have been disposed to deny it the epistolary character.<sup>a</sup> But this want is supplied by its internal character, by its address to the readers, the dedication of the writing to them, and the references to their situation (i. 3, f., ii. 1, 7, f., 12–15, 18, 20, f., 24, 28, f.), by the somewhat loose connection of the ideas, and the way in which they are presented, the thought being in some passages rather suggested than expressed, while in others we find repetitions.<sup>b</sup>

The theory that attaches our Epistle to the Gospel as its practical<sup>c</sup> or polemic section,<sup>d</sup> incorrectly apprehends its essential character. For it is manifestly written differently from the Gospel, and presupposes a more precisely defined circle of readers; and besides, it is difficult to explain, on this view, why all antiquity regarded the work as an Epistle and separated it from the Gospel. It is also not a work written to recommend or dedicate the Gospel,<sup>e</sup> for it contains no clear references thereto, although it gains in point, if we presuppose not only the oral preaching of the author (this must be presupposed, i. 3, ii. 7, iv. 14), but also his written teaching by the Gospel.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Michatlis*, Einl. II. 1230. Cf. *Eichhorn*, II. 307, f.

<sup>b</sup> *Ziegler*, Der 1. Br. Joh. ein Sendschr. an eine bestimmte Gemeinde, &c., in *Henke's Mag.* VI. 2. 796. *Lücke*, as above, p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> *Berger*, Versuch e. moral. Einl. ins N. T. II. 118.

<sup>d</sup> *Storr*, Zweck d. evang. Gesch. u. Br. Joh. p. 313, ff.

<sup>e</sup> *Augusti*, Kathol. Briefe, II. 182, ff. *Hug*, Einleit. II. § 68. The fact that in Cod. Cantabrig. the Epistles follow the Gospel proves nothing.

<sup>f</sup> *Lücke*, p. 38. On the contrary, *Credner*, p. 680.

## § 178 b.

The Latin superscription of the Epistle, *ad Parthos*,<sup>a</sup> originated in some error.<sup>b</sup> According to the Epistle itself, the readers were (at least in part) Gentile Christians (v. 21). Hence the absence of Old Testament quotations, and the

warning against Docetism (iv. 2, f.). They were disciples of the Apostle (ii. 7), for he knows their spiritual condition (ii. 12, ff., 20, f., 27); and his epistolary communication seems but a continuation of his oral preaching (i. 3). As John's later sphere of labor was in Asia Minor (§ 108), the Epistle seems to be addressed to several churches there as a circular letter.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Augustine*, Tractatt. in 1. ep. Joh., according to the superscription, *Quaest. evang.* II. 39, in the text. *Cassiodor. Institut. divin. litter.* c. 14. Cod. 62, in *Griesbach*.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Whiston*, Comment. p. 6, *Hug*, II. § 70, note, from *πρὸς παρθένους*, cf. *Clemens Alex. Adumbratt.* Opp. ed. *Potter*, p. 1011: Secunda Joannis epistola, quae ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. *Grot.* (Prolegg.), *Paulus* (Die drei Lehrbr. p. 81, ff.), *Schultheiss* (Theol. Ann. 1828. p. 814, ff.), approve this superscription.

<sup>c</sup> *Hug's* supposition, that it was addressed to the community at *Ephesus*, is refuted by *Lücke*, p. 32.

### § 178 c.

There are no certain marks of the date of this Epistle. If it be true that the references and allusions presuppose the Gospel, it was written *after* that work. That its tone betrays the great age of its author, is an uncertain judgment of taste. There is no reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in ii. 18.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Arbitrary theories have been built on this passage by *Hammond*, *Grotius*, *Calov*, *Lange*, *Michælis*, *Hünlein*, and others, by *Baronius*, *Mill*, *Clericus*, and others. — In regard, also, to the place from which the Epistle was written, there are only uncertain conjectures.

### *Occasion, Design, and Contents.*

### § 179 a.

Various polemic tendencies have been ascribed to our Epistle: <sup>a</sup> against Jews and Jewish teachers; <sup>b</sup> against Judaizing Christians, Ebionites, or apostate Jewish Christians; <sup>c</sup> against Gnostics in general; <sup>d</sup> against the Docetæ; <sup>e</sup> and against Cerinthus<sup>f</sup> in special; against the disciples of John; <sup>g</sup> finally, against the Persico-Median philosophy.<sup>h</sup> It must be admitted that the Epistle contains remarks

against false Christians and false teachers (Antichrists); first in general, ii. 18 – 26, then more specifically, iv. 1 – 6. Here the Docetæ are hardly to be mistaken; they may also be assumed before and in i. 1 – 3.<sup>1</sup> The allusion supposed by some, in iii. 4, to moral indifference in regard to the Law, which was, perhaps, also a peculiarity of the Docetæ,<sup>2</sup> is uncertain. All the other supposed tendencies are improbable, especially those against apostate Jewish Christians and the disciples of John.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Car. Ch. Flatt*, Diss. qua variae de antichristis et pseudopropheticis in 1 Joh. ep. notatis sententiae modesto examini subjiciuntur. Tüb. 1809. 4to.

<sup>2</sup> *Löffler*, Diss. Joan. ep. 1. Gnosticos imprimis impugnari negatur, in the Comment. theol. Vol. I. Cf. *Wunder*, Utrum 1. Joan. ep. coetui e Judaeis et Judaeo-Christianis mixto scripta sit. 1799.

<sup>3</sup> *Semler*, Paraphr. ep. Joan. p. 28, and on ii. 22. *Tütmann*, De vestigiis Gnost. p. 179. *Knapp*, Script. var. arg. p. 157. — *Lange*, Schr. d. Joh. III. 19, ff. *Eichhorn*, II. 291, ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Kleuker*, Joh. Petrus u. Paulus als Christologen, p. 63, ff., 90, ff. Cf. his work, Ueb. d. Urspr. u. Zweck d. apostol. Briefe.

<sup>5</sup> *Schol. ap. Matthaei* epp. cathol. ad iv. 3. p. 130, ad iv. 2, p. 224, cf. *Tertull.* De carne Christi, c. 24. An unknown writer in *Schmidt's* Biblioth. f. Kr. u. Exeget. I. 69, ff. *Schmidt*, Einl. I. 317. *Bertholdt*, *Lücke*, *Credner*, &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Michaëlis*, Einl. II. 1520, ff., who also accepts the reference to the Docetæ. *Storr*, Ueb. d. Zweck der ev. Gesch., &c. p. 223, ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Storr*, as above.

<sup>8</sup> *Paulus*, as above, p. 45, ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 2: Καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν· οὐχ ὅπερ ἀπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι. c. 3: Ἐγὼ γάρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἴδα καὶ πιστεύω δύτα. Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρου ἡλθεν, ἐφη αὐτοῖς· Λαβετε, ψυλαφήσατέ με καὶ ὤθετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἡψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κρατήθητες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. . . . συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικός. c. 4. 5: . . . πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος, τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου, ὃν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται . . . τί γάρ με ὥφελεῖ τις, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ, τὸν δὲ κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὄμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον. Ad Ephes. c. 7: Εἰς ἵστρος ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός. Ad Trallian. c. 9: . . . ὃς ἀληθῶς ἔγεννήθη . . . ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη . . . ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, κ. τ. λ. *Polycarp*, ad Phil., see § 177 b, note a. Cf. 1 John iv. 2: Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὄμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν. i. 1: Ὁ ἡν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἐωράκαμεν τοῦ ὄφθαλμοῦς ἡμῶν, δὲ ἐθεασάμεθα, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφη-

*σαν.* ii. 22: Τίς ἔστιν δὲ ψεύστης, εἰ μὴ δὲ ἀρνούμενος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς σὺν ἔστιν δὲ Χριστός;

\* *Ignat. Ep. interpol. ad Trallian. c. 6:* Καὶ οὐ νόμον συστήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀνομίαν καταγγεῖλωσι. *John iii. 4:* Πάσις δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν ποιεῖ· καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία ἔστιν ἡ ἀνομία.

<sup>1</sup> *Lücke*, p. 72, ff. — Ch. ii. 19 is not to be understood of the external separation of these Antichrists.

### § 179 b.

The polemic design, which must be admitted, is not the main design of the Epistle. This is rather to exhort its readers to obedience to the Christian fundamental law of holiness and love, and, in necessary connection with this, to faith in the Son of God (who was really manifested), and hence, also, to steadfastness in faith. In this last connection, though in a subordinate position, the above references occur.

After the introduction, in which the verity of the facts of the Christian salvation is confirmed (i. 1–4), the writer,— 1. reminds his readers of God's holiness and of the fundamental law of love, and that communion with God can consist only in freedom from sins and fulfilment of His commands (i. 5–ii. 11); then, after an appeal intended to awaken the Christian feeling of moral superiority to sin and the world (ii. 12–14), he warns them against love of the world (ii. 15–17) and against Antichrists, and exhorts them to steadfastness (ii. 18–28). 2. He reminds them once more of the moral condition indispensable to God's communion or sonship, whose consummation is a good conscience and peace with God (ii. 29–iii. 24), and again warns them more distinctly against false teachers (iv. 1–6). Finally, 3. he again exhorts, especially to brotherly love, by which alone communion with God is attainable (iv. 7–21), and for which a firm faith is necessary in the incarnation and mission of Christ. This faith conquers the world, gives life (v. 1–13), and results in confidence towards God as the hearer of prayer and intercession. The Apostle speaks of the last topic, which leads him to other thoughts (v. 14–21).

*Second and Third Epistles. Their Genuineness.*

## § 180 a.

These Epistles belong to the Antilegomena, although supported by a very respectable tradition. *Clement of Alexandria* was acquainted with several Epistles of John, certainly with the Second, at least. In *Muratori's* fragment on the canon, two Epistles of John are mentioned. *Origen* states doubts against the two smaller Epistles, but does not decide against them. *Dionysius of Alexandria*, on the other hand, draws from them, as genuine Johannic writings, proofs against the Apocalypse. *Irenaeus* acknowledged at least the Second Epistle as Johannic.<sup>a</sup>

*Eusebius*, probably on account of Origen's doubts, perhaps also of their exclusion from the Syrian canon,<sup>b</sup> reckons them among the Antilegomena.<sup>c</sup> Although the general opinion became afterwards more favorable, and *Jerome* himself considered them genuine, he yet mentions the doubts urged against them.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. II. p. 389, see § 177 b, note c. *Adumbrott.* Opp. ed. *Potter.* p. 1011, see § 178 b, note b. Cf. *Euseb. H. E.* VI. 14, see § 176 b, note a. *Origen*, in *Euseb.* VI. 25, see § 177 b, note c. *Dionys. Alex.* in *Euseb.* VII. 25: 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ 'Ιωάννου καὶ τρίτη, καίτοι βραχεῖαι οὖσαι ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ 'Ιωάννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως δὲ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται. Cf. *Euseb.* III. 25: τὴν φερομένην 'Ιωάννου προτέραν. *Iren. Adv. Haeres.* I. 163: 'Ιωάννης δέ, δ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητής, ἐπέτειν τὴν καταδίκην αὐτῶν, μηδὲ χαίρειν αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι βουληθεῖς· δὲ γὰρ λέγων αὐτοῖς, φησί, χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ, κ. τ. λ., cf. 2 John 11. Ib. III. 6. 8: Et discipulus ejus Joannes in praedicta (1. Jea.) epistola fugebat eos praecepit, etc., cf. 2 John 7, 8.

<sup>b</sup> *Cosmas Indicop.* De mund. lib. VII., in *Galland. Bibl. Patr.* XI. 535: Παρὰ Σύροις δὲ εἰ μὴ αἱ τρεῖς μόναι αἱ προγεγραμμέναι οὐχ εὑρίσκονται· λέγω δὲ 'Ιακώβου, Πέτρου καὶ 'Ιωάννου. Cf. *Hug.* Einl. I. § 64.

<sup>c</sup> *H. E.* III. 25: Τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων . . . . η̄ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη 'Ιωάννου, εἴ τε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι, εἴ τε καὶ ἔτερου δμωνίους ἔκεινε.

<sup>d</sup> *De vir. ill. c. 9:* Scripsit autem Joannes et unam epistolam . . . quae ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquae autem duas, quarum principium *Senior* . . . Joanni Presbyteri asseruntur, cuius et hodie

alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesios ostenditur. Cf., on the contrary, Ep. ad Paullin. (7) 107, ad Evagr. 80.

### § 180 b.

Supported by these doubts, modern<sup>a</sup> writers have also on *internal grounds* denied the Apostolic authorship of these Epistles, and attributed them to John the Presbyter, viz.:—  
 1. Because, contrary to the Apostle's practice, the author gives himself a name,—*ὁ πρεσβύτερος*. But in a private letter of this kind it is natural that he should name himself; and this appellation, if taken in a distinguishing sense, applies better to the Apostle John than in its commonly accepted sense to the other John; to which may be added, that the latter cannot have held the high position of which the author of the Third Epistle is conscious. 2. It is true that the character of the language, though in general Johannic, shows some variations;<sup>b</sup> but if the Apostle be not the author, 2 John 5–7, 3 John 12, must have been written from reminiscences or imitation, which indicate a dependence not to be supposed in regard to the Presbyter John, whom Papias places almost in a line with the Apostles.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Erasmus, Grotius, Fritzsche (Bemerkk. üb. d. Brr. Joh., in Henke's Mus. III. 1), Paulus (as above, p. 262, ff.), Credner (Einl. p. 689, ff.), Jachmann (Comment. üb. d. kath. Brr. theolog. Mitarbb. II. 4). Lücke also seems to incline in that direction, see Comm. ü. d. Evang. Joh. 3d ed. I. 29, f.

<sup>b</sup> The following are Johannic: *μένειν τὸν τίνι*, 2 John 9, 1 Joh. ii. 27, iii. 9; *ἔχειν θεόν*, 2 John 9, 1 John ii. 23; *όραν θεόν*, 3 John 11, 1 John iv. 20; *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰναι*, 3 John 11, 1 John iii. 10; *ἴνα ή χαρὰ ἡμῶν γέπεπληρωμένη*, 2 John 12, 1 John i. 4; *αὐτη̄ . . . . ίνα*, 2 John 6; affirmation and negation side by side, 2 John 9; explanation by antitheses, 2 John 9; progression or more exact definition by antitheses, *οὐ . . . . δὲλλά*, 2 John 5: explanation of notions and things, 2 John 6. The following, on the other hand, are striking: *κύριος* (wanting in AB and other authorities) 'I. Xp., 2 John 3; *εἶ τις*, ver. 10, for *ἔάν τις*, 1 John ii. 1, 15, iv. 20, v. 16; *διδαχὴν φέρειν*, ib.; *κοινωνεῖν*, ver. 11; *περιπατεῖν καρά*, ver. 6; *μειζότερος*, 3 John 4; *πιστὸν ποιεῖν*, ver. 5, and others.

<sup>c</sup> Grimm, in the Allg. Encycl. 2. Sect. XXII. 76. Cf. Exeg. Handb. I. 3. 275, f.

On other objections, see Bertholdt, VI. 3645, ff. Lücke, as above, p. 344, ff. Exeg. Handb. I. 3. 273.

*Destination, Design, and Date.*

## § 181 a.

The Second Epistle is addressed to a Christian (*ἐκλεκτή*) lady (*κυρία*), or, better, to a Christian woman named Kyria,<sup>a</sup> not to any single Christian community or to the whole Christian Church.<sup>b</sup>

We know nothing of Caius, to whom the Third Epistle is addressed. Of the Christians bearing this name in the New Testament, Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14, Acts xix. 29, xx. 4, the claims of each as recipient of this Epistle have been supported on various grounds.<sup>c</sup> But it is better to suppose an otherwise unknown man in the neighborhood of Ephesus, and belonging to some other place than the dwelling-place of Kyria.

<sup>a</sup> We cannot, with *Grotius*, *Wetstein*, and others, regard *ἐκλεκτή* as a proper name, because of the position of the words, and ver. 13. *Knauer*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1833. II. 452, ff., conjectures that Kyria is the mother of Jesus.

<sup>b</sup> *Clemens Alex. Adumbratt.*: . . . . scripta est (sec. ep.) ad quandam Babyloniam, Electam nomine, significat autem electionem Ecclesiae sanctae. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 13. . *Hieron. Ep.* (91) 123, ad Ageruchiam, § 12: Legimus in carminum libro: . . . una est columba mea, perfecta mea: una est matri suae, electa genetrici suae. Ad quam scribit idem Joannes epistolam, Senior Electae Dominae et filiis ejus. Cf. *Wolf*, Curae ad 2 Joh. 1. *Michælis*, Einl. II. 1564. *Augusti*, Kath. Br. II. 205. Exeg. Handb. p. 274.

<sup>c</sup> *Wolf*, Cur. ad 3 John 1. *Augusti*, Kath. Br. II. 210. *Bertholdt*, VI. 3650. According to *Mill*, Prolegg. § 152, the Bishop Caius was at Pergamus (Constitut. Ap. VII. 46).

## § 181 b.

The design of the Second Epistle is to confirm Kyria in Christian truth and love, and to warn her of false teachers. The Third Epistle asks the well-known, praiseworthy hospitality of Caius in behalf of travelling Christians (ver. 5 – 8), and, on the other hand, expresses disapprobation of the refractoriness of a certain Diotrephes (ver. 9 – 11). Both

were written shortly before a journey (perhaps of inspection) of the Apostle, probably after the First Epistle, from the similarity of 2 John 7 to 1 John ii. 18, ff.

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### V. *Epistle of Jude.*

*Chr. Fr. Schmid*, Observatt. hist. crit. theol. Lips. 1768.—*Herder*, Briefe zweener Brüder, &c., see above, p. 323.—Der Br. Judä übers. u. erläut. aus e. neu eröffn. morgenländ. Quelle v. J. G. Hasse. Jen. 1788.—*Morus*, Erkl. d. Br. an d. Röm. u. d. Br. J., see above, p. 262.—Ep. Judae Graece, perp. comment. illustr. ab H. E. Al. Hänlein. 2d ed. Erl. 1799.—*M. T. Laurmann*, Collectanea s. nott. crit. et commentar. Groning. 1818.—*Schneckenburger*, Scholien, in his Beitr. p. 214, ff.

#### *The Author.*

#### § 182.

The author calls himself *Jude, servant of Jesus Christ, brother of James* (ver. 1). As this James, through his relationship to whom he makes himself known, must have been a man of distinction, and can scarcely be supposed another than the head of the Jewish Christians and brother of the Lord (§ 167); and as *Eusebius*, III. 19, f., mentions a Jude, brother of the Lord, and among the brethren of Jesus a Judas is mentioned (Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3); the decision as to his person depends on that concerning this James. They who regard the son of Alphæus and the brother of the Lord as one and the same person, are quite consistent in regarding our Jude likewise as an Apostle, and as that Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, sc. ἀδελφός, Luke vi. 16, Acts i. 13, whom they identify with Lebbæus or Thaddæus.\* But we who discriminate between James the brother of the Lord and James the son of Alphæus, and do not regard the former as one of the Twelve, regard also this Jude, his brother, as not an Apostle, especially as he seems (ver. 17) to make a distinction between the Apostles and himself.<sup>b</sup>

\* *Bertholdt*, VI. 696, ff. *Win.* RWB. I. 632, ff. *Schneckenburger*, Beitr. 218. Among the ancients, *Tertullian* and *Origen* (?) consider our

Jude as an Apostle, cf. § 184. *Eichhorn* (Einl. III. 2), who thinks that the author is not the brother of James the son of Alphæus, but an unknown Jude, and *Jessien*, *De authentia Ep. Jud.* p. 47, who thinks James the brother of the Lord is the same person as James the son of Alphæus, and our Jude his brother, but not the Apostle Judas, brother of James, are inconsistent. So *Wieseler*, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1842. p. 120, f.

<sup>b</sup> So *Herder*, *Hug* (wavering), *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, *Credner*, *Neudecker*, *Reuss*. Also *Clem. Alex.* Adumbratt. Opp. ed. Potter, II. 1007: *Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Joseph, extans valde religiosus, cum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse, sed quid dixit?* *Judas, servus Jesu Christi, utpote Domini, frater autem Jacobi.* Cf., however, § 167 c, notes a, c. — *Schott's* opinion is groundless, that our Jude is the brother of an Apostle James, and at the same time one with Judas Barsabas. *Welker*, *Clavis*, p. 157, f., also considers him one with the latter. *Dahl* (Dissert., quoted above) supposed a certain presbyter. *Grotius* regarded the fifteenth Bishop of Jerusalem (*Euseb.* IV. 5) as author, and in consequence struck out the words  $\delta\delta\alpha\phi$ .  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa$ .

*Readers, Design, Contents, and Date.*

§ 183.

The Epistle is addressed to Christians in general (ver. 1); but the author had in mind a specific circle, in which certain corrupt men sought a living.<sup>a</sup> The current notion that they were false teachers has been erroneously transferred from 2 Peter to this Epistle.<sup>b</sup> To warn against these, and to declare their punishment, is the design of the composition. The author, after a short introduction (ver. 3), proceeds immediately to this subject: that into the circle of his readers certain godless, lascivious, slanderous men have crept, who through their feastings desecrated the Lord's Supper, were discontented, factious, and breeders of dissension; whose punishment was long ago foretold in the Old Testament and prophesied by Enoch, and their appearance predicted by the Apostles (ver. 4–19). He then closes with the exhortation and the wish that his readers may remain steadfast in goodness (ver. 20–23). The determination of the date is not facilitated by the fact that the destruction of Jerusalem is not mentioned in ver. 5–7, nor by the use of the Book of Enoch, ver. 14, as the date of this book is itself uncertain.<sup>c</sup>

Jude must, however, have written at a pretty late period, for some time must have elapsed ere the Book of Enoch could have gained currency and estimation.

<sup>a</sup> Schneckenburger, Beitr. p. 225, thinks that the depreciation of the angels, ver. 8, is the contrast to the religious system combated in the Epistle to the Colossians, and the readers are therefore to be sought in those regions. Credner, p. 616, on the other hand, seeks them in Palestine, and finds delineated the then condition of the church there in the passages from *Hegesippus* in *Euseb.* III. 32: .... μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καβαρά καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ ποῦ σκότει φωλευόντων εἰσέτι τότε τῶν εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπῆρχον παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. 'Ως δὲ ὁ ἵερος τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλίφει τοῦ βίου τέλος .... τρυκαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἄρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύντασις διὰ τῆς ἑτεροδιδασκαλῶν ἀπάτης · οἱ καὶ ἄτε μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου .... τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν. But as the last words, and the passage IV. 22, still more clearly show, Hegesippus referred to Gnostic sects, of which no trace exists here.

<sup>b</sup> Cf., on the contrary, Schneckenburger, as above, p. 222.

<sup>c</sup> Laurence and Hoffmann place it under *Herod the Great* (Hoffm. Das B. Hen. I. 23, ff.), Lücke (Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh. p. 58) after the destruction of Jerusalem.

#### *Genuineness and Church Acceptance.*

##### § 184 a.

No important objection to the genuineness of this Epistle can be made good; neither the use of the apocryphal Book of Enoch,<sup>a</sup> nor the resemblance of ver. 24, f. to Rom. xvi. 25, nor a style of writing which betrays a certain familiarity with the Greek tongue.<sup>b</sup> The Epistle is the less open to suspicion, as the author does not distinctly claim to be an Apostle, nor can a pretext for forgery be discovered.

<sup>a</sup> The citation of an apocryphal book is not strictly unworthy of a writer of the apostolic age. The late origin of the Book of Enoch can alone excite question.

<sup>b</sup> Schmidt, Einl. I. 314, Bertholdt, VI. 3194, suppose an Aramaic original. Cf. Schott, Isag. § 104.

##### § 184 b.

Several of the ancient Church writers strongly favor the Epistle, and speak of it with high respect.<sup>a</sup> The ancient

catalogue of the Canon of the Bible in *Muratori* (Part I. § 21) also mentions it. Others, on the contrary, had doubts of its genuineness: it was not in the Syriac canon, even *Origen* refers to such doubts,<sup>b</sup> and *Eusebius* classes it among the Antilegomena.<sup>c</sup> Perhaps, however, these doubts arose from the objectionable character of ver. 14.<sup>d</sup> In the fourth century it was, with the other Antilegomena, adopted into the canon of the Church (Part I. §§ 26, 27).

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens Alex. Strom.* III. 431: 'Ἐπὶ τούτων (of the Carpocratians) οἵματι καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρέσεων προφητικῶς Ἰούδαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι. *Paedag.* III. 239: Εἰδέναι γὰρ ὑμᾶς, φησιν δὲ Ἰούδας, Βούλομαι, ὅτι δὲ θεὸς ἀπαξ, κ. τ. λ., cf. *Jude* 5, 6, 11; cf. *Euseb.* VI. 14; see § 176 b, note a. *Orig. Comment. in Matth.* III. 463: Ἰούδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὀλιγόστιχον μέν, πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῶν τῆς οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐρρωμένων λόγων. *Comment. in ep. ad Rom.* IV. 549: *Judas apostolus* in epistola catholica dicit (*Jud.* 6.). *Homil.* VII. in *Jos.* II. 412: Petrus etiam duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis, Jacobus quoque et Judas. *De princip.* III. 2. I. 138: Et primo quidem in *Genesi* serpens *Eva* seduxisse describitur: de quo in *Ascensione Moysi*, cuius libelli meminit in epistola sua *Apostolus Judas*, Michael Archangelus cum diabolo disputans de corpore Moysi ait a diabolo inspiratum serpentem causam exstisitesse praeparationis Adae et Evae. (It may be doubted, with *Credner*, whether this predicate *Apostolus comes from Origen.*) *Tertull.* *De habitu fem.* c. 3: *Eo accedit, quod Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium possidet.*

<sup>b</sup> *Comment. in Matth.* III. 814: Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πρόσοιτό τις ἐπιστολὴν (which, from the context, means merely, If any one will yet adduce the Epistle of Jude, cf. *Schott, Isag.* § 103, note 1). On this account, *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 25, also does not give it as in the canon of *Origen*.

<sup>c</sup> *H. E.* III. 25. II. 23. fin.: Οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς (of the Epistle of James) ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὕσης τῶν ἐπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν. Ὁμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις.

<sup>d</sup> *Hieronym.* *Catal. Scrr. eccl.* s. v. *Judas*: *Judas* frater *Jacobi*, parvam quidem, quae de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro *Enoch*, qui apocryphus est, in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur: tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, ut inter sacras scripturas computetur.

The following modern writers deny apostolic origin to the Epistle: *Luther* (in *Walch*, XIV. 150), *Grotius*, *Bolten*, *Dahl*, *Berger* (*Moral. Einl.* in d. N. T. II. 395), *Schwegler*; the majority, however, accept it as genuine. Cf. the Diss. by *Jessien*, referred to above.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

*Andreae*, Episc. Caesar. in Cappad., Commentarii in Apoc. Gr. c. Theodor. Peltani vers. ed. *Frid. Sylburg*. Basil. 1596, fol. — *Arethae*, Episc. Caesar. in Cappad., Explanatt. in Apoc., in *Oecumenii Opp.* ed. Paris. Tom. II. — *Dav. Parei* Comm., in his Opp. theol. Heidelb. 1628. II. 1067, sqq. — *Camp. Vitrunga*, 'Avákprios Apoc. Fran. 1705. — *J. A. Bengel*, Erkl. Offenb. Joh. 1740, and osten. — *Firmin Abauzit*, Discours hist. sur l'Apocalypse. 1770 (previously, 1730, in English). — *Christoph Harenberg*, Erkl. etc. 1759. — *Hartwig*, Apologie d. Offenb. 1780. 1783. 4 Parts. — *Apocalypsis a c. IV. ad finem illustranda tentamen*. Auct. *J. Sim. Herrenschneider*, Argent. 1786. 4to. — *Mapavaða*, das Buch der Zukunft des Herrn, des N. T. Siegel (by *Herder*). Rig. 1779. — (*Johannsen*) Die Offenb. Joh. od. d. Sieg d. Christenth. über Judenth. u. Heidenth. Flensb. 1788. — *J. G. Eichhorn*, Comment. in Apoc. Joh. Tom. I. II. Gott. 1791. — *S. G. Lange*, Die Schriften Johannis, I. Thl. d. Apok. enth. Neustr. 1795. — Der Sieg d. Christenth. über Juden- und Heidenth. od. d. Offenb. Joh. neu übers. u. m. Anmerkk. u. Exc. erl. von *F. W. Hagen*. Erl. 1796. — N. T. ed. Kopp. Tom. X. contin. *Heinrichs*. — *G. H. Ewald*, Comment. in Apoc. Joh. exeg. et crit. Lips. 1828. — *F. A. L. Matthäi*, Die Offenb. Joh. aus d. Gr. übers. u. mit vollst. Erkl. begleitet. Gött. 1828. 2 Parts. — *J. M. A. Scholz*, Die Apok. d. h. Joh. erklärt u. in e. hist. krit. Einl. erläutert. Frkf. 1828. — Die Offenbarung Johannis metrisch übersetzt von *Münter*. 2d ed. Kop. 1806. — Johannes des Gottbesprachten eschatologische Gesichte, genannt: die Apokalypse; übersetzt, auf ihre Kunstdform zurückgeführt, und zum Erstenmal erklärt, auch für Nicht-Gelehrte von *Friedr. Jac. Züllig*. (Also with the title: Die Offenbarung Johannis vollständig erklärt.) Stuttg. 1834, 1840. 2 Parts. — *Prideaux Tregelles*, see above, § 48 c, note d. — *Fr. Lücke*, Versuch e. vollst. Einleit. in d. Offenb. Joh. und in d. ges. apokalypt. Litteratur. Bonn. 1832.

*Nature of the Book.*

## § 185 a.

The Revelation (disclosing of the future, cf. 1 Pet. i. 12) of John belongs, according to its nature, to the class of pro-

phetic writings (§ 62). Christian antiquity shows several of these, among them the *Revelation of Peter*.<sup>a</sup> Its basis is Jesus's prediction of his return, Matt. xvi. 27, f., xxiv. 29 (although not in harmony with the details in Matt. xxiv., especially ver. 2, 15), xxvi. 64, and it attaches itself to the Old Testament prophecies, more, however, to the later than the earlier, especially to Daniel, being almost wholly symbolical.<sup>b</sup> The Old Testament prophetical style is somewhat modified by the address to the seven churches, i. 4 – iii. 22,<sup>c</sup> which follows the usual announcement of the work as a prophecy, i. 1 – 3.

<sup>a</sup> Clemens Alex. commented on it, see Euseb. H. E. VI. 14, § 176 b, note a. In the Canon of Muratori (Part I. § 21) it is placed next to the Revelation of John. On the contrary, Euseb. III. 24: 'Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατεάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ, ὅ τε λεγόμενος ποιμῆν καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου. Sozomen, VII. 19: Οὐτώ γοῦν τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν Πέτρου ὡς νόθον παντελῶς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων δοκιμασθεῖσαν ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Παλαιστίνης εἰσέτι νῦν ἀπαξ ἔκαστον ἔτους ἀναγνωσκομένην ἔγνωμεν ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῆς ἦν εὐλαβῶς ἄγαν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύει ἐπὶ ἀναμήσει τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους. Cf. Fabric. Cod. apoc. N. T. II. 940. — The Shepherd of Hermas, according to its first part, also belongs to this class of writings. The Book of Enoch (translated from Ethiopic into English by Rich. Laurence, Oxf. 1821, into German with continuous commentary, detailed introduction, and illustrative dissertations by A. G. Hoffmann, 1 Abth. Jen. 1833) and the Fourth Book of Ezra are Jewish productions of the same kind. The Sibylline Books are in part of Christian origin. Cf. Lücke, Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh. p. 43, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Nothing can be more unfortunate than the thought that it is a dramatic work (Dav. Pareus, Proem. ad Comm. in Apoc. [Heidelb. 1618], c. 3, Hartwig, Eichhorn, Matthaei, Feilmoser, and others).

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Ewald, p. 14. Lücke, p. 156, ff. And yet it is incorrect to say that the whole has the form of a letter. Though this is true of the greeting, xxii. 21, it is not of xxii. 16 (the words of Christ, not of the author).

### § 185 b.

The symbolical garb in which the prophecies are clothed presents to the interpreter a great difficulty, one on which even modern interpreters have, in part, been wrecked.<sup>a</sup> Another difficulty lies, on the one hand, in the determination of the historic point of view from which the revelation of the

future is to be apprehended. This was long neglected, until the time of *Lud. ab Alcassar*<sup>b</sup> among the Catholics, and of *Grotius* among the Protestants, and even longer by the latter, especially through *Bengel's* mistake; many, even at the present day, pay it no attention.<sup>c</sup> On the other hand, it has cost much pains to define precisely the historic horizon of the seer, and the actual amount of what he foresaw (see § 186, note *a*). However strongly the historic stand-point is to be asserted, we must yet insist also that the work contains an ideally prophetic element, which has force even for us.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See *Bleek*, Beitrag z. Kritik u. Deutung d. Offenbar. Joh. Berlin. Theol. Zeitschr. II. 253, ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi*. Antw. 1614. fol. Cf. *Lücke*, as above, p. 532, ff. Also *Bossuet*, *L'Apocalypse avec une explic.*, Par. 1690, proceeded from the historic stand-point.

<sup>c</sup> *Steudel*, Ueb. d. richtige Auffassungsweise d. Apokalypse, in *Bengel's Archiv*. IV. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *Lücke*, Apokalypt. Studien. Stud. u. Krit. II. 2. p. 304.

### *Design and Contents.*

#### § 186.

As one object of all prophecy, even that of Daniel, is comfort and warning, so also here its first and chief aim is to stimulate the Christians to steadfastness and fidelity under persecution (xiii. 7, 10, xiv. 12, f., cf. i. 9, ii. 10, iii. 10), and then to exhort the Jews (xi. 13) and Gentiles (xiv. 6, f.) to conversion, by the *prophecy of the speedy coming of the judgment and of the triumph of God's kingdom*. The hortatory portion is found chiefly in the *address to the seven churches*, which forms the introduction to the prophecy (i. 4 – iii. 22). The prophecy, in its form a vision and visual representation of the hidden future (iv. 1 – xxii. 5), contains the following leading particulars: — 1. Calamities which precede the advent of the kingdom of God (vi. 1 – 8, 12 – 17, viii. 6 – 13, ix., xvi. 1 – 11); 2. The judgment on Jerusalem and the conversion of the remaining inhabitants (xi. 13); 3. The judgment on Babylon (Rome) and heathendom, the

chaining of Satan (xix. 1–xx. 3),—the main catastrophe and a chief point in the Apocalypse; 4. The first resurrection and the thousand years' kingdom (xx. 4–6); 5. New outbreak of Satan, the final decisive victory over him, descent of the New Jerusalem, eternal blessedness (xx. 7–xxii. 5). As these topics admitted of but little development, or the prophet-poet was unequal to the task,\* he made use of an artificial mode of development, in which it was his purpose, by slowness and delay, partly to set forth a succession of scenes, and partly to excite expectation. There are two series of development, the one preparatory, iv. – xi., which leads to the judgment on Judaism,<sup>a</sup> the other (xiv. 6 to the end) leading to the final decision. The latter is preceded by an explanation (xii. 1–xiv. 5) intended to point out the enemies of Christ and his kingdom, and particularly to introduce the heathenism and antichristianity which are to be overcome.<sup>b</sup>

\* Since *Eichhorn*, critics have usually found the victory of Christianity over Judaism, and the destruction of Jerusalem, in the first of these series of development, and in the second the overthrow of heathenism; but the plagues, vi. – ix., strike equally all the peoples of the earth, and Jerusalem shall, after being subject to the heathen for a space of time (xi. 2, cf. Dan. ix. 26, 27), be but partially destroyed by an earthquake (xi. 13). What remains to the end of chap. xviii. is plainly directed against heathenism, and forms the proper kernel of the revelation (i. 1 refers to xvii. 1). Cf. *Bleek*, as above, p. 260, ff. The older historical interpreters, *Abauzit*, *Wetstein*, *Herder*, and *Hartwig*, erred also in finding, in the second part, only the victory over Judaism. *Züllig* repeated this.

<sup>b</sup> I. *First Series of Development.* The book of fate with the *seven seals* is given to the Lamb to be opened (iv., v.). But the opening of the first *six* seals (vi., vii.) is only introductory. After the opening of the *seventh*, the decision is delayed by the consequences being dependent on the sounding of *seven trumpets*, with the last three of which *three woes* are connected. *Six* of these trumpets bring great plagues and the approach of the judgment (viii., ix.). Before the *seventh* trumpet sounds, solemn announcement of the complete revelation of the divine mystery is made, which is contained in a book given to the prophet to swallow (x.). Announcement of the possession of the Holy City by the heathen for a period of time (xi. 1, f.).

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\* He had no presentiment of the actual historical process which Christianity must pass through.

Appearance and martyrdom of two prophets (xi. 3–12). Judgment on Jerusalem and conversion of the remaining inhabitants (xi. 13). The *third woe* and the *seventh trumpet* (xi. 14, f.). Proclamation and preparatory celebration of the victory of God and Christ in heaven (xi. 14–19). II. 1. *Explanation.* Introduction of the enemies of Christ and his kingdom. Satan, being hurled out of heaven after a vain attempt to destroy Christ, fiercely persecutes the Christians (xii.). Antichrist (Nero) and heathen priesthood come on the stage in the form of beasts (xiii.). The victory of Christ and his followers foreseen (xiv. 1–5). 2. *Second Series of Development.* Announcement of the downfall of Rome and of judgment on the heathen (xiv. 6–20). Seven angels receive *seven bowls*, from which the anger of God shall be poured out upon the earth (xv.). The first *four* bring four general plagues (xvi. 1–9), the last *three* destruction to Rome (xvi. 10–21). Announcement and celebration of the destruction of this godless city by the instrumentality of that beast himself (xvii., xviii., xix. 1–10). Christ's victory over both beasts, and the chaining of Satan (xix. 11–xx. 3). First resurrection and thousand years' kingdom (xx. 4–6). Last conflict and victory, destruction of Satan (xx. 7–10). Judgment of the world (xx. 11–15). New Jerusalem, eternal blessedness (xxi. 1–xxii. 5). Epilogue (xxii. 6–21). Cf. *Reuss*, Allg. Encyklop. 2. Sect. XXII. 84, ff.

### *Date of Composition.*

#### § 187.

In determining the date, a point which materially affects his whole view of the book, the critic must pay no heed to the doubtful accounts of the Fathers regarding John's alleged banishment to Patmos (§ 108 *b*, note *a*), or to their opinions as to the date of the composition,<sup>a</sup> but must rely on the internal grounds alone. Chap. xi. 1, f. assumes that Jerusalem was yet standing, and proves, accordingly, that the work was composed *before* the destruction of that city.<sup>b</sup> Chap. xvii. 10, also, according to which the book was written during the reign of the sixth Emperor, may refer to the same period, if Galba, and not Vespasian, be reckoned the sixth.<sup>c</sup> That the book was written after Nero's death is clear from the expectation of his return (xvii. 11), and from the allusions to the persecutions of the Christians under him (vi. 9, xvii. 6).

<sup>a</sup> *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, *Hieronymus*, and others, place it under Domitian. *Epiphanius*, on the other hand, under Claudius; the Syriac version, *Theophyl.*, and others, under Nero. Cf. *Lücke*, p. 405, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Against *Eichhorn* and others, who assume the destruction, see *Bleek*, as above, p. 267, f. *Lücke*, p. 247, ff. *Zeller*, in his Jbb. 1842. p. 660, ff. In favor of chap. xi. 1, f. corresponding to the condition of the city under Galba, *Hofmann* (*Weissag. u. Erfüll.* II. 301) and others adduce the circumstance, that, at that time, the *Zelotæ* were in possession of the temple. On other points his language is confused.

<sup>c</sup> In favor of the first, *Ewald*, p. 47, sqq., *Lücke*, Einl. p. 252, ff., *Credner*, *Neudecker*, *Reuss*, *Zeller*, Jbb. 1842. p. 694; of the second, in itself more probable, *Eichhorn*, Comment. ad xvii. 10. *Bleek*, as above, p. 290, ff., cf. *Beitr.* I. 81. When *Bertholdt*, IV. 1893, in reckoning the Emperors, begins with Julius Cæsar, and accordingly places the composition earlier, under Nero, he misses wholly the explanation of xvii. 11 by the then current expectation, which, historically, is amply attested (*Bleek*, as above, p. 286, note, and the first No. of the above *Zeitschr.* p. 244, note). The same occurs when *Hug*, II. 613, holds merely to the ten kings mentioned in xvii. 12 (the Parthian allies of Nero), supposes them ten emperors, and consequently, with *Irenæus*, places the composition of the Apocalypse under Domitian. Against *Züllig's* supposition, that the beast means pseudo-Judaism, see *Zeller*, as above, p. 665, ff. Among the critics of a certain school, *Ebrard*, *Hofmann*, and *Thiersch*, this traditional date is an axiom. They reject the interpretation of xvii. 11, without being able to give a better. *Schleiermacher*, Einl. p. 451, ff., also, with a strange exegetical scepticism, declares himself in favor of this date. *Guerike*, Fortges. *Beitr.* I. 70, ff., denying the historic interpretation of xi. 1, f., xvii. 10, placed the composition under Nerva, A. D. 96 (against him, *Lücke*, p. 258, ff.). In his Einl. p. 532, he finds in the former passage Jerusalem still standing, but does not go into the interpretation of the second, and adopts A. D. 68 as the date.

### *Unity of the Book.*

#### § 188.

According to the correct apprehension of the relation of the second series of development (chap. xii. ff.) to the first, the whole book was written at the time indicated in the preceding section, viz. before the destruction of Jerusalem, and every supposition of heterogeneousness in its contents is to be rejected.\*

\* *Grotius* (ad Apoc. i. 9, xv. 1) and *Hammond* (Prolegg. ad Apoc. p. 435) suppose that chap. i.-xiv. were written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the remaining chapters after that event, but divide these main divisions again into several sections. *Vogel* (Comment. de Apoc. Joh. P. I.-VII. Erl. 1811-16. 4to) regards i. 9 - iii. 22 as a composition which must have been written later than iv.-xi., and bears no relation to the Apocalypse; and

xii. – xxii. as the work of the Presbyter John, who united the three parts into one whole. *Bleek*, p. 296, ff., thought that the second part, beginning with chap. xii., was written later; but he has retracted this, *Beitr. I. 81.* — *Schleiermacher*, p. 462, considers the *Apocalypse* a collection of single visions.

*The Author.*

§ 189 a.

We must first put the question regarding the author in this form: Can the Revelation, and the fourth Gospel, with the three Epistles, have the same author? The following considerations may be urged in the negative:—

1. The author of the *Apocalypse* gives his own name (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8), but the Evangelist never.<sup>a</sup> This circumstance is at least worthy of attention.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Dionysius Alex.* in *Euseb.* VII. 25: 'Ο μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγελιστῆς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ δνομα αὐτοῦ παρεγγράφει· οὐδὲ κηρύσσει ἔαυτόν, οὔτε διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὔτε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς . . . Ἰωάννης δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἔαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν γράφας, εὐθὺς τε ἔαυτὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ προτάσσει, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>b</sup> *Eichhorn*, II. 438, finds a reason in the custom of the prophets to name themselves. But the epistolary form also demands the mention of the name, and yet John does not follow it. *Lücke*, *Einl.* p. 360.

§ 189 b.

2. The language of the *Revelation* is very different from that of the fourth Gospel and the Johannic Epistles. This appears in its Hebraizing roughness and carelessness,<sup>a</sup> its want of pure Greek and genuine Johannic words and turns of expression,<sup>b</sup> and in peculiar favorite expressions.<sup>c</sup> These can be satisfactorily explained neither by the supposed difference in the Evangelist's age, nor by the prophetic character of the book and its Old Testament coloring.<sup>d</sup> The traces of resemblance in style adduced by the defenders of its Johannic origin, moreover, are of small importance.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Mistakes in respect to the connecting of nouns and adjectives by the cases, i. 5, f., ii. 20, iii. 12, iv. 4, 8, vi. 1, vii. 9, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiii. 3, xiv. 7, 12, xv. 2, xvii. 4, 8, xix. 6, xxi. 12; in the connection of genders, iv. 1, 3, xi. 15, xiv. 19; a thoroughly Hebraistic use of tenses, iv. 9, 10, x. 7, viii. 11,

xii. 2–4, xvi. 21, ii. 22, iii. 9; of the participle, i. 16, iv. 1, 5, vi. 2, 5, vii. 9, x. 2, 8, xiv. 1, 14, xix. 12, 13, xxi. 14; of the infinitive, xii. 7 (John i. 14, 2 John 1, do not come into the account to the contrary). See, on the contrary, *Winer*, *De soloecismis*, qui in *Apoc. Joan.* inesse dicuntur. *Exeget.* *Studien*, I. 144, ff., who seems to excuse too much.

¶ The genitive absolute is wanting, and the attraction of the relative pronoun (i. 20, *text. rec.*), *τινα* after the demonstrative pronoun; *εἴ τις* is used more frequently than *ἔάν τις*, which alone occurs in John (cf., however, 2 John 10); the particles *ώς* (*adv. temp.*), *καθώς*, *μέν*, *μέτοι*, *πάπτωτε*, *πάπτωτε*, John's favorite words and ideas, *κόσμος*, *φῶς*, *σκορία*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, *ἀπόλλυσθαι*, *θεᾶσθαι*, the perfect *ἐώρακα*, *δοξάζειν* (in the usual sense, xv. 4, xviii. 7), *μένειν ἐν τινι*, *ὁ ἀρχῶν τοῦ κόσμου*, *ὁ πονηρός* (in its stead, *διάβολος*, *σατανᾶς*), the comparative *μείζων*, are omitted; *οὖν* occurs only as an illative conjunct., *περὶ* simply locally, *ἀμήν* always single; always *ἰδού*, never *ἴδε*; always *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, for *Ἱεροσόλυμα*, and several others. Cf. *Ewald*, p. 67, sqq. *Lücke*, *Einleit.* p. 361, ff. *Credner*, § 266. Cf. on the contrary *Kolthoff*, p. 86, sqq. *Dannemann*, p. 8, ff. *Dionysius*, I. c.: “*Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τῆς φράσεως τὴν διαφοράν ἔστι τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν. Τὰ μὲν γάρ οὐ μόνον ἀπταίστως κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογιώτατα ταῖς λέξεσι, τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, ταῖς συντάξεσι τῆς ἑρμηνείας γέγραπται· πολλοῦ γε δεῖ βαρβαρόν τινα φθόγγον, ἢ σολοκισμόν, ἢ σλως ἰδιωτισμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρεθῆναι. Ἐκάτερον γάρ εἰχεν ὡς ἕοικε, τὸν λόγον· ἀμφοτέρους αὐτῷ χαρισαμένου τοῦ κυρίου, τὸν τε τῆς γράσεως τόν τε τῆς φράσεως. Τοῦτον δὲ ἀποκάλυψιν μὲν ἐωρακέναι καὶ γράσιν εἰληφέναι καὶ προφητεῖαν οὐκ ἀπέρω· διάλεκτον μέν τοι καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνίζουσαν αὐτοῦ βλέπω· ἀλλ’ ἰδιώμασι μὲν βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον, καὶ πον καὶ σολοκιζοντα.*

° *οἰκουμένη*, iii. 10, xii. 9, xvi. 14; *ἐπομονή*, i. 9, ii. 2, 3, 19, iii. 10, xiii. 10, xiv. 12; *κρατεῖν τὸ δυνομα*, ii. 13; *τ. διδαχήν*, ii. 14, f.: *παντοκράτωρ*, nine times; *θεὸς καὶ πατήρ*, i. 8, as in Paul; *δὲ ληθινός* of Christ, iii. 7, 14, xix. 11; *μαρτυρία Ἰησ. Χρ.*, i. 2, 9, xii. 17, xix. 10, xx. 4; *ἀρνίον* of Christ, v. 6, 8, 12, f., and thirteen times besides.

¶ As *Bertholdi*, IV. 1838, *Eichhorn*, II. 379, and recently *Kolthoff*, p. 69, sqq., *Dannemann*, p. 5, f., do. The Evangelist was over sixty years of age at the time the *Apocalypse* was composed. At so great an age a man develops no further.

• *Twells*, in *Wolf*, V. 399, ff. *Hartwig*, *Apolog.* IV. 124, ff. *H. H. Donker Curtius*, *De apocalypsi ab indole, doctrina, et scribendi genere Johannis ap. non abhorrente*, (Traj. 1799.) p. 44, sqq. *J. D. Schulze*, *Schriftstell. Charakt. d. Joh.* p. 94, ff. *Eichhorn*, p. 380. *Kolthoff*, pp. 111, sqq. *Dannem.* p. 31, ff. *Zeller*, *Jbb.*, as above, p. 700, f. That which is akin is again in part different, as, *δὲ ληθινός*, vi. 10, of God in the sense of *veracious*, not as in John xvii. 3, *true, genuine*; *μαρτυρία*, different from that in the Gospel; *σφραγίζειν*, *to close up*, *to mark*,—in the Gospel, *to confirm*; *υικᾶν*, ii. 7, and often, *absolute*, on the contrary, *υικᾶν τ. κόσμον*, 1 John v. 14, f.; in part not characteristic, as, *σκηνοῦν*, *σφάττειν*, *δύνις*, *περιπατεῖν μετά τινος*;

*ἡλθεν ἡ ὄπα* (xiv. 7, 19), cf. *Mark* xiv. 41; in part critically doubtful, <sup>a</sup> as, *ἔρχου κ. ἵδε*, vi. 1, ff., cf. *Ewald*, p. 73, sq. *Lücke*, p. 369, ff. *Zeller*, p. 701, f.

### § 189 c.

3. The whole style of representation is different: in the Gospel and Epistles quiet, deep feeling, here lively creative power of imagination.<sup>a</sup> This difference, also, is not to be explained by the difference in the age of the Evangelist and in the literary character of the work. We may compare it to the difference between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In the letters to the seven churches, at least, a Johannic tone must have manifested itself. To this we may add, that the style of composition in the Apocalypse is marked by Jewish learning and art, whereas John, an unlearned man in the Jewish sense (*Acts* iv. 13), makes little or no use of Old Testament and Jewish learning.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Dionys.* l. c.: *τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἐκ τε τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκατέρων καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἰδούς καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.*

<sup>b</sup> *Lücke*, p. 374, ff. *Hartmann*, *Nachlese z. Lücke's Einl.*, &c., in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1834. I. 119, ff.

### § 189 d.

4. Their views and mode of representation are different.<sup>a</sup> The Evangelist has wholly shaken off the trammels of Judaism; the writer of the Apocalypse is strongly attached to it.<sup>b</sup> Although in the Gospel and Epistles we find points of connection with, or statements which presuppose, the common eschatology, the spiritual view preponderates; here, on the other hand, we meet with vivid sensuous representations and expectations of the Messiah (i. 7, ii. 27, iii. 12, v. 5, [xxii. 16,] xix. 11, ff., xx. 1, ff., 7, ff., xxi. 1, ff.). There we have an interior development of the cause of Christ, an internal glorification of the same in his disciples; here, the victory of Christ through external events, through exertions of God's power.<sup>c</sup> The relation of the Apocalypse to the Gospel is like that of Matt. xxiv. to John xiv. 18, ff.<sup>d</sup> It glows, moreover, with a spirit of Messianic revenge (vi. 10, 16, viii. 6, ff., xiv. 20, xvi. 4, ff., xix. 13, 15, 17, ff.), which is

irreconcilable with John iii. 16, ff., xii. 47. In the genuine Johannic writings we find no such pneumatological, demonological, and angelological representations as here, i. 4, iii. 1, v. 6, xvi. 13, xii. 7, 9. The apparently kindred elements in many, especially the Christological representations, prove on nearer examination to be different.\* Whoever is capable of apprehending, without bias, the spirit of a work as a whole, will not allow himself to be misled by this and like arguments advanced by its defenders.<sup>f</sup>

\* *Dionysius*, l. c.: Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων δὲ καὶ τῶν ρῆμάτων καὶ τῆς συντάξεως αὐτῶν εἰκότως ἔτερος οὐτος παρ' ἑκένοις ὑπονοηθήσεται. Συνάδουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους τὸ εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅμοιως τε ἀρχονται . . . . "Εχεται αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προβέσεων οὐκ ἀφίσταται· διὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὄντων πάντα διεξέρχεται δὸν τινὸν μὲν ἡμεῖς συντέμως ὑπομήσομεν. 'Ο δὲ προσεχώς ἐντυγχάνων εὐρήσει ἐν ἐκατέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν ζωήν, πολὺ τὸ φῶς, ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ σκότους, συνεχῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὴν χάριν, τὴν χαράν, τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου, τὴν κρίσιν, τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν διαρριών, τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἐντολήν, ὡς πάσας δεῖ φυλάττειν τὰς ἐντολάς· ὁ ἐλεγχός τοῦ κώστου, τοῦ διαβόλου, τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ, ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἡ νιοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ διδόνος πίστις ἡμῶν ἀπαιτουμένη, ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ νιὸς πανταχοῦ· καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων χαρακτηρίζοντας ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορέων τοῦ τε εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρώτα πρόκειται. 'Αλλοιοτάτη δὲ καὶ ἔνη παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἀποκάλυψις, μήτε ἐφαπτομένη, μήτε γειτνιώσα τούτων μηδενὶ σχεδόνι, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ συλλαβῆν πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινὴν ἔχοντα.

<sup>b</sup> Against *Baur*, in *Zeller's Jbb.* IV. 663, f., *Krit. Unterss.* p. 347, f., who says too much of the Judaism of the writer of the *Apocalypse*, see *Bleek*, *Beitr.* I. 184, ff. It is certain that to him "Jew" is not the same as "unbeliever" (ii. 9, iii. 9), that Jerusalem is the holy city (xi. 2), the beloved city (xx. 9), that he hopes for the preservation of the temple and of the Jews worshipping there, and for the conversion of the majority of the inhabitants (xi. 1, f., 13), and that Jerusalem shall be the central point of the millennial kingdom (xiv. 1, xx. 9).

<sup>c</sup> It is true that the conception of an internal return of Christ also appears in *Revelation* iii. 20.

<sup>d</sup> This comparison is admirably carried out by *Lücke*, p. 377, ff.

<sup>e</sup> John could not have written καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, xix. 13; ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως, iii. 14, cf. John i. 2, f. The divine name of Christ, iii. 12, xix. 12, is in the spirit of the Old Testament rather than of John; and although that, as well as the divine attributes, i. 17, ii. 8, xxii. 13, indicates Christ's oneness with God, this approximates no nearer to John than to Paul. The description of Christ as a *Lamb* is made different from John's, i. 29, 36, by the word ἀρνίον; ii. 11 from John viii. 50 by the notion

of the *second death*; *xxi.* 6 from John *vii.* 38 by the allusion to the fountain in Paradise, *xxii.* 1; *xiv.* 15 from John *iv.* 35 by its reminiscence of Joel *iv.* 13; *xix.* 7 is more closely allied to Matt. *xxii.* 2, ff., *xxv.* 1, ff., than to John *iii.* 29; the spiritual manna, *ii.* 17, reminds us of John *vi.* 31, ff., but *κεκρυμένον* is not Johannic. Hence we cannot, with *Lücke*, as above, p. 372, *Zeller*, as above, p. 703, suppose imitation on the one side or the other. I know not even whether the work presupposes a Johannic type (*Neand.* *Pflanz.*, etc., II. 628). Only the agreement in using Zech. *xii.* 10 according to a translation different from the Alexandrian, Rev. *i.* 7, John *xix.* 37, is remarkable. If *Ewald's* theory be correct (note on Rev. *i.* 7), that the Septuagint also formerly, like Aqu. Symm. Theod., read ἐγενέντησα, only one point of the agreement would be explained, while the other (the use of the verb ὄπτεοθαι) would remain. Probably the author of the Apocalypse and the Evangelist used a common source, and that an eschatological one. For the verb ὄπτεοθαι, as in Rev. *i.* 7 and Matt. *xxiv.* 30, must refer to the appearance of the returning Messiah, a subject which John *xix.* 37 does not, of itself, suggest. Hence, in this citation the Evangelist seems dependent. But the author of the Apocalypse seems also to be so (see *Exeg. Handb.* on the passage).

<sup>1</sup> *Eichhorn*, II. § 196, f. *Bertholdt*, IV. 1825, ff. *Kolthoff*, p. 123, sqq. *Dannemann*, p. 58, ff. *Hofmann*, as above, p. 315, ff. The last-mentioned writers ascribe too much to the symbolico-prophetic style of the description.

### § 189 e.

From all this it follows, (and no conclusion of modern criticism stands more firmly than this,) that if the Apostle John wrote the fourth Gospel and the Johannic Epistles, he did not write the Apocalypse; or, if the Apocalypse be his work, he is not the author of the other writings.<sup>a</sup> If, leaving out of view this conditional relation, we ask whether the Apocalypse can be the work of the Apostle John, as he is delineated in the New Testament and Church tradition, we cannot, after due deliberation, with *Baur* and others, answer decidedly in the affirmative. For,—1. The spirit of the work, though it is that of a son of Zebedee and a “son of thunder,” is not that of the disciple who lay on Jesus’s breast;<sup>b</sup> 2. The expectation of Christ’s speedy return is indeed apostolic, but whether chiliasm also is, is doubtful; 3. The Apocalypse differs, to its disadvantage, from the ancient Christian eschatologies with which we are acquainted, especially in its throwing too much into the shade (cf. Rev.

xiv. 6)<sup>a</sup> the universal spread of the Gospel (Matt. xxiv. 14), and a general conversion to Christ (Rom. xi. 25, f.).

<sup>a</sup> In this conclusion, *Baur* and his school agree with us.

<sup>b</sup> *Baur*, p. (680) 345, and others are manifestly wrong in referring the tradition concerning John current in Asia Minor, even with the “*ο ἐπὶ τῷ στῆθος τ. κυρίου ἀναπεσών*” (*Polycrat.* in *Euseb.* V. 24, see § 109 c, note d), to John, the author of the Apocalypse. *Bleek*, I. 195, f.

<sup>c</sup> This against *Schnitzer*, in *Zeller's Jbb.* 1842. p. 468, ff. — It is very doubtful, as is also maintained by *Luther* (§ 194 b) and *Schleiermacher*, Einl. pp. 466, 470, whether the book in general is after the manner of an Apostle. Two principles are certain, — 1. that the kingdom of God has an internal development (cf. Matt. xiii. 31–33); 2. that it is given to none, not even to Apostles, to know the day and the hour of this development (Acts i. 6, ff.). With neither of these is the Revelation in harmony. It is, moreover, questionable whether one who was intimately acquainted with Jesus, and retained a vivid remembrance of him, could have written symbolic descriptions like i. 13, ff., v. 6, based on abstract conceptions.

### § 190.

The author, it is true, calls himself John, i. 4, 9, xxi. 2 (common text), xxii. 8, but does not describe himself as one of the Apostles;<sup>a</sup> in whose number, according to xviii. 20, xxi. 14, he seems not to reckon himself; the passages i. 2, 9 also do not indicate the life and circumstances of the Apostle John.<sup>b</sup> The address to the churches of Asia Minor, which is to be understood in the strictly historical sense,<sup>bb</sup> presupposes an author held in honor by them, but not necessarily this Apostle. Hence the theory, that a disciple of the Apostle John edited, in his own way,<sup>c</sup> a revelation made to and perhaps in part written down by him, is destitute of critical basis, and irreconcilable with the early date of the work (before the Apostle John's death). There is no objection to the ancient theory,<sup>d</sup> that another John, the Presbyter, so called, is the author, if we but date the work, and the consideration which, according to chap. i. ii., its author held among the churches of Asia Minor, earlier than the Apostle John's residence in Asia Minor (cf. § 108 a). The hypothesis, that John Mark, the author of the second Gospel, wrote the Apocalypse,<sup>e</sup> has too slight a foundation in the simi-

larity (still stronger in the readings of the Cod. Sangall.) of the Hebraizing style of this Gospel to that of the Apocalypse.<sup>a</sup> There are also dissimilarities. It is also bound up with the false theory of the originality of the second Gospel.

<sup>a</sup> *Dionysius*, l. c. : "Οτι μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, αὐτῷ λέγοντι πιστευτέον· ποῖος δὲ οὗτος, ἄδηλον. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν εἴναι, ὡς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πολλαχοῦ, τὸν ἡγαπημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητήν· οὐδὲ τὸν ἀναπεσόντα ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ· οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου, οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτόπτην καὶ αὐτήκοον τὸν κυρίου γενόμενον. Guerike, however, Einl. p. 524, ff., and Schnitzer, as above, p. 458, ff., assert, that, according to all, he wishes to pass for the Apostle; and the last mentioned, that only an Apostle can be supposed the recipient of such a revelation. Lücke, also, Einl. in d. Offenbarung, p. 240, admitted that the exegetical probability seemed to favor John; but see note b.

<sup>b</sup> The banishment to Patmos is not certainly implied in the second passage, and in both *μαρτυρία* is to be referred to the Apocalypse itself. Lücke, in Stud. u. Kr. 1836. p. 654, ff. Bleek, I. 192.

<sup>bb</sup> Against the mystical view, see Lücke, Einl. p. 198, ff. An actual address was supposed by Tertull. Cont. Marc. IV. 5. But, with Vitrin. 'Αναρ. p. 51, the historic and the symbolic senses are to be combined, but in a simpler way. These seven churches represent all the others.

<sup>c</sup> Lücke, Einl. p. 390. Schott, Isag. § 116. Neander, Pflanzung, etc., in the earlier editions, less distinctly in the fourth edition, II. 631. The previous edition of this work.

<sup>d</sup> *Dionysius*, l. c. : "Ἀλλοι δέ τινα οἷμας τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενομένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ δύο φασὶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα, καὶ ἔκάτερον Ἰωάννου λέγεσθαι. Papias, in Euseb. III. 39 : Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολούθηκάς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τὸν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν· ἢ τί Φίλιππος· ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος· ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος· ἢ τίς ἔτερος τῶν κυρίου μαθητῶν· ἀτε Αριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ, λέγουσιν. Whereupon Eusebius adds : 'Ως καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἴστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δμωνυμίᾳ κεχρῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα, καὶ ἔκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. Εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἔθειτο τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐν ὄντα φέρομέντην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἔωρακέναι. So Bleek, Berlin. theolog. Ztschr. II. 248, Beitr. I. 193. Rettig, in the work adduced in § 191 a, note b, p. 64. Credner, § 267. Cf., on the contrary, and against Guerike (Die Hypothese v. d. Presbyter Joh. als Verf. d. Offenb., Einl. p. 262, f.), who casts doubt on the existence of this man, Lücke, Einl. p. 397, ff.

<sup>e</sup> *Bez. Prolegg. in Apoc. Joh.* : Quod si quid aliud liceret ex stylo conjcere, nemini certe potius quam Marco tribuerim, qui et ipse Johannes dictus est: adeo non in verbis tantum, sed etiam in formulis dicendi plerisque

similis ac pene idem est Evangelii Marci et hujus libri character. *Hitzig*, Ueb. Joh. Marc. und seine Schriften (Zür. 1843), p. 65, ff.

<sup>a</sup> *Dionys.* l. c. : "Εστι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔπειρος Ἰωάννης ἐν τοῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων δὲ ἐπικληθεὶς Μάρκος . . . εἰ δὲ οὗτος δὲ γράψας ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀν φαίνεται γὰρ ἀφίχθας σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν γέγραπται. *Ebrard*, Das Evang. Joh. p. 138, ff.

### *Church Tradition in Favor of John as the Author.*

#### § 191 a.

The earliest testimony would be that of *Papias*. All our knowledge of him, however, comes through later historians, and we are left in doubt whether he really knew the Apocalypse, and as the work of the Apostle John.<sup>a</sup> *Justin Martyr* († 165) is the first to speak of the Apocalypse as a work of the Apostle John.<sup>b</sup> The statements are unsatisfactory that *Melito*, a contemporary of Justin, Bishop of Sardes, wrote a book on the Apocalypse (*Euseb.* H. E. IV. 26, *Hieron.* De vir. ill. cap. 24), and that *Theophilus*, Bishop of Antioch, towards the end of the second century, in his work against Hermogenes, drew proofs from the Apocalypse of John (*Euseb.* IV. 24). That *Apollonius* (end of second and beginning of third century), in his work against the Montanists (who rejected the Apocalypse), drew proofs from it (*Euseb.* v. 18), is a matter of more consequence.

<sup>a</sup> *Andreas* (c. 475), Praef. ad comment. in Apocalyp.: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ θεοπνέουτον τῆς βίβλου περιττὸν μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον ἡγούμεθα, τῶν μακαρίων Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτι τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Παππίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου καὶ Ἰππολύτου ταύτη προσμαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον. *Arethas* (a little later), Praef. ad comment.: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θεοπνέουτον τῆς βίβλου δὲ ἐν ἀγίοις Βασιλείος καὶ Γρηγόριος δὲ θείος τὸν λόγον καὶ Κύριλλος καὶ Παπίας καὶ Εἰρηναίος καὶ Ἰππόλυτος οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πατέρες ἀχέγγυοι πιστώσασθαι. *Euseb.* H. E. III. 39, is silent on the subject: Καὶ ἀλλα δὲ δὲ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς (δὲ Παπίας) ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκουτα παρατέθειται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινὰ ἀλλο μυθικότερα. Ἐν οἷς καὶ χλιαρά τινά φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτοὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης. <sup>b</sup> Α καὶ ἡγούμεται τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα. We gain, also, nothing certain from the citation in *Andreas*, on Rev. xii. 7: Καὶ Παπίας δὲ οὗτος ἐπὶ λέξεως.

“Ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν [ῳδαδή τῶν πάλαι θείων ἀγγέλων] καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν δι-  
ακοσμήσεως ἔδωκεν ἄρχειν· καὶ καλῶς ἄρχειν παρηγγύσει.” Καὶ ἔξης φησι·  
“Εἰς οὐδὲν συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.” Cf. Rettig, Die Zeugnisse  
d. Andreas u. Arethas, etc. in Stud. u. Krit. 1831. p. 734, ff. Lücke, as  
above, p. 264, ff. Guerike, Einl. p. 543, f., and Hävernik (whom he ad-  
duces), Papiae testimonia de apoc. auct., in Lucubratt. N. I. p. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Dial. c. Tryph. p. 179: Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, φῶτομα  
Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χάλια  
ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσατας προεφή-  
τευσε. . . . . Rettig (Das erweisl. älteste Zeugniß f. d. Aechtheit d. . . . .  
Apok. 1829) doubts the genuineness of the words εἰς τ. ἀπ. τ. Χρ. Cf.  
against him, Lücke, Einl. p. 280, ff. Misapprehension in the passage of  
*Hieron. De vir. ill. c. 9*: . . . . . scripsit (Joannes) apocalypsin, quam inter-  
pretatur Justinus Martyr et Irenaeus (ἥν μετέφρασαν Ἰουστῖνος μάρτυρ καὶ  
Εἰρηναῖος). A similar one in the Chronicon, ad Domitian.: Apostolus Joannes in Patmos insulam relegatus Apocalypsin vidit, quam Irenaeus interpre-  
tatur (in the Greek of Eusebius: ὡς δηλοῖ Εἰρηναῖος).

### § 191 b.

*Irenaeus* (cir. 178) accepts the genuineness of the Apocalypse as undoubted, and appeals in support of it to tradition. As, however, he has erred in regard to its date, the sources of his information cannot have been the most reliable.\* Several allusions in the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons<sup>b</sup> testify to the wide use of the Apocalypse in the churches of Asia Minor and Gaul. *Tertullian*, *Clement of Alex.*, and *Origen* also accept the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle John.<sup>c</sup> The testimony of the last two has the more weight, as they, unlike most of the others, were not chiliasts.

\* Contr. haeres. IV. 20. 11: Sed et Joannes, Domini discipulus, in Apocalypsi, etc. V. 26. 1: significavit Joannes, Domini discipulus, in Apocalypsi . . . . . V. 30. 1: His autem sic se habentibus et in omnibus antiquis et probatissimis et veteribus scripturis numero hoc posito, et testimonium perhibentibus his, qui facie ad faciem Joannem viderunt (according to Zeller, Jbb. 1842. p. 696, he means Papias), et ratione docente nos, quoniam numerus nominis bestiae, secundum Graecorum computationem per litteras quae in eo sunt, sexcentos habebit et sexaginta et sex, hoc est decadas aequales hecatontasin et hecatontadas aequales monasin . . . . ignoro, quomodo erraverunt quidam sequentes idiotismum et medium frustrantes numerum nominis, quinquaginta numeros deducentes, pro sex decadis unam decadem volentes esse. (A remarkable instance of the unreliability of the tradition

coming through Papias in *Iren.* is the passage V. 33. 3, sq., where Jesus is said to have foretold gigantic vines in the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Zeller, Jbb. 1842. p. 202, ff.) In regard to the date, see V. 30. 3, § 108 b, note a. Lücke, p. 296, ff.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. H. E. V. 1: Ἡν γάρ καὶ ἔστι γηήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητής, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ, ὃντος δὲ ὑπάγη (Rev. xiv. 4). Ib. : ἵνα δὲ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ· δὸνος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ δικαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι (Rev. xxii. 1).

\* Tertull. Adv. Marc. III. 14: Nam et Apostolus Joannes in Apocalypsiensem describit ex ore Dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, etc. IV. 5: Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsin ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensuit in Joannem stabit auctorem. Clemens Alex. Strom. VI. 667: . . . ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαροι καθεδρεῖται θρόνοις, τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης (Rev. iv. 4, xi. 16). Paedag. II. 207: . . . καὶ τὰς δώδεκα τῆς σύραντος πόλεων, τυμίους ἀπεικασμένας λίθοις, τὸ περίοπτον τῆς ἀπὸ στολικῆς φωνῆς ανίτεσθαι χάριτος ἐκδεχόμενα (cf. Rev. xxi. 21). Orig. in Euseb. H. E. VI. 25: Τί δέ περ τοῦ ἀναπεόντος λέγειν ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου. . . . "Εγράψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἐπτὰ βροντῶν φωνάς (cf. Rev. x. 3, 4). Comment. in Joan. i. 16: Φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης· καὶ εἰδον ἄγγελον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι (Rev. xiv. 6, 7), p. 23. II. 55, and many other passages.

Hippolytus, a disciple of Irenaeus, wrote on the Apocalypse, probably against the Montanists. Gruter, Corp. inscript. fol. 140. Hippolyti Opp. ed. Fabric. p. 38. Lücke, p. 316, f. Other testimonies adduced by Lardner, Eichhorn, and others, have, especially when they are later, no further force as proofs.

### Church Tradition against him.

#### § 192 a.

The so-called *Alogi* or *Antimontanists* rejected the Apocalypse, as well as the other Johannic writings, and ascribed it to Cerinthus; but their assertion was based neither on tradition nor on critical grounds.<sup>a</sup> The similar assertion of *Caius of Rome* (197 – 217) was likewise occasioned by the opposition to Montanism.<sup>b</sup> In the controversy against the chiliasm of Nepos, hence not without some dogmatic design, *Dionysius of Alexandria* (cir. 255) denied that the Apocalypse was written by John; but he went to work in a more critical way (§§ 189, 190).

<sup>a</sup> It is true they did adduce one such ground. Epiph. Haeres. LI. c. 33: Εἰτά τινες ἔξι αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐπιλαμβάνονται τούτου τοῦ ἥρτου ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει

τῇ αὐτῇ· καὶ φάσκουσιν ἀντιλέγοντες, ὅτι εἰπε πᾶλιν· γράψον τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ἐν Θυατίροις, καὶ οὐκ ἔνι ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστιανῶν ἐν Θυατίρῃ πῶς οὖν ἔγραφε τῇ μῇ οὖσῃ; But this argument proves too much (viz. against any author in the first century), and consequently proves nothing.

<sup>b</sup> From his work against the Montanist Proclus, *Euseb.* H. E. III. 28 quotes: 'Αλλὰ καὶ Κήρυνθος ὁ δὲ ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ἀπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλον γεγραμμένων, τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, κ. τ. λ. Cf. *Hug*, II. 594, who (with *Twellis*, *Hartwig*, and *Paulus*, *Hist. Cerinth.*) does not refer this to the Apocalypse of John, and on the other side, *Lücke*, p. 309, ff. *Dionys. Alex.* says of such opponents, in *Euseb.* VII. 25: Τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ήμῶν ἡθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντη τὸ βιβλίον, καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον διευθύνοντες, ἀγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀσύλληγοις ἀποφαίνοντες· ψεύδεσθαι τε τὴν ἐπιγραφήν. Ἰωάννου γάρ οὐκ εἴναι λέγοντιν. .... Κήρυνθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθείσαν Κηρυνθιανὴν συστησάμενον αἵρεσιν ἀξιώπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι δύομα. *Theodoret* also, *Fabb. haeret.* II. 3, assented to this opinion.

### § 192 b.

That *Eusebius* was so wavering in regard to this book,<sup>a</sup> probably arose likewise from a dogmatical bias, which led him, as well as others, to judge respecting it either with favor or with aversion.<sup>b</sup> And yet his doubts were not caused solely by the above-adduced opponents of the book; for the Syrian Church also had it not in her canon (§ 11 a).<sup>c</sup> It is excluded from the canon, also, by *Cyril of Jerusalem* (Catech. IV), *Gregory of Nazianzus* (Carm. XXXIII.), and the sixtieth canon of Laodicea (see Part I. § 26).<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> H. E. III. 25: Ἐπὶ τούτοις (τοῖς ὄμολογουμένοις) τακτέον, εἴγε φανεῖ, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, περὶ ἣς τὰ δόξατα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα . . . . καὶ πρὸς τούτοις (τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις) . . . . ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανεῖ, ἦν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὄμολογουμένοις. Previously, III. 24: Τῆς δὲ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐφ' ἔκατερον ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλκεται ἡ δόξα· ὅμως γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν οἰκείῳ καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέξεται καὶ αὐτή. This promise he has, however, nowhere fulfilled. III. 39, on the Presbyter John, see § 190, note d.

<sup>b</sup> *Lücke*, p. 333, finds the cause in the want of sure historic grounds.

<sup>c</sup> *Kolthoff*, p. 25, sqq., tries to make it probable (cf. § 11 a, note b) that the Apocalypse, at an earlier period, was in the Peshito, because *Ephraem Syrus* quotes it.

<sup>d</sup> *Hieron.* Ep. 129. ad Dardan. § 3. p. 973. ed. Vallars.: Quod si eam

(ep. ad Hebr.) Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas canonicas, nec Graecorum quidem ecclesiae Apocalypsin Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt.

*Estimate of this Tradition.*

§ 193.

If chiliasts and antichiliasts alone disputed about accepting the Apocalypse, their reciprocal assertions would neutralize each other; but the impartial intervention of *Clement* and *Origen* proves the opinion that the Apostle and Evangelist John is the author to be independent of dogmatic bias. Notwithstanding, the deliberate criticism of *Dionysius* shows that this opinion had no fixed historic foundation; and, as the character of the work contradicts it, we perceive here again the uncertainty of such ecclesiastical opinions or nominal traditions.<sup>a</sup>

\* *Zeller*, Jbb., as above, p. 695, ff., as also *Baur*, lays great stress on the tradition in favor of John, and adds two further presumptions in its support:—1. The firmly established opinion, among the Christian chiliasts, of the thousand years' continuance of Christ's earthly kingdom, (in the Fourth Book of Ezra it amounts to four hundred years, as is well known,) leads us naturally to assume the influence of an authority like John's; 2. The saying that John should not die until the Lord returned (*John* xxi. 23) can apply only to the John of the Apocalypse.—Its most probable origin, however, might be in John's having really attained a great age.

*Later Opinions of the Church and of Scholars on the Apocalypse.*

§ 194 a.

While in the Greek Church the work continued the object of doubt,<sup>a</sup> in the West it was formally adopted into the number of the canonical books,<sup>b</sup> and has since then maintained its canonical authority.

<sup>a</sup> Even at the beginning of the ninth century, it was rejected by the Patriarch *Nicephorus*. *Lardner*, Credibility, P. II. Vol. XI. pp. 249, 252. *Michaelis*, Einl. II. 1062.

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Hippone. can. XXXVI. Concil. Carthag. III. c. 47. Innocent. I. Ep. ad Exuper., Concil. Rom. I., see Part I. § 27, note a. Concil.

Toled. (A. D. 633), c. 17, in *Harduin, Act. conc.* III. 584 : Apocalypsis librum multorum Conciliorum auctoritas et synodica sanctorum Praesulum Romanorum decreta Joannis evangelistae esse perscribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt. Et quia plurimi sunt, qui ejus auctoritatem non recipiunt eumque in ecclesia Dei praedicare contemnunt : si quis eum deinceps aut non receperit, aut a Pascha ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non praedicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.

### § 194 b.

With the revival of criticism in the age of the Reformation, the doubts regarding the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse also revived. It was opposed, sometimes by implication, sometimes directly, by *Erasmus, Carlstadt, Luther, and Zwingli*.\*

\* *Erasm.* Annott. in N. T., ed. 1527, at the close of the notes on the Apoc. *Carlst.* (Welche Bücher biblisch seind, 1520) alludes to the early doubts, and to the characteristic dissimilarity of the work to the other Johannic writings. *Luther*, Vorrede auf die Offenbarung St. Joh., 1522 : "To me, this book lacks not a single proof of its being neither apostolic nor prophetic. First, and chiefly, the Apostles do not deal in visions, but prophesy in clear and plain words, as Peter, Paul, yea, Christ in the Gospel, also do ; for it belongs to the office of an Apostle to speak clearly, and without figure or vision, of Christ and his work. Even in the Old Testament, letting alone the New, there is no prophet who deals throughout in visions ; so that I put it almost in the same rank with the Fourth Book of Esdras, and cannot in any way find it to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit. Moreover, it seems to me too much for him to commend his own book,— a thing done by no other sacred writer, even when it would seem more fitting,— and to threaten that, if any man shall take away from the words of it, God shall take away his part out of the book of life ; and, moreover, to declare that they shall be blessed who hold to what it contains, although no one is able to understand what that is, much less to keep it ; which is equivalent to our not having it. There are also far nobler books in existence, the words of which are to be kept. Many of the Fathers, also, in olden time rejected this book, and although St. Jerome uses grand words, and says it is above all praise, and contains as many mysteries as words, he cannot prove this, and indeed is in many places too liberal in his praise. Finally, let every one think of it what his mind suggests. My mind cannot reconcile itself to the book ; and to me a sufficient reason for not esteeming it highly is, that Christ is neither taught nor recognized therein,— to do which is certainly the highest duty incumbent on an Apostle ; for he says, Acts i., 'Ye shall be my witnesses.' I therefore hold fast to those books which give me Christ clearly and purely." Preface of 1534 : "On account of such

uncertain interpretations and hidden senses, we have hitherto left it to itself, especially because it was considered by some of the ancient Fathers not the work of the Apostle John, as is stated in libr. 3. Hist. Eccles. In this uncertainty, we, for our part, shall also leave it, so that no one may be hindered from regarding it as the work of St. John the Apostle, or as whatever he pleases. *Zwingli* (Werke von Schullh. II. 1. 169): "We take no notice of the Apocalypse, for it is not a Biblical book."

## § 194 c.

The Catholic Church confirmed, in the Synod of Trent, the whole established canon, and hence this book, in its canonical authority. The Reformed Church paid no attention to *Zwingli's* doubts.<sup>a</sup> The Lutheran Church, on the contrary, excluded the Apocalypse and the Antilegomena from the number of accepted canonical books until the seventeenth century,<sup>b</sup> when Church opinion became more favorable to them.<sup>c</sup> Since the beginning of the eighteenth century critical doubts have again been raised, and the reasons for and against it brought forward.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Confess. Helv. poster. c. 1. Anglic. art. 6. Gall. art. 3. Belg. art. 3. *Bez. Prolegg. in Apoc. H. Bullinger*, Cent serm. sur l'Apocal. (Gen. 1565) I. 30, sqq. Cf., however, *Hyper. Method. theol.* (Bas. 1574) p. 48, sq. The Socinians also accept it.

<sup>b</sup> *Mart. Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trident.* p. 48, sq. ed. Fref. 1596. fol. Enchirid. (Lipa 1600. 12mo) p. 59. *Conr. Dieterich*, Institutt. catech. (1613) p. 14. Cf. *Bleek*, Einl. in d. Br. an d. Hebr. p. 449, ff. On the contrary, the Apocalypse is accepted by *Franc. Lamberti*, *D. Chytreus*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> *J. Gerhard*, Exegesis s. uber. exposit. articuli de s. scriptura, § 241, sqq. Cf. *Lücke*, Einleit. in d. Offenb. p. 464, ff., and in general, § 51.

<sup>d</sup> First in England by the unknown author of The New Test. in Greek and English, etc., Lond. 1729, in the remarks on the Apocalypse; by (*Firmin Abauzit*) Discourse Hist. and Crit. on the Revelation ascribed to St. John. Lond. 1730. (Cf. *Cœuvres div. d'Abauzit. Tom. I.*) — In Germany, by (*Oeder*) Freie Untersuchungen üb. d. sogenannte Offenb. Joh. m. Anmerkk. von J. S. Semler. 1769. 8vo. *J. S. Semler*, Abhandl. v. freier Untersuch. d. Kan. 1. Th. 1771. 8vo, in the Appendix. Neue Untersuch. üb. Apokalypsin. 1776. 8vo. *Stroth*, Freimüth. Untersuch. d. Offenb. Joh. betr. m. e. Vorr. v. Semler, 1771. *Mich. Merkel*, Histor. krit. Aufklär. d. Streitigk. d. Aloger und anderer alten Lehrer üb. d. Apokal. im 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. Geb., als e. Beitr. z. zuverläss. Beweise, dass d. Apok. e. untergeschob. Buch sei. 1782. *The same*, Umständl. Beweis, dass d. Apok. e. untergeschob. Buch sei. 1785. *Corrodi*, Vers. e. Beleucht. d. Gesch. d.

jüd. und christl. Bibelkanons. 1792. p. 303, ff. *Cladius*, Uransichten d. Christenth. 1808. p. 312, ff. *Heinrichs*, Prolegg. *Bretschneider*, Probabb. *Bleek*, Berlin. Zeitschr. II. *Ewald*, Comment. Introd. *Schott*, Isag. § 114, ff. *Lücke*, Einl. *Credner*, *Neudecker*, *Reuss*, Gesch. d. h. Schr., Hall. Encycl. 2. Sect. XXII. Bd. *Schleiermacher*, Einl.

The genuineness of the Apocalypse is defended by *Twells*, Crit. Examination of the late new Text and Vers. of the N. T. in Greek and English. 1732 (cf. *Wolf*, Cur. V. 387, sqq.). *Chr. Fr. Schmidt*, Krit. Untersuch. ob d. Offenb. Joh. ein lächtes göttliches Buch sei. 1771. 8vo. *The same*, Historia antiqua et vindicatio Canonis sacri. 1775. 8vo. p. 468, sqq. *J. Fr. Reuss*, Diss. de auctore apocalypseos. 1767. 4to. *The same*, Vertheid. d. Offenb. Joh. gegen Hrn. Dr. Semler. 1772. 8vo. *Fr. A. Knittel*, Beiträge z. Kritik üb. Joh. Offenb. 1773. 4to. *Lüderwald*, Bemühungen zur gründl. Beurtheil. u. Erkenntniss d. Offenb. Johannis. 1788. 2 Thle. 8vo. (*Hartwig*) Apologie d. Apok. wider falschen Tadel u. falsches Lob. 1781–83. 4 Thle. 8vo. *Story*, Neue Apologie der Offenb. Joh. 1783. 8vo. *The same*, Ueb. den Zweck der evang. Gesch. u. der Brr. Johannis. 1786. 8vo. pp. 70, ff., 83, 103. *Kleuker*, Ueb. d. Urspr. u. Zweck d. Offenb. Joh. 1799. *Lange*, Schr. d. Joh. I. § V. *Hänlein*, *Schmidt*, *Eichhorn*, *Hug*, *Feilmser*, *Bertholdt*, in their Einl., *Guerike*, Beitr. (the hypothesis of the Presb. John) Einl., *Olshausen*, Nachweis d. Echtheit, &c. *E. Guil. Kolthoff*, Apocal. Joanni Ap. vindicata. Hafn. 1834. *Conr. Dannemann*, Wer ist d. Verf. d. Offenb. Joh. Hannov. 1841. Cf. also *Meyer*, in Stud. und Kr. 1832. p. 600, f.

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